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the latter. The 'Annus' is of considerable merit, although we have scarcely another poem framed upon its model.

These poems and a few plays were all that Dryden had accomplished at the age of thirty-six. But thirty-six years comprehended the whole life of Byron, Burns, Rochester, and the younger Lyttelton. Shelley, at his death, was little more than thirty: his mind, indeed, had scarcely attained its full vigour. If the 'Annus Mirabilis' had been the last work of Dryden, its author would have left a reputation very far inferior to that of Burns, and scarcely equal to the fame of Rochester. If he had died at the age which closed the career of Shelley, his name would barely have survived him. Yet the application of such statistics to an adjudication of relative merit would clearly lead to false results. Cowley had written poetry at ten; and he had written poetry at twelve superior to what Dryden had written at twenty-four. Yet at his death, in his fiftieth year, he left a reputation which the fame of Dryden, at the same period of life, totally eclipsed. Pope had written his inimitable Essay on Criticism at twenty-two. If Shakspeare and Milton had died at that age, they would have left absolutely no reputation at all.

Dryden was happier in his lyric verse. The Ode was with him a later inspiration. He is better known by his poems in celebration of St. Cecilia's Day than by all his satires, fables, and dramas. Neither Gray nor Campbell can detract from his natural supremacy as a lyric poet. Their odes caught the spirit and force of Dryden, but they had neither his boldness of fancy nor his depth of thought. They displayed, if we may borrow a metaphor from Chios, the *ῥυαχὶ καὶ εἰδωλόν* without the *φρῆνες* of the elder poet. If it be true, as it has been related, that Henry St. John called one morning upon Dryden, and found that he had written the second ode for St. Cecilia's Day during the past night, the story will illustrate the hack-nied saying that poetic talent is necessarily an innate faculty. Those again who affect to regard these lyrics as the only true poetry of Dryden will find their theory hard to reconcile with the deduction that this innate faculty should not have developed itself until the age of sixty-six. The Threnodia Augustalis, a longer lyric poem, is of far less merit.

The satires of Dryden—the Absalom, the Medal, and Mac-Flecnœ,—form an era in satirical writing. They are the earliest polished satires in the language. The works of Cleveland and Donne, which immediately preceded them, had clothed a poverty of thought in a barbarous diction, and were even more harsh than the satires of Bishop Hall, who figured

in the reign of Elizabeth. Very different notions of wit and sarcasm prevailed in the age which preceded the Restoration. That which we now term Satire appears to have been unknown in English literature before the middle of the seventeenth century. Up to that time, the essence of wit seems to have been held to rest in a play upon words. The reputed brilliancy of preceding generations was as vitiated as the diction of the Euphuists. Punning, however, was a venerable sin; for it was a tradition of Anglo-Saxon poetry. But we are confident that no Sir Thomas Lucy of the reign of Charles the Second would have felt his vanity wounded by an idle play upon his name, sufficiently coarse and obvious for the jovial conversation of a modern public-house. Nor were there any satirists of reputation, in the stricter sense of the term, among Dryden's contemporaries. Swift clearly could not be so termed; and Butler, as Scott observes, was rather a humourist.

The satire of 'Absalom and Ahithophel' is nearly as well known as the career of Monmouth. The story coincides with the last act in the great Parliamentary drama of the age of Charles II. The effete policy of Clarendon,—the infamous administration of the Cabal,—the feeble government of Danby,—together with the uncontested dominance of that which it would, perhaps, be an anachronism to term the 'Tory party'—had passed away. A new Parliament, and a new form of Administration, were called into existence in 1679. Shaftesbury became President of the Privy Council of Thirty, and virtually directed the House of Commons. The Exclusion Bill was the first condition of the latter assembly. Monmouth was the hope and the pride of the popular party. Charles, refusing to alienate the succession, cut the Gordian knot by the dismissal of Shaftesbury, and afterwards by the dissolution of the Parliament. In this antagonism between the People and the Crown, the disgraced Minister essayed to make a puppet of the popular idol. The scheme was adapted to the daring of the one, and to the imbecility of the other. Meanwhile, the Oxford Parliament assembled in March, 1681. It insisted on the transfer of the succession, and was summarily dissolved. Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower. Parliamentary Government being at an end, a literary warfare succeeded. The Protestant writers now assailed the King, the Duke, and the Ministry. The Court gladly employed Dryden as their defender. Dryden as gladly seized the opportunity to avenge his private quarrels, and gain the favour of the Crown. He at this time numbered among his patrons the Duke of Ormond and young Laurence Hyde, the conceited Mulgrave and the intellectual Halifax.

The principles of the Opposition, since the period of the Restoration, had been represented, for the most part, by a race of illustrious and consistent patriots; those which actuated the Court, by a twenty years' triumvirate of tyranny, perfidy, and vice. The independent classes of the population were now shaken in their allegiance to a dynasty, in comparison of whose rule the iron sceptre of the Plantagenets, of the Yorkists, and of the Tudors had been honourable, and virtuous, and benign. The cause of Parliamentary Government was overthrown, and the great work of the Revolution was undone. The country seemed falling into a political condition which strangely promised to combine the miseries of an anarchical commonwealth and of a sanguinary despotism. Of the politicians who then sought to bind up the interests of the Crown and the People, there were none who could approach to the practical talents of Ashley, or the theoretical perceptions of Savile. Of the politicians who were then in the confidence of the Sovereign, there was scarcely one who was not contemned as well as mistrusted by the country. But when the deluge of misgovernment had swept his old Ministers away, Charles, as a political Deucalion, created statesmen out of stones.

Very different, nevertheless, from the Whigs and Tories of the day was the mongrel Anthony Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury. He had joined almost every existing party; he had professed almost every conceivable principle. He was versed in every variety of political demonstration. He might have set the capital on fire at Constantinople; he might have raised barricades in the streets of Paris; he might have flogged women at Pesth. It was a confession, or rather a boast, of Halifax, in speaking of himself, that he was a trimmer, after the fashion of the temperate zone, between extremes of heat and cold. But Shaftesbury passed from zone to zone. He flourished, in equal and indestructible vitality, in the sultry Toryism of the Cabal, in the icy Liberalism of the Opposition, and, finally, in the genial Conservatism of Monmouth. In comparison with such a career, the career of Halifax was consistent and honourable.

The consistency of Shaftesbury, on the other hand, was a lawless and profligate ambition, which formed the motive power of his splendid talents,—

‘In friendship false, implacable in hate;
Resolved to ruin or to rule the State.’

The portrait of him drawn by Dryden in his great satire, is
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as faithful to the moral features of the man as a picture of Vandyke to the person and the countenance.

The criticism of Johnson upon this poem implies that he laboured under a most unnecessary fear of the condemnation involved in our motto, '*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur.*' That author, indeed, sometimes reminds us of Rochester, who took a pleasure in depreciating an eminent rival, that he might secure to himself a balance of celebrity. Johnson aspired to be the arbiter of literary fame; and he accordingly inveighed against the allegorical construction of the Absalom and Ahiathophel. But the preachments of the Puritans had rendered scriptural names and characters familiar to the Liberal party, against whom the satire was chiefly directed. The application of those names would, therefore, be readily discerned by that class. Allegory, on the other hand, imparts a further interest to satire through the thin veil of mystery which it throws over the author's design. We appreciate the zest which the guise of fictitious names has given to the 'Rehearsal' of Buckingham and the novels of Mr. Disraeli. The allegory of Dryden's satire was thus sufficiently clear to be apprehended, and sufficiently curious to be exciting. Yet it is alleged by Johnson, as a fatal objection to the allegorical scheme of the poem, that in the course of a long description we must at length reach a point at which truth and allegory diverge—that is to say, that the actions of the representative characters must eventually fail to describe the actions of the represented characters whom it is intended to satirise. Such criticism implies that its author had never read the satire. Dryden had no intention of producing any such exact resemblance, even from the very outset of the poem. No one, surely, supposes that Absalom and Agag, that Og and David, that Ishbosheth and Issachar, that Corah and Judas, were contemporaries in Jewish history,—or that Sion was a country and the Jordan a sea-port town. It was simply necessary to secure such a similitude, in some salient points of view, between the reality and the allegory, as should lead to the recognition of the represented persons. And the anachronisms, it must be remembered, which result from such an allegorical construction, had already had the sanction of Spenser in this country, of Ariosto in Italy, and of the whole legion of the Romanticists and the Trouvères.

On the 24th of November, 1681, the Grand Jury ignored the bill of high treason which had been filed by the Government against Shaftesbury. Medals were struck in honour of the event, and were worn triumphantly by the Whigs at their button-holes. Dryden, hereupon, renewed his attack upon Shaftesbury in

another satire, which he christened 'the Medal.' Sir Walter Scott has, by some mischance, assigned as the date of its publication the 16th of March, 1681, more than eight months prior to the event which suggested the striking of the medals themselves.

But satire begot satire, and railing yielded fame. Shadwell, who was now the literary organ of the Whigs, retorted upon Dryden for his poem of 'the Medal,' in a personal invective which was ludicrous for its imbecile scurrility. The Laureate had already borne many such attacks in silence. But the last provocation threw his satirical talent into a new vein. Flecnoe was then notorious as the most despicable charlatan of his age; and his name had become a byword of contempt. The satire of Mac-Flecnoe accordingly represented him as reigning absolutely in the realms of Dullness and Nonsense, and bequeathing the succession to Shadwell, as the son who most happily resembled the testator of this ideal sovereignty. The Barbican, where the *fax plebis* of London held their half-penny theatres, was the scene chosen for the transfer of the Empire.

The *Religio Laici* and the *Hind* and the *Panther* are the religious or argumentative poems of Dryden, as the *Absalom* and the *Medal* are instances of his political and literary satire. Viewed in relation to his earlier writings, these poems impress us with the ease with which his mind struck out new courses of thought, as its springs were gently touched by the agency of external events — and the grace with which the painter of an artificial and sensuous society rose to the dignity of the Christian philosopher. Dryden had already founded the satirical literature of his country. He had remained the almost undisputed master of the stage through a long period of general emulation. He had written the finest lyric verses of which that age could boast, and he was destined yet to write some of the finest lyric verses which the English language to this day possesses. Nor did it require the natural exhaustion of one train of ideas to develop another equally original and comprehensive. It is true, that the period of life at which he first essayed his theological poetry was congenial to earnest reflection; as it was truly and beautifully written a century after Dryden's day, that

'The clouds which gather round the setting sun
Do take a sober colouring from an eye
That hath kept watch o'er man's mortality.'

But the circumstances of his writings show that those writings

were not generally suggested by the successive dominance of single phases of thought, exhibited in an ordinary course of mental progress. The springs of his imagination were essentially objective, as those of the imagination of Milton and of Byron were altogether subjective. They were almost invariably called into play by the artificial action of political events, which could not have presented a more than casual coincidence with the intrinsic action of the mental system. The varied talents of which Dryden gave proof at different periods of his life must, therefore, have been, for the most part, perpetually coexistent; and those circumstances which may be construed, in some degree, as his moral degradation, were his intellectual glory.

The *Religio Laici* betrays no internal evidence of having been composed at the dictation of the partisans of the Crown. The fact, indeed, that its conclusions are drawn in support of the doctrinal position of the Church of England, at a time when the author might fairly have discerned the Romanising predilections of the Court, leads us to suppose that it might have been written without even an indirect view to the personal favour of the Stuarts. Religious controversy and party zeal were then violently raging. The mutual hostility of the Romanists and the Dissenters had not then been characterised by the moderation which it afterwards assumed under the ecclesiastical policy of James II. The established Church, meanwhile, whose doctrines presented, in some sort, a living illustration of an Aristotelian virtue—midway between the extremes of scepticism and superstition, of conscious blindness and presumption, of self-reliance and reliance upon others—was the object of their common jealousy. The Dissenters charged the Catholics with Jesuitry and intolerance; and they charged the Protestants with slavishness and servility. The Catholics charged the Dissenters with incessant plottings against both State and Church; and the Protestants with the wilful disruption of ecclesiastical unity. The Protestants, again, charged the Catholics with a desertion of the ancient faith, and a dogmatic enforcement of self-constituted authority; and they charged the Dissenters with treason to the throne, and with fomenting civil disorder. Under these circumstances, the whole question of the Christian controversy may have suggested itself spontaneously to the mind of Dryden. We may, therefore, accept the plausible supposition of Sir Walter Scott, which ascribes the origin of this poem to a view of moderating party zeal. Sir Walter, however, does not inform us at what point we should set bounds to the egotism of an author.

The argument of the poem, however, is, we think, thus far

incomplete, that it leaves out of view the cardinal distinctions of Deistical philosophy, and does not therefore consider the special relation of each of these different doctrines to the premises on which it bases the truth of the Christian religion, and which may not, and in point of fact do not, closely apply to every theory of modern Deism.

The author commences by asserting, as a position common to the Christian and the Deist, that

‘God is that spring of good supreme and best,
We made to serve, and in that service blest;’

and that, as justice is not an attribute of this life, while ultimate injustice is inconsistent with such notions of the Divine goodness,

‘Our reason prompts us to a future state,
The last appeal from fortune and from fate.’

And this conception of eventual justice, he argues, the Deist has himself derived from revelation; since

‘Not Plato these nor Aristotle found,
Nor he whose wisdom oracles renowned:’

and therefore, he implies, the Deist is compelled to resort to the Christian scheme for the vindication of his own faith.

But this reasoning is not applicable to every doctrine of Deism. There is one class of Deists, for instance, who deny the providence of God in the government of the world. They, therefore, can scarcely be said to regard him as the ‘spring of good,’ or at least they cannot so regard him as to involve the consequent necessity of universal justice in a future state, which is the keystone of this argument in favour of Christianity. There is another class of Deists, again, who deny the immortality of the soul. They are not, therefore, affected by the latter part, at least, of this process of reasoning. These three couplets, with the context which we have supplied, form a syllogism which breaks down in one half of the instances to which it relates.

Dryden then proceeds fancifully to argue that our consciousness of guilt is traditional, and not an original conception; but one which has been handed down as the remnant of a revelation imparted to Noah. The only assumption, however, requisite to his argument, is the general existence of such a consciousness; and he thence shows, after presupposing the necessity of an expiation if the guilt exist, the injustice of an expiation by man’s offering:—

‘If sheep and oxen could atone for men,
Ah! at how cheap a rate the rich might sin.’

But the presupposition in question is one which no disbeliever in the providence of God could admit; nor could an expiation which did not take effect in this life—such as that to which Dryden proceeds—be made applicable without further argument to a class which denied the immortality of the soul.

Having asserted the injustice of an expiation of guilt by man, he next argues its insufficiency. He here approximates to the Christian doctrine of the Atonement:—

‘Some price that bears proportion must be paid,
An infinite with infinite be weighed.’

As a collateral evidence of Christian truth, Dryden adduces the argument, afterwards substantially enunciated by Paley, with the characteristic vigour of his argumentative poetry:—

‘Whence but from Heaven could men, unskilled in arts,
In several ages born, in several parts,
Weave such agreeing truths? Or how, or why,
Should all conspire to cheat us with a lie,
Unasked their pains, ungrateful their advice,
Starving their gain, and martyrdom their price?’

Dryden scarcely appreciates, we think, the broad distinction between the theoretical defenders of modern Deism and the ancient philosophers of Greece. The former were arrayed in antagonism to a comprehensive and intelligent Revelation; while the latter were surrounded by a religious system which was a self-evident Mythology. The Deist formed his conceptions by the light of a civilising Faith, yet he did not mould them into a fabric of constructive reasoning. But the Greek sought in vain for the fountains of ancient lore which were not tainted by the later corruptions of the East, by the monstrous idolatries of Egypt, and the degenerated traditions of Assyria. He found himself surrounded by a cloud of Fable and Superstition;—and his ardent speculation pierced the veil of the Mosaical philosophy. He could discover no consistent structure of pre-existing Thought;—and on the foundations of external Nature he raised the architecture of Truth. His destiny was cast in a land in which the gross darkness of the Many was opposed to the intelligence of the Few. His nation, indeed, had, even before his day, created a civilisation and a trade, which vied with the palaces of Jerusalem and with the ports of Tyre. But their progress in wealth was meanwhile attended by a moral retrogression from simplicity to bigotry of error, in proportion as they receded from the periods in which the Deity had been shadowed forth elsewhere in prophecy and in deed, in the triumphant deliverance of Moses and the beneficent predictions of Isaiah. So different, then, was

the independent blaze of Athenian speculation from the tributary gleam of Deistical philosophy.

During the interval between the publication of his two argumentative poems, Dryden apostatised to the Roman Catholic faith. The motives of his change have vexed his biographers and his critics. He is branded upon one side as a sycopliant who sold first his politics and then his religion to the Court; and he is defended upon another as a conscientious seceder from the Anglican Church. The secession of the Court was, no doubt, very infectious; and the favour of James may have been as important to the pecuniary circumstances of a laureate as to the ambition of a public man. The fact that Dryden has specially excepted from attack, in the Preface to the *Hind and Panther*, those sections of the Established Church and of the Dissenting Bodies which had expressed their acquiescence in the ecclesiastical policy of the Crown, implies, undoubtedly, that he was actuated at least as much by political as by religious zeal. And in professing the tenets of the Gallican Church, he united with the King in the controversy which had divided the Romish Communion.*

But there are other circumstances which, though they may not vindicate the purity of his motives, account for his secession upon independent grounds. The plea, indeed, which a paradoxical biographer might plausibly set up, in reference to this question, is, that Dryden never seceded at all from the Anglican to the Romish Church. The poet was probably a sincere believer in the leading doctrines of the Church of Rome, but he clearly was never a believer in the distinctive doctrines of the Church of England. The *'Hind and the Panther'* faithfully records the controversial opinions of the Romish faith, or at least of its Gallican branch; but the *Religio Laici* does not express the acknowledged views of any single church within the Protestant communion. The levity of the court of Charles II. was

* Mr. Bell has relieved, indeed, the memory of the poet from an imputation which his assertion in the *Hind and Panther*, that he had gained no temporal advantage from his secession, had served to throw on his veracity. For James conferred on him an annuity immediately after, and therefore probably in consequence of, his secession. This annuity, it appears from an Exchequer warrant, dated 1684, which Mr. Bell publishes, was, in theory, the confirmation of a grant made to Dryden by Charles II. Yet it is very doubtful whether this grant, which must have already been cancelled by James, would have been revived, but for the circumstance of the poet's change of religion; and the imputation can therefore, perhaps, be simply reduced to disingenuousness.

scarcely compatible with any serious consideration of religious truth; and, accordingly, twenty years after the Restoration, when Dryden appears to have first directed his attention to theology, he propounded a doctrine which, if rigorously analysed, would be found to approximate at least as nearly to the Romish as to the Anglican communion.

The difference between his theory of private judgment, as enunciated in the *Religio Laici*, and that of the Roman Catholic Church, is simply, in effect, that the poet advocates from expediency what the ecclesiastic demands of right. Dryden recommends in theory that very compromise of opinion for the sake of peace, which the Church of Rome maintains in practice for the sake of political unity. It was the wise policy of the Church of England, with a view at once of obviating individual compromise, and of preserving the general cohesion of its members, to grant a certain latitude of interpretation in respect of certain doctrines. A diversity of opinion was permitted: but that diversity, although the exact line of demarcation may not always have been very clearly drawn, was prescribed and limited. The Church of Rome, on the other hand, by once acknowledging in practice the subordination of individual opinion to external unity, introduced a latitude which was indefinite and unlimited. Professing outwardly a unity of faith from which the idiosyncrasies of private reason inevitably recoiled, she established in effect a latitudinarianism at which such prelates as Hoadley would have stood aghast; and her intolerance of doctrinal distinctions was not incompatible with moral evasions of the rigour of religious truth. When, therefore, Dryden had acknowledged the expediency of a private compromise of a sense of truth, he was clearly nearer to the Roman than to the English system. The *Religio Laici* recognises the necessity of authentic tradition to a right interpretation of Scripture; and it insists on the antecedent impossibility of a distinction between authentic and corrupt tradition. Consequently its author had already arrived at the conclusion that, whether Scripture might be interpreted in the Church of Rome or not, it at least could not be interpreted elsewhere. Is the transition a difficult one from a sense of paramount expediency to a sense of truth? And yet the '*Religio Laici*' is the poem which has been held up as Dryden's vindication of the distinctive principles of Protestantism. It was rather the apology and the offspring of the scepticism of his own character.

The later conduct of the poet implies undoubtedly that his change of opinion was not produced by a conscientious impulse. His secession, therefore, was to be justified rather by the con-

version of the reason than by the conversion of the heart. Bearing, then, this distinction in mind, we may acknowledge the probable sincerity of the following passage, viewed as a self-vindication, whilst we acknowledge its poetical beauty, viewed as an address to the Deity:—

‘O teach me to believe thee thus concealed,
And search no farther than thyself revealed ;
But her alone for my director take
Whom thou hast promised never to forsake.
My thoughtless youth was winged with vain desires ;
My manhood, long misled by wandering fires,
Followed false lights ; and when their glimpse was gone,
My pride struck out new sparkles of her own.
Such was I, such by nature still I am,
Be thine the glory, and be mine the shame !
Good life be now my task,—my doubts are done.’

But there is no valid evidence to support the assumption that Dryden wrote the *Hind* and the *Panther* at the dictation of the Court. There is, in fact, a preponderating evidence in support of an opposite hypothesis. The poem was written in direct opposition to the course ultimately pursued by the Crown. There were two schemes under which it was hoped, at different times, that the ascendancy of the Roman Catholics might be re-established. The one involved the alliance of the Dissenters, the other that of the Church of England. But as the Anglican ecclesiastics began to shrink from the results of their doctrine of passive obedience, the King determined to unite the Romanists and the Dissenting Sects in opposition to the Established Communion. His policy, which was finally announced in the Declaration of Indulgence, on the 4th of April, 1687, had long been wavering. So early as the preceding January, the disposition of the Court to the alliance of the Dissenters was observed by those around it. If Dryden had written at the dictation of the Crown, he would probably have been put into possession, without delay, of the gradual change in the views of the sovereign. The poem was published about a fortnight after the appearance of the Declaration. Now the interval of nearly three months between the publication and the first observation of a change in the policy of the Court, would have sufficed for the indication of a corresponding change—for Dryden must have been a very rapid writer—through a great proportion of the poem. But the fact is that this corresponding change is only observable in two episodic fables, which are thrown into the third book, as clearly later conceptions, and represent the labour of but a few days.

The Declaration, therefore, clearly took Dryden by surprise. The Laureate would not intentionally have denounced the very party who were about to form the alliance of the Court. He evidently thought he had written a capital poem, cursed the wayward conduct of the King, and set to work to extricate himself from the dilemma in which it had placed him between Court favour and literary fame. Accordingly, he published in the preface a counter-declaration, in which he asserted that his sentiments did not apply to those, of whatever persuasion, who had addressed the King in approbation of his policy. This is further illustrated by the internal evidence of the two episodical fables. In one of these, the 'Fable of the Swallows,' the Catholics defer their migration in consequence of the brightening of their prospects; in the other, the 'Fable of the Doves,' the Anglican clergy are assailed in a spirit of invective wholly inconsistent with the description of the Panther in other parts of the poem.

The distinctive character of Dryden's design consists in the adaptation of the principle of Fable to religious controversy, as it had already been adapted by the elder poets to political satire. The originality of the poem rests, therefore, not in its allegorical construction, but in the application of allegory to a disquisition upon truth. To clothe the animal creation with unnatural characteristics is the nearly inevitable attribute of all allegoric fable. Yet it is this very feature of Dryden's scheme which has been assailed by Johnson, Montague, and Prior as an absurd novelty.

Now it is certain that this criticism is directed against that very attribute of poetic fable which, beyond almost all others, is to be defended by prescriptive sanction. We need not advert to the venerable authority of Æsop, nor to the confirmation of that authority by La Fontaine. Yet no writers are more deeply involved in Johnson's censure. The precedents of the Romantic literature admit of closer application to the question at issue than those which are supplied by the authors and the copyists of the ancient style. Chaucer, in his tale of the 'Nun's Priest,' has not only endowed a cock with the faculties of an astrologer, and a hen with the functions of a physician, but he has done so as the means of educing a satirical allegory. Spenser, in Mother Hubbard's tale, makes the lion throw off his skin in the sultriness of a summer night; and he vindicates the design of Dryden from another criticism of Montague, by representing the foreign animals which he introduces as natural inhabitants of this country. So plainly did his political satire assail the administration of Lord Burleigh, that he afterwards admitted that 'Mother Hubbard' had lost him the friendship of a great

man. There is an ancient German allegory, written as a political satire, which is in relation to the modern literature of Germany in some respect what the songs of the Troubadours are in relation to the later literature of Romance. This allegory, which represents the intrigues of different animals at the court of a lion, we must instantly condemn as an absurdity, upon the reasoning of Johnson, unless we can suppose the denizens of the forest to enjoy a common political organisation. The story has become more familiar since Johnson's day, in consequence of its reproduction by Goethe. But the ancient fable was itself translated by Caxton into English nearly three centuries before Johnson wrote.

The object of an allegoric satire is not the creature of the fable, but the person or thing satirised. The ostensible character is subordinated to another, and a real character. If this subordination were not maintained, the principle of allegory would be lost in the principle of similitude. A criticism, therefore, on the design of an allegorical poem must be founded exclusively on the applicability of the satire to its object; and it can scarcely take cognisance of the monstrosity of the fable. Sir Walter Scott very aptly defends the scheme of Dryden on the example of Jotham's Parable of the 'Trees.' 'What,' he asks,—we quote his words from memory—'can seem more absurd than the assembly of the trees for the election of a king? And yet, is not this production allowed to be one of the finest allegories that has ever been written?'

Dryden certainly creates his representations in the poem of the Hind and the Panther, with great allegorical fidelity. The Roman Catholic Church, which is his standard of purity and truth, is portrayed in a 'milk-white Hind' the Church of England, in the Panther, 'the fairest creature of the spotted kind.' The Dissenting Sects are personified, each in some animal possessing a salient characteristic in common with the community it represents. The drift of the fable is thus easily perceived by all, but a few perhaps of the more bigoted of the traduced sectaries, who cannot or will not see their likeness or caricature.

The Church parties of the age of James the Second did not correspond so nearly in reality as in name to the Church parties of the present day. The divisions of the Anglican communion at that time consisted, indeed, of the High and the Low; but the former were the principal supporters of the doctrine of non-resistance, while the politics of the High Church party of the nineteenth century are supposed to be directed to the emancipation of religion from the alleged thralldom of the State. The Low

party of the seventeenth age, on the one hand, and the Broad and Evangelical parties of the nineteenth, on the other, as existing within the Established Church, may be said to be cross divisions. The distinctive principles of the two latter parties were not clearly established in the age of the Stuarts; while the Evangelical class of the present day represent not only a considerable section of the old Low Church, but also the Presbyterian clergy in a greater degree than the vigorous interpretation of the Act of Uniformity in the seventeenth century permitted. The Low party of the earlier period, who styled themselves 'Moderate Divines,' were called by their successors 'Latitudinarians;' and this term now applies only to a section, though no doubt a large section, of their representatives. The leaders of the High Church party, during the reign of James the Second, were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Compton, Bishop of London; the leaders of the Low party were then Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Burnet.

Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Pauls, had already distinguished himself by his 'Irenicum,' written against the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, and the theory of the divine institution of the hierarchical order. He now assailed the two papers on the conversion of Anne Hyde, first Duchess of York, which James had discovered in the strong-box of Charles the Second, and had foolishly given to the world. Dryden replied to him, and Stillingfleet rejoined. Burnet prudently intrenched himself in Holland before he threw down the gauntlet to the Court. James proceeded against him on a charge of high treason, and demanded his extradition of the government of the States. The Dutch Government refused compliance with the demand, on the ostensible ground of his naturalisation which had taken place in anticipation of his marriage with a subject of the Republic. Burnet now carried on with impunity his controversy with James. There is no doubt that the English Government formed a scheme for his seizure, and it was even said that they had offered a reward of three thousand pounds for his assassination. The services which he rendered to William were afterwards rewarded by the See of Salisbury. The ridicule which Pope throws on his assumption of political importance in his capacity, both as bishop and pamphleteer, is probably unfounded; and Dryden would scarcely have concentrated his vituperative powers on a controversialist of secondary influence. He is described in the 'Hind and Panther,' in the character of the Buzzard, whom the Doves, or Anglican clergy, had elected for their king.

The divisions of the nation then recognised every conceivable shade of religious opinion, from the scarlet of Babylon to the

drab of the Quaker. Many of these differences undoubtedly presented a fair theme of sarcasm and invective to a party writer. The Independents, who were portrayed by Dryden under the personification of the Bear, were then fast rising into power. They lived in the Utopia of universal government, much as Neander lived in the Utopia of an universal priesthood. They rejected a centralising polity, and denied the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate in all spiritual questions. They asserted the ecclesiastical supremacy of single congregations; and, as they based this supremacy on a principle of voluntary union, they acknowledged in effect the original supremacy of each member of their community. The Presbyterians, again, atoned, in the eyes of the satirist, for their political coherence, by the absurdity of their personal costume. Their Geneva cloak, their close-cropped hair, and black skull-cap, merited Dryden's description of them under the character of the Wolf, that

‘Never was so deformed a beast of grace.
 But his rough crest he rears,
 And pricks up his predestinating ears.’

The Anabaptists, who had sprung from the dregs of the people, were meanwhile urging the principle of a community of goods, which, if generally recognised, would certainly have afforded a most felicitous method, to a poor class of religionists, for the exercise of the virtues of a Christian self-denial! They had arisen in Germany and the Low Countries early in the sixteenth century, and are introduced by Dryden in the character of the Boar. The Free-thinkers continued to preserve the political influence they had possessed under the Long Parliament, while Martin and Harvey had been among their leaders; and there is reason to acquiesce in the opinion of Scott, that the character of the Ape was specially designed for a portrait of Sunderland, who, it can scarcely be doubted, was one of their members before his courtier-like conversion in Dryden's day.

The Quaker, meanwhile, whose religion was kindled by scintillations from the maniacal intellect of an ignorant and bewildered shoemaker, endured a suffering existence dictated by the caprice of conscience. He was thrown into pillories and prisons, alternately with madhouses, as more appropriate asylums. The later disciples of ‘yearly meeting feasts’ have forgotten, it is to be feared, the original orthodoxy of their sect. For the Quaker of the age of the Stuarts was known occasionally to enjoin the duty of a forty-days’ consecutive fast; and Hume assures us that one of their number expired under this process of self-denial. Under a belief in their common

inspiration, it was the custom of many of their number to address the congregation simultaneously; and their ambition of Pentecost terminated in a catastrophe of Babel.

We need not recount the classes of the Sullen Enthusiasts, such as the Brownists and the Families of Love, who held their assemblies in solitary regions beneath the open sky:—

‘A numerous host of dreaming saints succeed
Of the true old enthusiastic breed.’

They have their representatives, in great degree, in the present generation.

The argumentative part of this great poem betrays an inconsistency of reasoning in the establishment of its fundamental positions, not justly chargeable, perhaps, on the logical perception of the author, inasmuch as it is the inevitable result of a defence of the preconceived theories of the Romish Church. The principle of infallibility, which is the bond of the political cohesion of that community, rests, according to these theories, on two distinct and antagonistic bases. The special infallibility of councils is essentially opposed to the general infallibility of tradition. But independently of this objection, which we shall presently notice, there is an anterior objection as to the elements or conditions of infallibility, wherever existing, within the Christian Church. This is the groundwork of the whole Romish doctrine, and it is a groundwork which its advocates invariably *assume*. The doctrine of infallibility rests, then, on the alleged assent of the Catholic or Universal Church: and the test of orthodoxy is generally held by the Romish theorists to rest in a fulfilment of the conditions, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*. But since it is notorious that neither the doctrine of infallibility, nor any other distinctive doctrine of the Romish Church, has realised these conditions of certain orthodoxy, the application of the term ‘Catholic’ or ‘Universal,’ is restricted to that which is acknowledged by this party to be the true church; and the true church, again, is as arbitrarily defined to be co-extensive with that church which holds the doctrine of ecclesiastical or Romish infallibility. Now the right of excluding individual communities from a voice upon questions of doctrine, and the consequent right of their exclusion from membership in the true Church, can only satisfactorily rest upon the ground of a censure *already* passed, after fair and patient inquiry, by the great body of the Christian Church, in consideration of opinions on fundamental questions of the faith, held to be heretical, not only by the existing body, but by the unequivocal testimony of preceding ages of the Church. But when we inquire whether

the doctrine of infallibility, and other distinctive doctrines of the Romish Church, were recognised by all who were not fairly excluded, in this manner, at an antecedent period, from the true Church, we find the asserted exclusion of the opponents of the doctrines in question to be invariably the result of their opposition. These opponents were convened under an equal right of deliberation with the advocates of the doctrines in controversy; nor could it be shown that any one of the distinctive tenets of the Romish Communion, denied by the opponents, had possessed, at any one period, the sanction of the Universal Church. The Romanists, therefore, asserted the infallibility of their church on the authority of universal consent; and when it was shown that consent was never universal, they excluded from a right of opinion all those who might have disputed their position. But having once asserted the necessary consent of the true or Universal Church to the adjudication of doctrinal controversy, and having already acknowledged the right of their opponents to membership in the true or Universal Church, by uniting in deliberation with them in a council which they asserted to be infallible, they barred, *ipso facto*, their own judgment against their opponents within the council. The Romish theory, therefore, by endeavouring to prove too much, destroyed its own basis, and itself exclusively denied the authoritative decision of numerical majorities in a general council, on which it has, in practice, been the policy of the Church of Rome to rest its ascendancy.

But even granting the baseless hypothesis of an Universal Church, in the exclusive sense in which it is understood by the Roman Faith—and assuming the existence of a principle of infallibility in the Church—it is not agreed wherein that principle, as the first attribute of supremacy, resides. It has been referred to the Popes, to the Councils, and to the Popes and Councils collectively. And the settlement of this question is essential to the progress of the Romish doctrine of Church authority: for it is otherwise impossible, wherever the Pope and the Council may be at issue upon matters of faith, to distinguish the infallible from the fallible judgment. The analogy drawn by Dryden between the government of the Church and that of the State, is a very fair one, if viewed as a theoretical condition of human polity. In respect of the Pope and his Council, as in respect of a Constitutional Sovereign and his Senate, he says, 'what one decrees, the other ratifies.' But if it can be shown that the Pope and the Council have been at issue on matters of faith, they can lay no claim to a common infallibility in doctrine; and the argument of Dryden, which

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implies that they have not been so at issue, disregards unquestionable facts. No approximation, therefore, to the practical recognition of an infallible authority in the Church can be realised until it can be conclusively shown wherein that authority subsists.

The basis, therefore, of Dryden's argumentative structure consists of three successive and untenable assumptions. The author first assumes the right of imposing arbitrary limits on the true or Universal Church; he secondly assumes the existence of an infallible authority in the Church: and he thirdly assumes the solution of an unsolved difficulty, in reference to the quarter in which the property of infallibility may reside. On this ideal and intangible groundwork Dryden proceeds to argue the double infallibility of councils and tradition.

But these theories—respectively of synodical and traditional infallibility—can neither coexist nor exist alone. The canons of the Church are frequently at issue, on questions of unchanging truth, with the acknowledged traditions both of past and succeeding ages. There can, therefore, be no common infallibility in law and tradition. In virtue of the same reasoning, the successive assertion and negation of identical doctrines by different councils, each exercising infallibility in the theory of the Romish Church, destroy the pretensions of the Council. And so also in respect of inconsistencies exhibited in general traditions at different periods. And such inconsistencies are notorious matters of history. It is to be observed, that Dryden here speaks of the general tradition of individuals, and not the tradition of collective assemblies:

‘The good old bishops took a simpler way,
Each asked but what he heard his father say,
Or how he was instructed in his youth,
And by tradition's force upheld the truth.’

Dryden was here clearly placed in an inextricable dilemma. If he had asserted simply the infallibility of Councils, the force of history would have instantly assailed and overthrown his position. If he had based his conviction of the true teaching of the Church upon oral tradition alone, his whole scheme of Christianity would have been as legendary as the Faith of Zoroaster.

On the latter theory, we should be compelled to judge of Christianity as we judge of Zoroastrianism—that is to say, in exclusion of history. The force of unassisted tradition would then reduce fact to legend; and the acknowledgment of infallibility in oral tradition would demolish the certainty of the Christian Faith, the foundation of the whole argument.

The Church of England claimed a position of authority on questions of doctrine, midway between the dogmatic teaching of the Church of Rome, and an absolute freedom of thought within the pale of her communion. But the truth is, that the theory of the Church, in this country, is far less tolerant than the practice of the State. It was clearly the aim of our Reformers in the sixteenth century to mould the whole population into one homogeneous body: and it was not until the reign of William III. that the principle of religious liberty, without the communion of the Church, was conceded by the Civil Power. It is, therefore, on a misconception of a matter of fact that Dryden founds the argument which closes with the memorable sneer,—

‘How answering to its end a Church is made
Whose power is but to counsel and persuade!
A solid rock on which secure she stands,
Eternal house not built with mortal hands!
A sure defence against the infernal gate,
A patent during pleasure of the State!’

But the implied sarcasm of an ‘Act of Parliament Religion’ is very unfortunate in its application to a church, whose prelates, ages before the mission of Augustine, had sat in the Council of Ariminum. The Church of England of the sixteenth century was in no greater degree subordinated in its polity to the civil power, than the Church of Rome itself was subordinated to the Roman Emperors of the fourth century. Between the Primitive Church of Britain and the Constituted Church of the Reformation, there was a distinction corresponding to that which subsisted between the Church which was persecuted in the days of the Apostolical Fathers, and the Church which was summoned by Constantine to the Council of Nice.

We have trenched on the claims of other subjects in order to give greater scope to the discussion of a poem which presents the ablest existing illustration of the great religious controversy of the reign of James II. But we have had space only to indicate the primary reasonings of Dryden’s argument. The author was too acute a logician to have been blind to much of the criticism to which his position as a defender of the Romish faith inevitably exposed him. Had he been content to seek truth in the course of his own untrammelled reason, he would probably have proved himself one of the first logicians, as he had proved himself one of the first poets, of his country. We refer our readers to the poem itself for the minor arguments which it contains, for a skilful portraiture of public characters, and for a faithful allegory of political events, under the convic-

tion that no imaginative or argumentative writer ever triumphed over greater difficulties. Nor is it a slight merit of execution that the Fable of Romance should be so moulded with political satire and controversial reasoning into one of the greatest poems which this country has produced between the age of *Paradise Lost* and the age of *Childe Harold*.

We have left little space for a consideration of Dryden's talents as a dramatist. Critics are by far less generally agreed upon the merits of his dramas than in respect of those of Fletcher, Massinger, and Shakspeare. But thus much, at least, is generally conceded,—the historical importance of his writings to the English theatre, and their influence in the formation of the Drama of the Restoration. Comedy, indeed, would have flourished in that period without his aid; for Congreve and Wycherley, if not also Vanbrugh and Farquhar, probably eclipsed him in comic talent. Nor can it be said that Dryden initiated the Comedy of the Restoration, as Cervantes initiated the Drama of Spain. But in tragedy we incline to think that he had no superior in his own age. He was, at least, essentially the founder of the school of tragic art which prevailed during the last forty years of the seventeenth century.

The distinction between the two periods of the English Drama, divided by the Puritanical principles of the Commonwealth, has been asserted to have been as complete as the distinction between the two great periods of French literature. It has been asserted, or implied, again, by Dryden himself, that this difference proceeded from a development of art, and not from a revulsion of taste. If we may dissent from the eminent authority of Augustus von Schlegel, we should say that the contrast involved in the former position is considerably overdrawn. Dryden, on the other hand, claims too high a rank for his tragical works. But, at the same time, there is no doubt that the low estimate which Schlegel forms of the dramatic talent of the Restoration is altogether erroneous and indefensible.

A triple difference is observable between the two periods, in the constitution of the English Theatre. That difference respected the mode of representation, the character of the dramas, and the morality which they inculcated. The scenic decoration of the age of Charles II. was introduced by Sir William Davenant at the Restoration. Sir William had imbibed a passion for the Italian system. This, there can be no doubt, was very alien to the comparative simplicity of the Shaksperian stage. The theatre of the age of Elizabeth, though not like that at Athens, open to the sky, was more frequently open to the natural

light. Scenic representations usually took place by day. Now, it certainly appears to be an inconsistency in the abstract, that those who disparage the plays of Dryden for an alleged approximation to the imitative Drama of France, should applaud the Drama of the sixteenth century for a similar approximation to the scenic arrangements of the Athenian stage. Such arrangements might afford greater scope for the development of histrionic art; but they would not therefore necessarily conduce to a more vivid representation of life. The inference is to the contrary; since the decorations of Davenant were deemed essential in an age which possessed the most celebrated actors. But the truth is, that the theatre of the Elizabethan age was not uniformly characterised by any such simplicity. Several of Shakspeare's plays could not have been represented by the light of day. The performance, moreover, of Ben Jonson's masques must have involved a very complicated machinery.

The division of the English Drama into an original and an imitative period, divided by the intervention of the Commonwealth, is clearly a false one. The former period was arrayed against itself. The dramatic principles of Shakspeare, and Beaumont and Fletcher, were as directly opposed to the school of Jonson as to that of the Restoration. Jonson was no doubt the best classic among the dramatists of his age; and he asserted, as strenuously as Voltaire in the following century, the Right of Antiquity to determine the principles of the Drama. His want of imagination rendered the success of his dogma essential to his own tragic celebrity. He was not perhaps sincere in his professed opinion, or his practice would even more closely have coincided with his theory. There can be no doubt, however, that a considerable party attached itself to his views; the unequivocal supremacy attained by Shakspeare over all his contemporaries was, it must be remembered, entirely posthumous. The Restoration, indeed, displayed so many vices, both intellectual and moral, that it is not less an act of charity than of justice to shield that era from the charge of abject imitation in tragic art.

The distinction which Schlegel draws between the Greek and the Romantic Drama, appears to us to afford a very imperfect characterisation of the difference of the two systems, while it scarcely touches on the fundamental principle of either. Ancient Tragedy is described by that writer as being marked by an exclusive introduction of the tragic element, and the Romantic Drama as comprising an indissoluble union of the tragic and the comic. Such definitions appear to involve a wide superficial contrast; but the difference, as such, is rather a difference of arrange-

ment than of principle. The introduction of comedy at Athens, and the interfusion of comic scenes with the tragic dramas of Romance, were dictated by a unity of aim. Both the one and the other had for their object to give relief to tragedy. The difference of the two Dramas, according to the position of the German critic, would be simply that in the one a shorter and more frequent interlude of comedy would be attained than in the other. Instead of a tragic play succeeded by a comic play, we should have a tragic scene succeeded by a comic scene. And the difference in the length of the ancient and the modern dramas is so nearly proportioned to this difference of design, that were it not that the tragic and the comic scenes in the Romantic theatre were directed to a common catastrophe; the distinction of the two systems would altogether vanish.

But the Greek Drama is as alien from the Romantic as the Republic of Plato was alien from the Constitution of Athens. The Romantic Drama aims, not to be a cast of ideal excellence, but to be a portraiture of man's nature and of real life. It pictures, indeed, the highest moods of the soul, and comprehends the inspiration of the purest tragedy. But it depicts, also, every other phase of human existence: It portrays the joyousness and the sorrow, the benevolence and the ill-will, the thought and the sensuality, the ingenuity and the cunning,—at once the glory and the frailty of Man. It shadows out perfection: but it reflects life. It presents characters infinite in variety as the phases of the soul. In the hands, not, indeed, of Lilly and Marlow, but in those of Shakspeare, Beaumont, Massinger, and Fletcher,—as with the Spanish Drama of the age of Calderon and Lope de Vega,—it betrayed these characteristics. With them it depicted at once the subtle and the crafty characters of Holbein and Vandyck, the low life of Murillo and Velasquez, the shrewd thought of Rembrandt, the tender beauty of Guido and of Carlo Dolce. Even in the peculiar element of tragedy, there was this difference between the Greek and the Romantic,—that the sublimity of the Romantic was associated with the beautiful, while the sublimity of the Greek was essentially austere.

Nothing, then, could have been more distinct than the fundamental principles of the two Dramas. The spirit of the Ode dwelt as clearly in the Tragedy of Athens as it had dwelt in the earlier poetry of the Isles. In the Greek tragedy, there was no scope for that complexity of plot which, in the modern system, arrives at the catastrophe through a tortuous succession of incidents. Such a scope would have been inconsistent with its lyrical character. There was no aim at a description of the

various conditions of Life, or of the various characters of Man. Individual representations were not often conformable to nature; for they generally partook of a moral dignity which was not often attained by nature. It has here been our object to illustrate the difference of the two Dramas: a difference as complete as that of the tints of the dawning sky from the sunlight of the noon.

It will scarcely be pretended that the tragedies of Dryden tally in any degree with such a definition of the Ancient Drama. Their design, indeed, was as alien from the chaste execution of Racine as from the plays which remain to us of Æschylus and Sophocles. Yet when it is asserted that Dryden constructed his tragedies upon the model of the French Theatre of his day, and admitted that that Theatre was formed on the model of Ancient Drama, it is difficult to reconcile the consistency of such a hypothesis, except by the ludicrous supposition of a similarity between the plays of Dryden and the Athenian stage. The absurdity of the deduction involved in such an argument—which is in itself subversive of the theory of the construction of Dryden's plays upon the model of the contemporary French Theatre—leads us to some other solution of the difficulty. And the truth is, that tragedy in France had not been marked by that exclusive bias for classical imitation at the period of the English Restoration which it afterwards exhibited. The plays of Corneille were in many essential respects wholly dissimilar from the Greek Drama. The 'Cid,' preserves in great measure the principles of its native theatre. Where, then, the French Drama approximates to the Spanish, the English may be said indirectly to approximate to the French. For the English and the Spanish had a cognate character; and English dramatists were often tempted to borrow from a literature which surpassed every other, not only in beauty of diction, but in fertility of thought. Yet nothing at the same time can be more distinct than that which is generally termed the French school of historic tragedy from the historic tragedy of the Restoration. Can any two plays, for instance, be more alien from each other, in point of dramatic construction, than the 'Œdipus' of Dryden and 'Les Frères Ennemis' of Racine?

The exclusive use of rhyme in tragedy, which was long a distinctive feature of Dryden's dramatic writing, has been one cause of his proscription as a painter of life. None can join more heartily than ourselves in a condemnation of rhyming tragedies. But we do not join in that condemnation on the ground upon which it is usually urged—that while blank verse is natural to tragedy, rhyme is unnatural. For such a distinc-

tion would tend to the justification of blank verse as comprehending the form of words that would be employed by persons occupying, in actual life, the situation of the ideal characters. Yet would not an extemporary dialogue, conducted in rhythmical lines of ten syllables each, strike the hearer as almost equally strange and extraordinary with such a dialogue conducted in heroic couplets? It is clear, therefore, that even the Romantic Drama—and that Drama, too, as handled by Shakspeare—did not invariably aim, in its purely tragic scenes, at an exact portraiture of life, and that it exhibited, occasionally and in some degree, the lyrical character of the Greek. But we condemn the exclusive use of rhyme rather from its incompatibility with the introduction of comedy into the tragic Drama; and we condemn its introduction even into the tragic scenes of the mixed Drama, as tending to curtail the apparent freedom of the actor's thought.

Most of Dryden's plays are singularly ill-adapted to the stage of our own day. Nothing, happily, can be more alien from the present constitution of the theatre than the artistic principles inculcated in his rhyming tragedies and the moral principles inculcated in his comedy. These faults in taste and decency it would be impossible to eradicate without total reconstruction. But many of the tragedies in question had their value as illustrations of history. 'The Conquest of Granada' and 'The Indian Emperor' illustrated the progress of the Spanish dominion. 'Amboyna' described the sufferings sustained by our merchants at the hands of the Dutch. 'King Arthur' revived one of our national legends. In 'The Duke of Guise' the veil of French history served for a political allegory. In many of these there is, however, as great a sameness of character as in the plays of Byron. There exists even a graver charge against Dryden's heroes. They were often eminently unnatural. Dryden has contended somewhere that, as the dramatist is not confined to the probable in character, he cannot be restricted to the bounds of nature in action. The fallacy of the reasoning is plain enough; but if literally understood it may account for many of his deviations from the fidelity of life. 'Don Sebastian' is clearly his master-work; and is perhaps superior to any other tragedy that has appeared since the death of the great Master of the Stage. Sir Walter Scott is even inclined to give precedence to the dialogue between Dorax and Sebastian over every similar scene in Shakspeare. The reply of Dorax to the taunt of his rival is certainly conceived in the grandest spirit of the bard of Stratford:—

Dorax. Thou hast dared
To tell me what I durst not tell myself:
I durst not think that I was spurned, and live;
And live to hear it boasted in my face!
All my long avarice of honour lost,
Heaped up in youth, and hoarded up for age!
Has honour's fountain then sucked back the stream?
He has: and hooting boys may dry-shod pass,
And gather pebbles from the naked ford.
Give me my love, my honour; give them back—
Give me revenge, while I have breath to ask it!

The life of Dryden was passed, as we have seen, simultaneously on the surface of society and in the depths of thought. He did not withdraw, like Cowper, from the public world, to gratify his meditative turn of mind; and he did not fling away his intellect, like the younger Lyttelton, before the frivolous temptations of the hour. He dwelt at once with Nature and with Man. He sought the friendship of the aristocracy, because patronage was an inevitable condition of success in every path of life. But he seems to have entertained no other than literary ambition. He had, nevertheless, witnessed the rise of his contemporaries from the humblest origin to the height of political power. Conscious of his talents—conscious that with the decline of Milton's powers he stood unrivalled in the domain of poetry—and conscious that in every other branch of literature he held a foremost rank—he drew splendid auguries in his hope-flushed youth. He felt his genius more than equal to the wit, the speculation, and the eloquence of Halifax and Shaftesbury. He felt that it must ultimately triumph over the vices, the levities, and the indifference of the Court. But the aspirations of youth were doomed to the disappointments of age. He had to experience the fickleness of friends, and the perversion of a period which preferred social vice to intellectual elevation, and barbarism to mental culture. The frequent fate of his just ambition seems to be shadowed forth in his own touching and thoughtful words:—

‘Such are the proud designs of human kind,
And so we suffer shipwreck everywhere;
Alas! what port can such a pilot find,
Who in the night of fate must blindly steer!’

It is painful to turn from a contemplation of that blaze of intellectual glory which yet surrounds the shrine of Dryden, to the moral results of many of those writings which perpetuate his memory. It may be said, perhaps, that blame should rest less with Dryden than with his age. But it should have been

the destiny of such a man to have risen above and to have purified that age. If ever private genius can exalt the standard of public virtue — if ever individual elevation can form a condition of social progress — the varied talents of Dryden were preeminently calculated to have raised the tone and the character of his party. Among the writings, on the contrary, which exercised the greatest influence on the age of their composition, were probably those in which Dryden most directly transgressed our doctrines of morality. It would have been a mission worthy of the intellect of that poet, that he who was one of the greatest pillars of the literature of England, should also have been one of the greatest regenerators of her society. Had he fulfilled these conditions, the retrospect of his life would have been at once his consolation and his glory. He would then have been spared, in his old age, the insult of receiving, at the hands of Collier, the rebuke and the chastisement of a satyr. His latest reflections might then have been those of that old man of Rydal's Mount, whose life has served pre-eminently to illustrate the happy philosophy of the Roman: — ‘*Aptissima omnino sunt arma senectutis, artes exercitationesque virtutum; quæ in omni ætate cultæ, cum multum diuque vixeris, mirificos efferrunt fructus: non solum quia nunquam deserunt, ne in extremo quidem tempore ætatis, verum etiam quia, conscientia bene actæ vitæ, multorumque benefactorum recordatio, jucundissima est.*’ And that good conscience, which would have been the satisfaction of his life, would have been the lasting pride of his country.

ART. II. — 1. *The Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India, and elsewhere.* By J. FORBES ROYLE, M.D., F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 607. London: 1851.

2. *The Fibrous Plants of India fitted for Cordage, Clothing, and Paper.* By J. FORBES ROYLE, M.D., F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 403. London: 1855.

A FEW years ago, when fears of a rupture with the United States of North America awakened apprehensions in regard to the supply of cotton, Dr. Royle published the first of these works on the ‘*Culture of Cotton in India.*’ Now, when we are actually at war with Russia, from whence we have hitherto derived large supplies of hemp and flax, he has laid before the public his second work on the ‘*Fibrous Plants of India,*’ which are fitted for the manufacture of ‘*cordage, clothing, and paper.*’

In both these volumes he has brought together a vast amount of information hitherto scattered through the works of many authors, buried in official reports, or collected by the personal observations of himself and his Indian correspondents. He has thus rendered a most seasonable service to the English public by pointing out inexhaustible sources for the supply of fibrous materials, and a not less important one to the East India Company, from whose vast dominions he shows that fibres of every quality may be abundantly obtained. In the present Article we propose to consider a few of the topics discussed in the last of these two works, and more particularly to give a digest of the information it contains with reference to the fibrous materials, the produce of India, which may be cheaply and usefully substituted for Russian hemp and flax.

The extent to which we have hitherto been dependent upon Russia for these fibres may be judged of from the fact that the average annual importation during the ten years, from the beginning of 1844 to the end of 1853, was, in hundredweights:—

	From Russia.	From all other Places.
Flax and tow or codilla of hemp and flax	- 1,013,565	- 466,417
Hemp, dressed	- 620,519	- 387,098

Or the supplies we have drawn from Russia have been about twice as great as from all other countries put together.

On the other hand, the hope we have of making India available for all our wants, is shown by the very rapid rate at which the importation of fibrous materials from that country has increased during the last twenty-five years. Thus, at three successive periods, there were imported into the United Kingdom, of—

	1831. cwt.	1847. cwt.	1851. cwt.
Hemp, from Russia	- 506,803	- 544,844	- 672,342
Fibres from British territories in the East Indies	- 9,472	- 185,788	- 590,923

Thus, while the import of hemp from Russia increased in twenty years only one-third, that of fibrous materials from India increased sixty times, and even between 1847 and 1851, increased three times! A further increase of three times, which from Dr. Royle's statements appears not only possible, but easy, would make us altogether independent of the hemp and flax of Russia.

This possible independence of Russia arises from the circumstance that though the fibres hitherto imported from India include neither any real hemp nor any true flax, yet they

include materials which may be usefully substituted for both, while for many of the purposes to which hemp and flax are severally applied they are superior to either. It will be sufficient for our present purpose if we briefly describe the most important of the fibres we already receive from India, and of the other fibrous materials which India *might* send us, and state the circumstances which render a large importation of all of them either possible or desirable.

But first it may interest the reader to be informed why hemp fibre should be comparatively little grown, and should not be at all imported from India, although the true hemp plant is described as a native of that country. There appear to be two reasons for this apparent anomaly. The first is, that the low country of India is so rich in other fibres which are either more rapid in their growth, more easily prepared, more beautiful to the eye, or more durable, that the natives for home use prefer them to hemp. The second is, that hemp is cultivated largely, and widely for the sake of the *churrus* and *bhang* which it yields. The *churrus* is the well-known resin of hemp, or the inspissated juice of the leaves obtained from the plant by rubbing between the hands, and *bhang* is the name usually given to the dried leaves and twigs. Both of these are extensively used as soothing and exhilarating narcotics. The former is swallowed in the form of pills or boluses, the latter is smoked either alone or mixed with a certain proportion of tobacco. It will give an idea of the extent to which the hemp plant is cultivated for this luxurious purpose if we add from another authority that the use of it, as a narcotic, prevails in Asia and Africa among not less than two or three hundred millions of men !*

But what becomes of the fibre, it will naturally be asked? The resin and the leaves and twigs being removed, why should the hemp fibre not be made use of also? The reason of this is, that the mode of culture best suited for the production of *bhang*, and usually followed in Lower India, is not adapted to the growth of a valuable fibre. All plants when grown thickly together, shoot up in height, branch little, and if the soil be rich and moist, are of a looser and more spongy texture. If fibrous plants be so raised, they yield finer, softer, stronger, and more flexible threads. Hence, both hemp and flax when cultivated for their fibres are sown more or less thickly, and are pulled up about the season of flowering, and usually before the seeds are permitted to ripen. But in India, when cultivated as a narcotic, the seed of the hemp plant is not sown

* Johnston's 'Chemistry of Common Life,' vol. ii. p. 183.

thick as it ought to be when intended for cordage. The natives first sow it thin, and afterwards transplant the young plants, placing them at distances of nine or ten feet from each other.

‘The effect of this is to expose them more freely to the light, heat, and air, by the agency of which the plant is enabled to perfect its secretions in a more complete manner, and the bhang will consequently be of a more intoxicating nature. The fibrous and woody parts at the same time attain a greater degree of stiffness and solidity, as is found to be the case with timber trees similarly exposed. The hemp plant, thus grown, will branch much. It may be small in dry situations, and large in rich and moist ones, but in either case its fibres are found, both in Europe and India, to be rougher, stiffer, and more difficult to separate from the woody part than is desirable, but seed is produced in larger quantity and of better quality.’ (P. 318.)

The consequence of this is, that other plants are cultivated specially for their fibres, while the seeds, leaves, twigs, and resin being removed, the hemp-stalk and fibre are burned. But if the mode of growth be the main reason why the hemp fibre is usually neglected in Lower India, a change in the system of culture seems the only thing necessary to produce an article which will work more kindly, and be fitted for the European market. This is the opinion of Dr. Royle, and of other persons, both naturalists and civil servants of the Company, who have resided long in the East. Sown thick, they believe the hemp plant will yield a long and flexible fibre more valuable for cordage than the fibres usually cultivated in India, and that a demand for the article from this country would encourage and promote this mode of culture.

Past experience seems to render it doubtful whether hemp thus grown in Lower India would equal in strength the Russian, Polish, and Italian hems, which bring the highest price in the European markets. But towards the foot, and on the lower slopes of the Himalayas, where the climate is colder, there is reason to believe that hemp of the strongest and most valuable kind might be extensively cultivated.

‘In the Himalayas the hemp grows wild, and is, moreover, carefully cultivated, both on account of its exhilarating secretions and its strong and flexible fibre. With the properties of this the Hillmen are well acquainted, as they make with it both twine and rope, and a coarse cloth (*bhangela*), with which they clothe themselves, as well as make sacks and bags. Their hempen wrappers they wear much as a Highlander does his plaid, fixing it in front with a wooden skewer, instead of a brooch. A traveller in the Himalayas, some years since, described the natives as applying hemp “extensively to purposes of a domestic nature, such as hanging their supernumerary female children, administering ropes’-end to their wives, penning

“ up cattle, and making a sort of netted, or knitted, or knotted shoes, “ to which a sole of untanned leather is sometimes, but by no means “ generally, affixed.” (P. 327.)

They prepare from it, also, a coarse kind of cloth, which they send into the plains for making very durable grain sacks, and they twine it into very strong ropes, which they employ for crossing their rivers. Grown among the hills, at a height of three to seven thousand feet, it is described as remarkable for strength, and for the divisibility, fineness, and softness of its fibres. It is not impossible, therefore, that Himalayan hemp may by-and-by occupy an important place in our European markets, and it is to be hoped that besides encouraging the growth of the plant in these localities as an important article of export, our Indian Government may be able also, by means of railroads and otherwise, to provide those easy and economical means of transit without which it cannot be conveyed with a profit to the British islands.

To flax-fibre as an Indian product the same remarks apply as to the growth of hemp. That the flax-plant is extensively cultivated in India is shown by the fact that linseed forms an important article of Indian export. We import at present annually about 600,000 cwts. of this seed, two-thirds of which come from Russia, while our Indian possessions export annually about an equal quantity, one-half of which goes to North America. If to this large export of seed we add the vast quantity which is used in India itself for the manufacture of linseed oil and oil-cake for the feeding of cattle*, we shall form an idea of the comparative extent to which the flax-plant is cultivated in India for its seed. Yet, almost everywhere the stalks and husks are burned as a useless refuse. In a few places only — and those, as with the hemp-plant, towards the north, where the cotton and other common fibres cease to be produced, — is the fibre of the flax-plant separated and used for the manufacture of twines and coarser cloths.

The Indian Government has not been wanting in its efforts to establish the growth of flax-fibre as a profitable industrial occupation for the natives of those districts which seem most fitted to produce it of good quality. They have caused numerous experiments to be made in various parts of India, and Dr. Jameson, to whom the superintendence of some of these experiments has been entrusted, states, as the result of his experience up to November last (1854): —

* Major Edwardes states that the bruised seed mixed with flour is given as a strengthening food for cattle.

‘For some years I have been cultivating flax on a small scale, from seed procured from Russia, and its fibre has been pronounced by parties in Calcutta to be of a very superior description. I have already made arrangements to grow it more extensively this season, in two or three different situations. There is nothing to prevent this country supplying both flax and hemp on a vast scale. It possesses immense advantages in abundance of land and cheap labour. In the Punjab thousands of acres are available; and from the means of producing both hemp and flax cheap, this part of India will always be able to compete with other countries.’ (P. 231.)

This opinion from so competent an authority is both satisfactory and valuable, and will, doubtless, aid in so stimulating the growth of these raw materials in India as finally to render Great Britain independent of every European country for supplies of hemp and flax even of the strongest and finest qualities.

But with all the efforts and influence we can bring to bear on Indian agriculture several years must elapse before we can hope for such a change in the methods of growing and preparing hemp and flax in India as to realise even our reasonable expectations. That wide country, however, seems already prepared to supply us with almost unbounded quantities of other fibres which are fully capable of taking the place of hemp and flax in every kind of manufacture to which fibrous materials are usually applied. Of such comparatively new materials Dr. Royle enumerates, and methodically describes, a great variety in the book before us. In plants, belonging to about twenty different natural families, he finds valuable fibres which may more or less easily and abundantly be grown in our eastern possessions for the supply of our home wants. Thus, beginning with the grasses, he states that several species of the genus *saccharum* are employed for making ropes, and especially for making tow ropes, on the river Indus and on the Ganges. For this purpose their fibres are well fitted, being light, tenacious, and capable of bearing without injury alternate exposure to wet and dry. Of the sedges he also mentions a kind of cotton grass, *Eriophorum cannabinum*, which grows abundantly in all the ravines of the Himalayas, and which is platted into the ropes of which the jhoolas, or rope bridges over the large rivers, are almost universally made. It is not durable, however, requiring to be renewed every year. Then the fibre of the pine apple, a liliaceous plant, which covers whole islands near Singapore, is extracted for exportation to China, where it is used ‘in the manufacture of lincens.’ This fact is the more worthy of attention because the pine apple (*Ananassa sativa*) grows also in enormous quantities on the Khasia hills, and is so abundant ‘in the Tenasserim provinces as to be sold in Amherst Town in

‘June and July at two shillings for a boat load,’ and because a patent has already been taken out in this country by Mr. Zincke for the manufacture of thread from this fibre. It seems that during the process of bleaching the fibres of this material are separated from each other more completely, and the staple rendered so much finer and softer, that it can be spun in the same way as flax. From its beautiful silky lustre also, and its great strength, the patentee considers it well adapted to form a substitute for flax; and Mr. Dickson, of Deptford, ‘for spinning ‘yarn for the fine cambric manufacture of Ireland.’ Should future trials prove these statements to be correct, the province of Tenasserim may hereafter become the seat of an extensive manufacture of this pine-apple fibre.

Another liliaceous plant, the *pita*, agava, or American aloe, yields a fibre which is used for making the cordage employed in the mines of Mexico, by the shipping of Guyaquil, and for the bridge ropes of Quito. This plant has become naturalised and abundant in widely separated parts of India, and ropes made from its fibre have been tested in comparison with those of European hemp and found to be nearly equal to them in strength, so that, in the opinion of Dr. Royle, this fibre is sufficiently good to form an ‘exportable article of considerable ‘value, especially as the prejudice against white cordage will by ‘degrees be removed, and the tow will be invaluable for the ‘manufacture of paper.’ This, like the growth of hemp and flax, is to be classed among the *possible* productions of India, however, and can scarcely be expected materially to supply any actually pressing wants.

A third liliaceous plant, the *Moorva* or *Sansevieria Zeylanica*, yields also a very fine fibre. The succulent leaves of this plant abound in beautiful silky threads, which may be obtained three or four feet long, are as fine as human hair; and yet possess extraordinary strength and tenacity. From remote times the natives of the Circars have made their best bowstrings of this fibre, and hence Dr. Roxburgh proposed for it the name of bowstring hemp. The plant grows wild on the jungly salt soils along the coast, is abundant in Ceylon, on the Bay of Bengal, and elsewhere. It is easily cultivated also, and the fibre easily separated from the leaf. Specimens of the fibre were sent to the Great Exhibition from Assam and Cuttock, from Madras, Coimbatore, and the Malabar coast; and Dr. Royle is of opinion ‘that it could be produced as cheaply as any of the other fibres.’ And as the fibre is fitted not only for making string and cordage, but also for weaving and for paper making, we may regard

it as the possible substitute for our common flax as well as for our ordinary hemp.

The plantain or banana tribe deserve a distinguished place among the yielders of fibre. Sometimes improperly spoken of as trees, they are only large herbaceous plants, of which the stem is formed by the footstalks of the leaves, which successively ensheath or wrap round each other. These sheathing footstalks—and therefore the entire stem of the plant, except the white and sprouting core—abound in fibre. From some varieties of plantain, and in some parts of the world, this fibre is already largely extracted as an article of commerce. The Manilla hemp, already well known as a substitute for the true hemp, is the produce of a banana, the *Musa textilis*. This variety of fibre has attracted much attention, from the beauty of its appearance, its durability, its power of resisting great strains, and also because it is lighter and cheaper than Russian hemp. The rigging of many vessels, especially of American build, has been made of Manilla hemp, and the cordage of this material, when worn out, has the advantage of being convertible into an excellent kind of paper.

The banana which yields the Manilla fibre is a native of the Philippine Islands, where it grows wild in natural groves which are considered as private property, and is also extensively cultivated. The outer layers of fibres contained in the stem are coarser in quality. The inner layers are of various degrees of fineness and are woven into cloth, which forms the universal wearing apparel of the country. Some of this cloth is so fine that a garment made of it 'may be inclosed in the hollow of the hand.' Nearly all the other known species of plantain or banana also abound in fibre. In India the fibre of the common plantain (*Musa sapientum*) is separated and prepared by the natives of Dacca, and numerous experiments have been made both in the East and in the West Indies, with the view of preparing it of good quality and at a cheap rate. Various samples from different localities were sent to the Great Exhibition, and it was stated that, besides yielding the usual crop of fruit, the banana stems, hitherto allowed to rot on the ground, would yield upwards of six hundred pounds of fibre per imperial acre. It was added on the part of the exhibitors from Demerara, that if a remunerative price—some nine or ten pounds a ton—could be obtained for this fibre, a new branch of industry 'would be opened up to the colonists.' With a view both to our home wants, therefore, and to our colonial prosperity, it is desirable that the preparation and use of these plantain fibres should be encouraged. In 1854, average qualities of Manilla

hemp brought from 44*l.* to 50*l.* a ton; and in 1854, as much as 70*l.* to 76*l.* And although from other localities, and from other species or varieties of the plant, fibres of equal strength and value may not be obtained, yet there is a wide enough margin to allow of a considerable reduction in the price of that which may be made in our own colonies, and yet leave a remunerative return to the colonial grower.

Of fibrous substances obtained from the palm tribe, the split canes (*Calamus*) of China and the Eastern islands are famous for their use in the manufacture of cables, which, besides being strong and durable, are remarkable for their lightness—swimming like cork upon the sea. The Ejoo or Gomuto fibre, from the *Saguerus Rumphii*, only occasionally heard of in the West under the name of ‘vegetable bristles,’ is well known to Eastern commerce and to the Eastern shipping. ‘The native shipping of all kinds are entirely equipped with the cordage of the Gomuto, and the largest European shipping in the Indies use cables of it. These cables are described by all as remarkable for tenacity and durability, and for undergoing no change when exposed to wet or even when stowed away in a wet state.’ (P. 101.) The cocoa-nut fibre, or *Coir*, the produce of another palm, is more familiar to Western manufacturers, and is already so extensively used in this country, that from Cochin and Ceylon we import yearly about seven thousand tons. ‘Its character has long been established in the East, and it is now well known in Europe as one of the best materials for cables, on account of its lightness, elasticity, and strength. It is durable also, and little affected when wetted with salt water. Numerous instances have been related of ships furnished with cables of this light, buoyant, and elastic material riding out a storm in security, while the stronger made, though less elastic ropes of other vessels have snapped in two, and even chain cables have given way. Indeed, until chain cables were so largely introduced, most of the ships navigating the Indian seas were furnished with Coir cables.’ (P. 115.)

In this country it is employed in the manufacture of cordage, yarns, sheep netting, floor mattings, door mats, stair carpets, instead of hair for stuffing mattresses, and instead of bristles for making brushes. It will gradually supersede, therefore, for many purposes, the coarser kinds of hemp, and it has so far the advantage over many of the fibres already mentioned, that the supply is not only equal to the actual demand, but appears ready to augment itself as rapidly as the demand can increase. The cocoa-nut and Gormuto fibres possess also this singular and interesting quality, that for a great many purposes they are capable of

supplying the place of Russian bristles — another article of import which the present hostilities may keep back from our markets. Brushes of every kind are made of these fibres; and, 'so far as it is possible to form an opinion from mere observation, they appear quite as well adapted for all ordinary purposes as the best bristle brush, while the difference in price is 'considerable.' (P. 118.)

The lime, or linden tree, (*Tilia Europea*) is known to us chiefly for its elegant appearance and its sweet-scented flowers, and is planted for ornamental purposes. In the north of Europe—in Sweden, and especially in Russia, where it abounds in the natural forests, it is esteemed for its fibrous bark, and yields the raw material for an important manufacture.

'When steeped in water this bark separates into thin layers, which are employed for making a coarse kind of rope, for making matted shoes, much worn by the Russian peasantry, and also for making the mats which are so largely exported from Russia, and which are so extensively used in this country for packing furniture, as well as for gardening purposes, and for covering the floor. To every pair of shoes, from two to four young linden stems, at least three years old, are requisite. The consumption, therefore, is enormous, and the destruction of the linden tree in consequence immense. For the better and larger kind of mats, trees of from eight to sixteen years are cut down when full of sap, and the bark is immediately separated both from the tree and the branches. When removed, it is stretched on the ground to dry, two or three strips being laid one over the other, and kept straight by being tied down to long poles. They are employed for making ropes in some parts of England, and for well-ropes in France. When required for use they are steeped in water, which causes the cortical layers readily to separate from each other. The best of these layers are those which are in the interior, while the coarser layers are on the outside.

'The manufacture of mats is nearly confined to Russia and to some parts of Sweden. Trees of from six inches to one foot in diameter are selected in the woods, and in the beginning of summer the bark is stripped from the trees in lengths of from six feet to eight feet. These, after being steeped in water, are separated into ribands or strands, which are hung up in the shade, and in the course of the summer are manufactured into mats. The fishermen of Sweden make fishing-nets out of the fibres of the inner bark.' (Pp. 233-4.)

The production of mats alone in Russia is estimated at fourteen millions of pieces; of which, in 1853, about six hundred and sixty thousand were imported into England. At a shilling each, these mats were worth about thirty thousand pounds. It will not be difficult to find a substitute for this matting among the cheap products of India should the supply from Russia to any extent be stopped.

But we mention this home linden tree and its fibrous bark chiefly as an illustration of the close connexion in economical qualities which exists between different plants even when they grow in far separate countries, provided they belong to the same natural family. The linden tree (*Tilia*) is the type of a large natural family, the *Tiliaceæ*, in every species belonging to which family the economical botanist would expect to find more or less prominently developed some one or other of the distinctive products of the lime tree of northern Europe. Accordingly, in the hotter countries of Asia, the coarse matting fibre of the Russian lime tree changes into the soft and silky fibre of the *corchorus*, called by the Malays Chinese hemp, but known in India and England by the name of *Jute*.

In the neighbourhood of Aleppo, the traveller sees growing in the fields, and occasionally served upon his table, a species of this genus *Corchorus*, commonly known as the Jew's mallow, or *Olus Judaicum*. It is the *Corchorus olitorius* of botanists, and is eaten as a pot-herb in Syria, in Arabia, and in Palestine. It is the plant mentioned by Job (xxx. 4.) as eaten in his time by the poor and outcast, such as the Jews are now even in their own land: 'Who eat up mallows by the bushes, and juniper roots for their meat.'

Small and herbaceous in the dry soil of Syria, it grows to a height of four or five feet in the north of India; while in the hot moist climate of Bengal it attains to twelve or even fifteen feet. In India, the leaves and tender shoots are partially cultivated as an article of food, and eaten both by Mussulmans and by Hindoos. But for its fibre also it is extensively cultivated in the Delta of Bengal, and is spun almost universally by the native Hindoos. It is an annual plant, sown in April or May, and cut down when in flower from the end of July to the middle of September. It is then steeped, as we do with flax, for eight or ten days, when the fibre is stripped off and washed. The produce of marketable fibre varies from 400 to 700 lbs. an acre. The best qualities are worth in this country from 16*l*. to 17*l*. a ton.

The culture of this plant in the delta of Bengal is far more extensive than that of any other from which a useful fibre is obtained. Its easy culture, rapid growth, and comparatively large produce present advantages not to be overlooked by the economical and eminently practical natives of Bengal.

'The great trade and principal employment of *Jute* is for the manufacture of gunnychuts or chuttees—that is, lengths suitable for making cotton or sugar bags. This industry forms the grand domestic manufacture of all the populous eastern districts of Lower

Bengal. It pervades all classes, and penetrates into every household. Men, women, and children find occupation therein. Boatmen in their spare moments, husbandmen, palankeen-carriers, and domestic servants—everybody, in fact, being Hindoes—for Mussulmans spin cotton only—pass their leisure moments, distaff in hand, spinning gunny twist. Its preparation, together with the weaving into lengths, forms the never-failing resource of that most humble, patient, and despised of created beings, the Hindoo widow, saved by law from the pile, but condemned by opinion and custom for the remainder of her days literally to sackcloth and ashes, and the lowest domestic drudgery in the very household where once, perhaps, her will was law. This manufacture spares her from being a charge on her family—she can always earn her bread. Amongst these causes will be discerned the very low prices at which Gunny manufactures are produced in Bengal, and which have attracted the demand of the whole commercial world. There is, perhaps no other article so universally diffused over the globe as the Indian gunny bag. All the finer and long-stapled Jute is reserved for the export trade, in which it bears a comparatively high price. The short staple serves for the local manufactures, and it may be remarked, that a given weight of gunny bags may be purchased at about the same price as a similar weight of the raw material, leaving no apparent margin for spinning and weaving.' (P. 249.)

Jute is a remarkably beautiful fibre—soft, silky, and easily spun; and if to its other advantages is added those of strength and durability, it would probably supersede all other fibrous materials. But it is as rapid in its decay as in its growth, and is, in reality, the most perishable of fibres. From the period of its first production in the clean state, it slowly, and of its own accord, changes in colour, losing the beautiful pearly white which at first distinguishes it, and assuming successive shades of fawn colour and brown. At the same time, its strength proportionately diminishes. Circumstances hasten or retard this decay, and moisture is particularly injurious to it. High-pressure steam almost melts it away, so that when sail-cloth adulterated with jute is submitted to high-pressure steam (of only 30 lb. pressure) for four hours, mere washing afterwards removes the jute. It is believed that an improvement in the process of setting would increase both its strength and durability; but it is very doubtful if it can ever be rendered equal in these respects to either hemp or flax.

The extent of the foreign traffic which has already been established in this fibre, notwithstanding its imperfections, may be judged of from the fact, that in the years 1850 and 1851 the quantity of jute exported from Calcutta alone was valued at two millions of rupees, or 200,000*l.*, and the jute or gunny cloth at an equal sum. And that it has already obtained a considerable

place among the raw materials employed in our British manufactories may be inferred from the fact, that fifteen thousand tons a year are worked up in the town of Dundee alone.

The common mallow of Europe (*Malva sylvestris*) and our common marsh mallow (*Althæa officinalis*) abound in mucilaginous matter, for which we esteem and sometimes use these plants; but their bark is also rich in fibre. Other mallows surpass those we have mentioned in this latter respect, so that in Syria the fibre is separated for use from the *Malva crispa*, and in southern Europe from the *Althæa cannobina*. But in India many plants belonging to the same family (the Malvacæ) are extensively cultivated and highly esteemed for their fibre. Among these, according to Dr. Roxburgh, the Ambarree (*Hibiscus cannobinus*) is much cultivated by the natives of Coromandel. Its leaves taste like sorrel, and are commonly used as an esculent vegetable. Its bark abounds in strong and tolerably soft fibres, which are employed as a substitute for hemp, and are made into a coarse sack-cloth. 'Dr. Buchanan states, 'as the result of his experience in the lower provinces, that it 'is cultivated everywhere in India on account of its leaves, 'which are eaten as a vegetable, and for its bark, which is 'most useful for making cordage. In the north-western provinces it is very generally cultivated, chiefly for cordage for 'domestic and for agricultural purposes.' (P. 257.)

The Ambarree fibre is imported into this country, though to what extent is not known. It is not as yet recognised as a distinct article of commerce; but under the general designation of *hemp* has hitherto been classed along with most of the other fibrous materials exported from India. It is more remarkable for fineness than for strength, but no doubt finds an appropriate use in our manufactories, probably for making mixed fabrics. The fibre of another malvaceous plant—the *Sida glabrefolia*—is described by Dr. Roxburgh as strong, pliable, and very silky in its nature. The plant itself is of very rapid and luxuriant growth, so that three crops are obtained in a year. He adds, that it may be brought into this country at the estimated price of 8*l.* a ton, which, at the time he wrote, was about one-fifth of the price of hemp of the best quality. It is cultivated in China Proper, and is there preferred for cordage; but we have no distinct information as to whether it has yet been imported into England as an article of commerce, or to what extent.

We pass over the natural order, to which belong the *Bombax*, or silk-cotton tree, yielding a downy cotton too short to spin, and the *Abroma augusta*, which, according to Dr. Roxburgh, deserves more than common attention as a substitute for hemp,

on account of the beauty, fineness, and strength of its fibres. The produce of neither of these trees appears at present to be brought into the Indian markets. The family of Leguminous plants, however, is rich in marketable fibres; and from one of these is derived the bulk of what is brought to England under the names of Sunn Sunn hemp, Madras hemp, Conkanee hemp, Salsette or Bombay hemp, and Indian brown hemp.

If we turn to our native plants, we find in the common broom, which adorns so many of our waste places, a familiar type of the leguminous class, to which the Sunn plant of India belongs.

‘The *Spartium junceum*, or Spanish broom, common in the sterile parts of the south of Europe, affords a fibrous thread which used to be made into cloth in Turkey, in Italy, and in the south of France. Near Lucca the twigs were formerly steeped in the thermal waters of Bagno a Acqua. After this process the bark is easily stripped off, and it is then combed and otherwise treated like flax. In the vicinity of Pisa, also, the twigs were soaked in the thermal waters. In the south of France the broom is grown in dry and unproductive parts, and also carefully prepared. The coarser thread is used to make bags for holding legumes, corn, &c.; the finer for making sheets, napkins, and shirts. A white-flowered plant has also been long used for the same purposes. This, there is little doubt, is the *Spartium monospermum*, or the white single-seed broom; and probably also *S. multiflorum*, which is the Portugal white broom. As these plants are naturalised in our gardens, it is easy to ascertain the toughness of their fibres by endeavouring to break one of their twigs.

‘In the subdivision of leguminous plants to which these brooms belong, we find the Sunn plant of India (*Crotalaria juncea*), which has so close a general resemblance to the Spanish broom, that Mr. Yates has figured them together in the same plate, with the object of showing their affinity.

‘The Sunn is probably the earliest of the distinctly named fibres, inasmuch as we find in the Hindoo “Institutes of Menu,” that the sacrificial thread of the Cshatriya or Rajpoot is directed to be made of *Sana*; cotton being reserved for the Brahmins. Towards the close of the last, and the beginning of this, century it attracted much attention both in India and in England; and much information respecting it is contained in the works of Dr. Roxburgh and Mr. Wisset. It is an annual plant, very generally cultivated in the southern parts of Asia, and everywhere in India, for the fibres of its bark, so well known as Sunn and Sunn hemp.’ (Pp. 270-2.)

The fibre is very strong; but it is remarkable of the Sunn, as it is of common hemp, that the produce of one part of India is found stronger than that of another. Grown in the west of India, it is stronger than when grown in Bengal; and this is recognised in the higher price which western Sunn commands

in the European market. It is possible that a difference in the mode of steeping and preparing the plant may have some influence in causing this difference of strength; but Dr. Roxburgh considers it 'probable that the climate of the west of India may be more favourable than that of Bengal for the production of a strong fibre.' Rope made of western Sunn has recently been tested at the arsenal and government dock-yards in Calcutta, and has 'proved perfectly equal to any and all the purposes which cordage made of Russian hemp has hitherto been used for.' Tried against Petersburg hemp, a cord of

				lbs.
New Sunn broke with	-	-	-	150
Old Sunn	-	-	-	170
Petersburgh hemp	-	•	-	160
Jubbulpore hemp	-	-	-	190

For cordage, therefore, good western Sunn, carefully manufactured, may be considered equal to the best Russian hemp; while it is stated, also, by Mr. Dickson to be *better than any Russian flax for spinning*. To bring this fibre to a state of perfection—the only thing he considers necessary, is 'European superintendence in the growth and manufacture of the material.' (P. 288.)

Of this Sunn, there was already imported into this country in 1853 a quantity which, at peace prices, was valued at 22,000*l*. The culture, it is said, may be indefinitely extended towards the western Ghauts, from which it can also be easily exported by sea. Considering its many good qualities, therefore, we may hope that present circumstances will so encourage and extend the cultivation and improve the modes of preparing it, that no future European war shall endanger the supplies of raw material which our manufactures and our navy alike require.

Another species of *Crotalaria* (*C. tenuifolia*) produces a fibre which has been named Jubbulpore hemp, and which, according to the experiment above-mentioned, is stronger even than the best Russian hemp. It grows best on the sides of the hills; that which is produced in the plains, as is the case with common hemp, being less strong. It is much approved of by home buyers, and, if properly prepared, would meet with a ready home market at a fair price.

Dhunchee is the name given by the natives of Bengal to the fibre of another leguminous plant—the *Sesbania aculeata*, which they value highly, and familiarly employ. The fibres of its bark form a substitute for hemp.

'This plant, generally cultivated about Calcutta during the rains,

grows to the height of from six to ten feet, the fibres are six to seven feet long, but coarser and more harsh than those of hemp, unless cut at a very early period. From its great strength it is well calculated for the manufacture of cordage and cables. In Bengal the fishermen make drag-ropes to their nets of this substance, on account of its strength and durability in water. Indeed, by the Bengalese it is considered more durable in water than either *sunn* or *paut*. It has surprised persons well acquainted with this fibre in India that the *Dhunchee* has remained so much neglected in this country, as it is really a very excellent fibre for common cord and twine, and certainly very much superior in strength and durability to Jute. It is also a much hardier plant than Jute; the latter, indeed, being rather an uncertain crop for the production of the fine, long, silky fibre so much called for in this country. Though rather wiry it is strong, and is chiefly remarkable for its amount of contraction when wetted. This is so great that it would even carry away the mainmast of a ship by mere contraction.' (P. 294.)

It is described by Dr. Royle as very suitable for ropes, and as worth, at peace prices, 35*l.* a ton. He adds that, like all the fibres from the East, it would be much more valuable if properly scutched; and that if scutching mills were sent out, these fibres could be brought in a greatly improved state to market.

Passing several other natural families, represented in India by fibre-yielding plants which are but little cultivated, we merely mention two *Asclepiads* as affording fibres which may be found in the list of future Indian exports. The *Marsdenia tenacissima* grows on dry and barren places among the *Rajmahl* hills, and of the fibres of its bark the mountaineers of that district make their bowstrings. Nets also are formed of it on the rivers, where it is found to be stronger and more durable than hemp, being less liable to rot when kept long in water. It is further remarkable, from the circumstance that Dr. Roxburgh has described this fibre to be 'not only beautiful in appearance and durable, but the *strongest of any he had met with*.' The *Mudar* or *Yercum* (*Calotropis gigantea*), another *Asclepiad*, grows over all India, and thrives on soils which either reject or destroy everything else. It yields a fibre which Dr. Wight considered as the strongest on the *Madras* side of India. It is by present processes somewhat tedious and costly to separate; but, on the other hand, it possesses the double value of being calculated from its fineness to answer many of the purposes of flax, while, from its strength, it is also well suited to supply the place of hemp. A plant so valuable and so easily cultivated deserves and will repay some outlay of time and thought in improving the old methods of preparing it for market.

We notice, in passing, two facts about fibres which, though not rigorously belonging to our immediate subject, will, we believe, be interesting to our readers.

The *Daphne cannabina*, or Nepal paper plant—allied to the *Daphne Mezereum* now common in our gardens—contains in its inner bark a species of fibre which is remarkably adapted for the manufacture of paper. For this purpose, the inner bark is boiled in a ley of wood ashes for half an hour, by which the slips of bark are softened. They are then beaten in a stone mortar with a wooden mallet till they are reduced to a pulp; after which, they are diffused through water and made into paper upon sieves or frames in the ordinary manner.

‘Dr. Campbell describes the paper, as made by the Bhoteahs, “as strong and durable as leather almost, and quite smooth enough to write on, and for office records incomparably better than any India paper. It is occasionally poisoned by being washed with preparations of arsenic, in order to prevent the destruction caused by insects. Many of the books in Nepal, written on this paper, are said to be of considerable age, and that the art of making paper seems to have been introduced about 500 years ago from China, and not from India.” He states that this paper may easily be procured at Patna, Purneah, and other places in the plains of both Southern and Northwestern India.’ (P. 313.)

Again: allied to the mulberry is a stately forest tree called Chandul (*Lepurandra saccadora*), which is indigenous to the west side of India, as in the ravines at Kandalla, and in the jungles near Coorg, and from which the natives manufacture bark sacks in a very ingenious manner.

‘A branch is cut corresponding to the length and diameter of the sack wanted. It is soaked a little and then beaten with clubs until the inner bark separates from the wood. This done, the sack formed of the bark is turned inside out and pulled down until the wood is sawed off, with the exception of a small piece left to form the bottom of the sack, and which is carefully left untouched. These sacks are in general use among the villagers for carrying rice, and are sold for about six annas each.’ (P. 343.)

Of valuable Indian fibres suitable for cordage and for spinning, we have still to notice those which are obtained from plants belonging to the natural family of the nettles (*Urticæ*). To this family the common hemp plant belongs; and some of the most valuable substitutes for our European hemp and flax are yielded by eastern plants belonging to the same family. Among these, the fibre known by the name of China grass, and in India as the Rhee and the Caloce or Ramec fibre, is the most valuable in the market, the most widely and extensively culti-

vated, and the most easy to be obtained in large supplies. It is the produce of the snowy nettle (*Boehmeria* * *nivea*) called by the Chinese Chûmmâ. It seems to grow naturally over a large part of the East, and to be very generally cultivated or collected for its fibre.

‘ Dr. M’Gowan writes from Ningpô, that the “Chû Mâ is found ‘at the base of hills from Cochin China to the Yellow River, and “from Chusan to the farthest west that researches can for the present extend.” We find that it is known in Celebes and Borneo, cultivated in Java and Samatra, and many other of the islands of the East, where it seems to be known chiefly by the names *Rami* and *Caloe*. It is known in Siam and at Singapore; the string made of it is called *tali rami*, and the fishing-nets manufactured with it are conspicuous for their elegance and strength. Colonel Burney, in 1836, obtained it from Pivela and Youkyauk, in the Shan province of Ava, where it is called *Pan*, and where Mr. Landers afterwards found it. It has long been cultivated by fishermen in the Bengal districts of Rungpore and of Dinagapore, where it is called *Kunkhoora*. Colonel Jenkins first sent it from Cochin in 1836; and it is found in different parts of Assam, where it is called *Rheea*.’

It is unnecessary for us to enter into the details regarding this plant and its fibre, which are contained in the work before us. By numerous testimonies, Indian and British, the author has shown in substance—

1st. That the *Rheea* fibre is stronger and more durable than hemp, while in fineness and beauty it is fitted to take the place of the highest-priced flax.

2nd. That it could, by easy and inexpensive means of encouragement, be produced in India and exported to this country in any required quantity.

3rd. That if brought to England at a moderate price, it would find a large and ready demand.

4th. That the introduction of cheaper modes of extracting the fibre, such as we are now familiar with at home, would reduce the first cost in the Indian market at least one-half, while better roads would in an equal degree cheapen the cost of transit.†

* The genus *Boehmeria* includes the stingless nettles.

† The money effect of good roads in India is very distinctly put in the following extract from a report to the Indian Government by Mr. Frere, resident at Sattara:—

‘ The extent to which this cost of transport might be reduced if the roads were practicable for carts, is worthy of particular notice. From the most careful inquiries I can make, I believe that the use of carts would effect a reduction in the cost of transport in the proportion of 5 to 3, while the saving in time would be in the proportion

Our own impression is, that this Rheeā fibre, like flax and cotton, might soon create for itself in this country an entirely distinct, highly valued, and nationally important branch of manufacture; that it might supersede not only pure hemp, but cotton and flax also, for many purposes and fabrics, thus establishing a new home-industry, providing a new variety of employment for our people, giving us greater independence as regards raw materials, and producing for us at the same time new articles of commercial interchange with the world at large. The economical history of the long-famed Chinese grass cloth, which is made from this fibre alone, goes far to justify these anticipations.

To supersede the coarser hemp which Russia sends us for the manufacture of ropes, India offers us what is called Bon Rheeā, or Jungle Rheeā, which Dr. Royle considers to be only a wild form of the snowy nettle, though possibly it may be another species. This plant grows wild and common in many places among the hills and forests, and is also cultivated largely by some of the hill tribes. Its fibre has been proved, in ropes, to be stronger than that of the best Petersburg hemp, or than that of any other fibrous plant grown in India, with the exception of the common hemp grown at Kote Kangra, on the Himalayas, to which allusion has already been made.* It would not be difficult either for the East India Company or for private mercantile agents, travelling among the people, to induce the natives of the provinces in which this wild plant most abounds to prepare it in any quantity for the market.

Dr. Royle mentions at least half a dozen other Indian nettles, some of them possessed of most formidable stinging properties,

of 6 to 4. That is to say, that where 5 rupees are now paid for bullock carriage, 3 rupees only would be paid for carts; and where the bullocks took 6 days the carts would take but 4; such, at least, is the estimate deduced from information given by the best informed local traders and carriers.' (*Culture and Commerce of Cotton*, p. 402.)

* We quote again, for the sake of comparison with the Rheeā fibre, the numbers given in a preceding page. Similar untwisted strands (selvages) of the several fibres broke with —

	lbs.
Petersburgh clean hemp	160
Wukka fibre (Travancore)	175
Yercum fibre	190
Jubbulpore hemp	190
China grass, from China.	250
Rheeā fibre (Assam)	320
Wild Rheeā (Assam)	343
Hemp from Kote Kangra bore 400 lbs. without breaking. (P. 375.)	

which are more or less extensively employed for the production of strong and durable fibres. But for an account of these we must refer the reader to the work itself. Of immediately available fibres, the growth of our Indian possessions, we have shown that there exists a great abundance, and that of others which in a few years may become important in Indian and British markets and manufactories, a still greater number is placed within our easy reach. There is no reason to despond, therefore, as to the final result of even prolonged hostilities with Northern Europe, in so far as the supply of raw fibrous materials for our looms and rope-yards is concerned. There is hope rather, that if sufficiently prolonged, they may in this sense be productive of great and permanent good, both to India and to ourselves. Emergencies like the present by awakening inquiry discover dormant riches—by prompting to exertion, develop neglected resources and give new employment to idle and impoverished populations—by rousing governments they stimulate to the improvement of old, and the creation of new facilities for transit—by calling forth ingenuity and thoughtfulness on every hand, they overcome what had been regarded as great difficulties, and thus in the end not only replace scarcity by abundance, but permanently cheapen what before had always been comparatively dear, and render future scarcities impossible.

For pecuniary and other efforts to be made in the way of encouragement in India, present circumstances are peculiarly favourable. The prices of fibrous materials are unusually high, and if the war be continued they are likely to remain so for an indefinite period. And even should peace favour us by its happy return, still the withdrawal of money advances on the part of British merchants will prevent the return of Russian produce to its usual prices for some years. According to the united testimony of numerous Indian authorities similar advances of English capital, judiciously made, would, in the interval, fill our markets with the numerous raw materials of Eastern growth. The political consequences of such a change would be most important, and even more durable than its immediate commercial effect. The present war has interrupted the peculiar commercial relations which had existed for three centuries between Great Britain and Russia, and its result will probably be to bring into the market of Europe an abundant and economical substitute for the natural produce of Russia, the growth of our own dominions, stimulated by freedom of trade and by the progress of India in facilities of communication and the production of wealth.

ART. III.—*Souvenirs Contemporains d'Histoire et de Littérature*.

By M. VILLEMAIN, Membre de l'Institut. 2 vols. Paris: 1854 and 1855.

NO book has of late made a greater sensation in French society than M. Villemain's *Souvenirs*. Many reasons will account for this interest: the public were naturally curious for a work, which was to break a silence of several years; the men who during the last quarter of a century had taken a part in the politics of their country, were anxious to obtain information upon the period immediately preceding that of their own activity; whilst to those of an older date, the name of M. de Narbonne (the hero of M. Villemain's first volume) promised a memorial of their own times; lastly, the mass, included in the term 'general readers,' were instinctively assured of the satisfaction in store for it from this remarkable publication. But to make our readers fully aware of the various bearings of the volumes now before us, it will be as well to recall summarily to their memories the principal occurrences of M. Villemain's career.

Born in Paris at the end of 1791, the first recollections of Abel François Villemain did not, as was the case with too many of his older contemporaries, revert to the revolutionary saturnalia with such vivacity as to make him identify despotism with security, or offer up hymns to the subtle Cæsar whose victory over anarchy was the death-blow of freedom. When the boy whose fame was to be so precocious, began to receive the first impression of public events, the liberator had already grown into a tyrant, and the hero of the 18th Brumaire was far advanced upon that fearful path where each step, if indeed it led to glory, cost the blood of the thousands who were to have been the rising generation of France. The amount of oppression against which M. Villemain was to rebel became manifest years later, and, after his intelligence had been from boyhood to early youth gradually hoarding up treasures of antipathy against the system which hoped in silence and darkness to stifle France, his twentieth year was destined to witness that monstrous and most fully incurred calamity—the Russian campaign of 1812.

From this early epoch of M. Villemain's life, dates also the first dawning of his fame. In 1811, M. de Fontanes, then Grand-Master of the University, named him Professor of Rhetoric at the *Collège Charlemagne*, and the Parisian youth, so little disposed to respect, bowed—awestruck as may be said

by his superiority—to the lessons of this boy of nineteen. The following year, the *Académie Française* proposed for its prize essay the panegyric of Montaigne, and the youthful Professor gave for a time his whole attention to what is to this day accounted one of the most elegant compositions in the French language. He gained the prize, but, in our opinion, it is needless to add the fact, vastly vaunted by some biographers, namely, that the famous *Éloge de Montaigne* was written in a week. Two years after the Panegyric of Montaigne, the Academy, by the proposal of an Essay on the ‘Advantages and Disadvantages of Criticism,’ furnished M. Villemain with a subject that really seemed made on purpose for him. The highest distinction was his for the second time, and he may be fairly said, in the early days of the Restoration, to have been the literary idol of the hour.

But, if his academic fame could go no further, there was another point on which both the adversaries and partisans of M. Villemain were less assured. To what party, or rather to what *nuance* (for slight variations of tints were counted then), to what *nuance* of party did he belong? A short time sufficed to show. In 1816 the prize of eloquence was again awarded to the writer of the *Essay on Montaigne*, for a *Panegyric on Montesquieu*; and it has been said of M. Villemain, that in youth he was as surely the perpetual laureate of the Academy as he has since become officially its perpetual secretary. The *Eloge de Montesquieu*, however, was more than a literary achievement, and from this time forward no doubt any longer existed of the political opinion to which M. Villemain belonged. The moderate liberals, the men at whose head stood Royer Collard, felt that a new champion was added to their ranks, and their influence rewarded him with the Professorship of Eloquence at the Sorbonne.

With this nomination began the real and active influence of M. Villemain upon the literature of France. To have a notion of what enthusiasm, grounded upon personal esteem and unlimited admiration, may arrive at, it will suffice to talk with any of the men who at the period of these celebrated lessons were just expanding into intellectual life. From all parts of the country, from towns and provinces, crowds flocked to listen. The young Professor was enabled, by a combination of qualities peculiar to himself, to wield almost unexampled authority over the public mind, and whilst the French youth hailed in him the courageous liberal who denounced as a crime every exclusion of foreign literature and of original genius, the most pedantic of the classical school could not choose but admire a correct-

ness of diction, a loftiness of style, that at once proclaimed him a disciple of the greatest writers of the *siècle de Louis XIV.*

M. Villemain is the first literary critic of modern France,—her first *æsthetiker*, to use a German term,—and his earliest years, as we have shown, were devoted (especially between 1814 and 1825), to raising the art whereby the creations of genius are analysed and explained to the student to the height of a philosophical science. From 1825, after the death of Louis XVIII., to the fall of the monarchy in 1830, another aspect is observable in M. Villemain's teaching, as in that of most of his colleagues of the Sorbonne. 'France,' says the eloquent Professor in a chapter of his *Souvenirs*, 'was already in possession of a vast number of Reforms, obtained in the midst of those controversies, whether speculative or practical, which are the moral life of nations. In ten years of Representative Government (incomplete in the outset), she had recovered from the greatest disasters that the fatal necessities of the spirit of conquest ever entailed upon a country, and she had arrived at a very high degree of well-being and liberty combined. There was in France at this moment (1826-1829) considerable happiness with less security; much material prosperity and a singular agitation of the public mind.'

This is the very state of all others which most favours the absorption by the political spirit of whatever the realm of Intellect contains. Poetry, eloquence,—whether of the schools or the bar,—art of all kinds, the stage, and society itself, become the conductors of opposition as surely as parliamentary debates. Allusions are seized hold of at every turn, and often even denounced or applauded, as the case may be, where they were wholly unintended. In the history of all nations such epochs have served to bring out tenfold the natural talent; to increase tenfold the merited influence of those teachers whose office it is to awaken in the attentive youth around them the deep and genuine sense of the sublime. At such periods there mingles with the study of the great achievements and great thoughts of the past, a sort of present life, which animates and inspires both master and disciple; and he who before was but the priest of a Hero-worship, conceives the hope of becoming a hero himself! *To be doing* is man's natural impulse, and by as much as he is the more active, by so much is he the healthier and the better. Reduce a noble intelligence to the mere duty of recording dead events, of commenting upon words without application to his own immediate sphere of existence, you interest the brain only, and draw forth the qualities which are after all but necessary to the composition of a clever and methodical archivist; but imbue

the same spirit with the conviction that his words are actions, that of his lessons and ideas there shall be something born; place upon his shoulders the glorious load of active responsibility, which, whilst it excites his best energies, steadies him; and then, if he be honest, you shall see before you not a rhetorician but a patriot, 'not an author,' to use Pascal's fine expression, 'but a man.' Nowhere was the truth of this better exemplified than in the case of France in the latter years of the Restoration. Villemain, Cousin, Guizot, — to mention merely the chiefs of those famous schools in which the students were the flower of the Parisian youth, — were carried to the pitch of elevation they attained by the proud consciousness of creative power; they felt that they imparted life, and could almost follow the ignition of each ardent soul at the spark barely emitted from their own. That they were over-impatient, — that they committed a great (perhaps, for the honour and liberty of their country an irremediable) mistake, — this, we imagine, none of them now hesitates to admit; but therein can be found no argument against either the purity of their conviction or its depth. Had they been older men, they might have shown greater prudence, they could not have been more sincere.

It is to this and the preceding period of the Empire that M. Villemain's *Souvenirs* relate, although he has somewhat inaccurately described them as *contemporary* history. The revolutions he has witnessed, and the political experiments in which he has borne some part, belong altogether to the past; but one of the resources of French literature in its present state is, to satirise the present by a contrast with former liberties or a parallel with other epochs of despotism. It is scarcely necessary, we presume, to prove to the followers of any political sect the unripeness of France for Republican institutions. The ultra-democrats of America stigmatise her as *unworthy* of them: so let it be: unworthy or not, even they recognise her *unfitness* for them. Remains, then, monarchy, constitutional or absolute monarchy, or what is known since Montesquieu by the name of a mixed principle of government: against the applicability of this, which the larger portion of genuine Liberals admit to be the most perfect form of Government of which man's imperfect nature is capable, we have the two abortive attempts of the Restoration and Louis Philippe's reign. 'If,' it is alleged very generally now, 'if France were capable of supporting a Constitutional Government, the two Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 'would not have succeeded so well.' And then the word 'tyrant' is applied to Charles X., and Louis Philippe is accused of corruption. But this is not a true view of the case.

In the first place, the excuse of tyranny will not do; for if that alone were to be a cause for the fall of a government in France, if the suppression of freedom were inevitably to produce revolution, what reason would be found for the existence (suppose it even momentary) of the present state of things? The mere accusation of corruption will not stand any better as regards Louis-Philippe; for corruption as bad, nay worse, and to the full as well known and as much talked of (though not in print), exists at the present hour. Where, then, lies the cause of the fall of the one, and of the duration of the other? That is what we hope to explain, and what we think has been but too little considered on this side of the Channel.

‘A man does not die of this or that malady,’ one of the cleverest physicians in Europe is in the habit of affirming; ‘he dies of his own weakness and inability to resist disease.’ And so with governments. None are perfect — none are without their detractors, their opponents, their violent haters even; but their force lies in their Power of Resistance; in the greater mass of interests they assimilate with their own; in the stronger energies they develope, and consequently enlist in their own defence; in the wider expansion they afford to whatever is fermenting in the national mind. Closely examined, the whole secret of Constitutional Government depends on the proper comprehension of the words *balances and checks*, on the sincere co-operation of all parties to turn this word into a reality. Over and over, England has been rescued by the deep and practical consciousness our political men and political parties have of this truth; but once only in France are its workings to be traced, and one man alone seems to have been aware of its importance. That man was Louis XVIII.

The great mistake we are habitually guilty of is that of judging other countries from our own point of view; of raising for their conduct in our own minds a standard of what *we* think right, and imparting to them our own likes and dislikes. We are apt to regard France, for instance, with Protestant eyes, and take into no account the natural influence of religion, — France being, whether we like it or not, Catholic, and *not* being, as we falsely suppose, by any means generally irreligious. We also do not sufficiently examine the essence and action of Royalism in France, because we know of no equivalent for it among ourselves. These two points, nevertheless, should be borne in mind (not exaggerated, but received for what they are worth) by whoever would attain to a real understanding of the past, the present, or the future state of France.

As opposed to any accidental form of government — whether

Republic, Military Despotism, or Empire,—the two different Monarchies of the elder Bourbons and of the Orleans branch make but one continued effort of Constitutional Royalty, from 1815 to 1830; but, considered in themselves and in detail as relative to the minute workings of the Constitutional principle, there is not a wider space between Charles X. and his ambitious cousin, Louis Philippe, than between the former and his brother, Louis XVIII. Louis Philippe penetrated as little into the philosophy of Constitutional Government as did Charles X., and was even less ready to submit to its restrictions. He did not comprehend the sacrifices which the constitutional principle requires; and, instead of the immaculate good faith that is indispensable in a constitutional King, he was constantly attempting to outwit some one, or obtain something by cunning and curious means. ‘Ha! ha! M. —,’ exclaimed he one evening (laughing heartily at the joke) to one of his ministers, ‘I sent you a surprise to-day to the Chamber of Peers—you did not suspect your bill would be thrown out there!’ It should be remarked that the bill in question was one on which the ministry had no foreknowledge of the king’s opposition, and the latter, to avoid discussion, had simply thought it safer to make sure of a hostile majority ready to act at the last moment in the Chamber of Peers. That the necessity of real balances and checks, and not purely nominal ones, did not strike Louis Philippe, is proved by the disregard he evinced towards the Upper House as a political agent. ‘M. Villain,’ said he one day to the author of the *Souvenirs Contemporains*, ‘you are in the opposition?’ ‘No,’ ‘Sire,’ was the reply; ‘but I discuss according to my conscience’ (*je discute*). ‘If I had known, M. Villain,’ continued the King, ‘I would not have made you a peer of France.’ At this the astonishment of one of the sincerest advocates of representative government in France was so unbounded that he could not avoid showing it. ‘In heaven’s name, Sire,’ retorted M. Villain, ‘what, then, does your Majesty imagine the Chamber of Peers to be?’ ‘A court of justice,’ was the answer, ‘a supreme tribunal.’

Louis XVIII., unlike his two successors, ‘*had learnt*’ something in exile, and ‘*had forgotten*’ much. During his residence in England he had really studied and understood the working of constitutional government, and when he mounted the throne, he gave France in all sincerity representative institutions, nor in any one single instance did he ever play false either to his ministers or the country. He had the one prime virtue that renders a man worthy to rule others: that of putting aside his

own private sympathies and antipathies, and retaining only those which belonged to his situation. He had, indeed, no great love of liberalism, yet really liberal institutions were the ornament of his reign, and a spirit of large and genuine liberalism pervaded all his acts. He had no extraordinary taste for the arts or enthusiasm for literature (his literary pursuits were bounded by his love for certain Latin authors), yet never did literature or modern French art arrive at a higher pitch of development than during his reign. He had no worship for honesty and uprightness because of their beauty and their truth, nor had he, more than Louis Philippe, any esteem or respect for human nature; but his sound sharp intellect had simply impressed him with the *policy* of honesty, and he had (in that the exact reverse of the Duke of Orleans) gained the conviction that it is safer to expand and elevate the national spirit of a country you are called upon to govern, than to debase it. His constant aim was to develop to the utmost the internal energies of the nation, so directing them that the free and natural expansion of each made it a counterpoise to the possible encroachments of the others. The proof of this (if proof were needed) would lie in the fact that Louis XVIII.'s only enemies were the ultra-royalist and retrograde party, to whom he made the fewest imaginable concessions, but whom he tried to keep in good humour by satisfactions of vanity. MONSIEUR, Comte de Provence, Louis XVIII., was a *born king*, in the best and highest sense of the word, and one whose firm belief in the inseparability of the country's real interests from the real interests of the crown, would have spared France all her future troubles could it have descended with equal force to his successor. The precise contrary of the judgment passed by Tacitus upon Galba may be applied to this Prince, for it was the possession of sovereign power which showed him so capable of wielding it.

We have permitted ourselves this digression in order to show the reader that perhaps once, and once only, since her terrible revolution of 1789, was France in the full possession of a truly constitutional government, and that she deeply appreciated its benefits. During the first ten years of the restoration, France was strong in herself, and any attack *then* would have found her capable of resistance. She has never been so since, and she has yielded in turn to every violence and every oppression. M. Villemain, whose interesting picture of France in 1825, has led us into the foregoing remarks, is assuredly an impartial witness. History will probably always place his name foremost among the 'men of July;' yet his testimony comes entirely to the support of what we have advanced, and what

we believe no man of intelligence or really liberal judgment will be now found in France to deny.

M. Villemain's political career began with the Revolution of 1830. From the moment of the establishment of the Orleans dynasty, the academician, the professor of eloquence, the man of letters, all disappeared, making room for the active politician, the peer of France, the minister, whose parliamentary oratory alone recalled to his hearers the great critic, the inspired lecturer of 1825. Twice the Ministry of Public Instruction saw him at its head, and twice the University of France received him as Grand-Master. His first entrance into office was with Marshal Soult in 1839, his second, with M. Guizot in 1840. He remained Minister upwards of five years, and during that time a rare spirit of enlightened liberality was infused into whatever was connected with educational administration. Perhaps, even M. Villemain's inflexible liberalism (we find no other word to suit that courageous tolerance, that elevated impartiality, which threats and flattery were alike unable to daunt or to deceive,) was embarrassing to some of his colleagues, and disagreeable to the King: it was generally thought he owed to their combined dislike the loss of a place his talents and renown so well qualified him to fill. But never did the parity of elevation in character and intellect evince itself more clearly than in the way in which M. Villemain met the offers of compensation made to him shortly after. When, in 1844, M. Villemain left the Ministry of Public Instruction, Marshal Soult proposed to the Chamber to award him a legislative pension of the amount of 15,000 francs. M. Villemain instantly protested publicly against this measure by a formal demand of the withdrawal of the law, and Marshal Soult himself, in consequence, announced the abandonment of the proposition, expressing his deep regret at M. Villemain's determination.

It would be superfluous to dwell on M. Villemain's remarkable talent for depicting character, or the marvellous aptitude with which he animates the figures of the past, and produces living to our sense the men of whom we have heard traditionally, and before whose revived reality we stand suddenly impressed, and inwardly exclaiming, 'Yes; so they must have been.' We have said of M. de Narbonne that he was one of the principal subjects of M. Villemain's *Souvenirs*, and we have said this designedly. The real aim of M. Villemain's book (and thereupon depends its value, as well as its novelty) is to paint France as she was during the twenty years that elapsed between 1810 and 1830, to reconstruct the social edifice, and whilst exhibiting the apparent grandeur of its architecture, its

marble columns and majestic porticoes, to direct attention to the worm which, all the while, is silently gnawing at the beams and rafters, and whose labour is that of inevitable destruction. In the biography of M. de Narbonne, we see the worm at work at home, whilst, to superficial eyes, the giant strides of the Conqueror abroad were, on the contrary, basing stability of dominion upon perpetual triumph. In the 'Recollections of the Sorbonne in 1825,' we are shown, in the very midst of the studies best loved, of the liberties most prized—the barely perceptible germ of what is later to expand into revolt. Once only (in the portion of the volume relating to *M. de Féletz et quelques Salons de son Temps*) we have a picture of France in her full summer noon of prosperity, when the clouds of the dawn have gone from the face of her political heaven, and not a breath of wind has yet arisen to herald the storm of the darker hours. Confident in her government and in herself,—healthy, industrious, hopeful and free,—we may there contemplate France as she has never been since, in one brief, happy moment of repose.

To depict the internal agitations of the First Empire, to which despotism affixed such a marble mask of outward calm, no one was better situated than M. Villemain; for no one was so constantly admitted into the privacy of those who were themselves most advanced in the secrets of their master's counsels. The youth already distinguished by M. de Fontanes was soon the inseparable companion of M. de Narbonne, the often involuntary and indirect confidant of the sovereign's perplexities or Titanic schemes. When Bonaparte desires M. de Narbonne to give him some notes upon the Papal question, fully explaining why he so earnestly advocates the immediate restoration to liberty of Pius VII. and the granting of all his claims, it is to M. Villemain that the Emperor's favourite aide-de-camp applies to furnish him with the various sources and documents on which he intends founding his arguments.

When, on the eve of the Russian campaign of 1812, M. de Narbonne is sent for one day suddenly to Saint Cloud to listen to the ever-repeated rhapsodies of the fated Hero, it is M. Villemain who, seated in a corner of the carriage reading Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*, to while away time, receives the first recoil of the shock felt a moment before by his illustrious friend. After giving the order to drive *grand train* to Paris to the Duc de Bassano's, M. de Narbonne, pressing his hands upon his forehead and apparently recalling to his mind what had just passed, and forming, as it were, a more distinct idea of it to himself, murmurs: 'What a man! great heavens! what ideas! what

'dreams! Where is the keeper of this genius? It is not to be believed! Either Bedlam or the Pantheon!' A few moments after, he turns towards his companion, and with an absent air, takes up the volume on which the latter had been engaged, and reading aloud the title, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem passant par la Grèce*, 'You are happy, young man, to be able to employ yourself thus,' he adds, with a sigh; '*Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, forsooth! The road is a long one, if you will; but we have something else before us than that—another way to study, *ma foi!*—another sort of armed pilgrimage to undertake, in order to reach Moscow and the Cross of the great Ivan! It is not a question this time of burning on the highway the beard of some peaceful old Turk, taking horse-exercise for his pleasure; nor of shouting out, in the ruins of Sparta, three times, "Leonidas!" who is naturally enough deaf to the appeal.'

When repeating these words of M. de Narbonne, M. Villemain closes the page by saying: 'The man I knew habitually so calm, of such a serene elevation of soul, seemed now, in thought, in tone, in the very movement of his lips, to be a prey to an irritation, I had never observed in him before; there was a mixture of sadness and irony, a bitterness that, in him, bewildered me. I remained silent respectfully, before this patriotic grief, and half inclined to blush for the literary ecstasy into which I had allowed myself to fall a moment ago. I fancied I had suddenly gained an insight into the sad realities of existence, and I felt I had learnt more in that short instant than many hours of book-reading could have afforded me.'

Before proceeding further with the details of this most tragical period of Bonaparte's life, we will briefly recall the circumstances which had placed M. de Narbonne in such close juxtaposition to him.

Destined by birth and favour to live in the intimacy of the Court of France, after having been the companion and Chevalier d'Honneur of Mesdames the daughters of Louis XV., Louis de Narbonne, when the Revolution of 1789 had broken out, accepted the post of most responsibility and most danger, that of Minister of War. He so distinguished himself in this capacity, that a-year after (1793), when he had been forced to fly France, we find the following record of the opinion conceived of him by Mr. Pitt:—'Ah! M. de Narbonne,' said the English Minister to him one day, 'what did you not do for your wretched country! it is truly marvellous to see how in a few months you managed to remantle her fortresses, recruit her garrisons, and put in readiness an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men.'

For eight or nine years M. de Narbonne remained in exile, principally in Switzerland, where he formed an intimacy with Louis Philippe d'Orleans. It was not till the second year of the Consulate, in 1802, that he returned to France, and on arriving in Paris, found himself in the midst of all his English friends, whom the peace of Amiens had attracted thither. His one chief intimate was Mr. Fox, for whom he had such a sincere affection, that after that statesman's death, he used to say he had always meant, in case of any accident occurring to himself, to appoint him to the guardianship of his youngest child. This friendship for Fox was the cause of M. de Narbonne's first active employment by Bonaparte. When, in 1806, the negotiation was set on foot by the cabinets of St. James's and of the Tuileries, in order to make an attempt to restore peace, Lord Lauderdale was commissioned to treat for the English Government, and M. de Narbonne was fixed upon by Napoleon as the person best calculated to meet him. Things advanced slowly, as we already know, and the Dictator, unmindful of the difficulties of the enterprise itself, and of the fresh obstacle opposed to it in the shape produced by Fox's death, conceived a suspicion of M. de Narbonne's sincerity, and ordered Fouché, then Minister of Police, to investigate narrowly the conduct of the plenipotentiary. Fouché's report was favourable in the extreme, and Bonaparte's notions of possible treachery were put to flight; but still the tide of M. de Narbonne's favour had not yet set in, and he remained for three years longer in comparative obscurity and complete inaction. Suddenly, in 1809, the news was sent to him of his restoration to the rank he had occupied in the army, before the revolution; and with his title of General, he received his appointment as Governor of the town of Raab, and the order to take his immediate departure for Hungary. This was the real opening of his political and diplomatic career. He was sent into the Austrian States, in order to watch the movements of Bohemia and Hungary, and to take advantage of any discontent that should favour a detachment from the Austrian crown, and the creation of independent sovereignties under a French protectorate. The treaty of Vienna, however, for a time, put an end to these combinations, and M. de Narbonne was removed to the Government of Trieste. He had not been long there when the accession to the throne of Bavaria of Maximilian Joseph, put Napoleon in mind of the intimacy between M. de Narbonne and the new sovereign, and he named the former his envoy to the Court of Munich. It was then, that, in passing through Vienna on his road from Trieste into Bavaria, M. de Narbonne rendered to

Napoleon the one service (it was then called so) which changed the whole current of his future life. In an audience to which he was bidden by the Emperor Francis II., M. de Narbonne first received the suggestions made by that monarch of a possible alliance with the Conqueror, and instantly wrote an account of the interview to Napoleon, sending the letter through Fouché, to whom he was under obligations. This letter preceded by six weeks the deliberation in council upon the Emperor's marriage, and was the first cause of the choice made of an Archduchess of Austria. The official demand of Maria Louisa's hand followed speedily, and the niece of Marie Antoinette was seated on the throne of France. Recalling M. de Narbonne from Munich, Bonaparte proposed at once to give him the highest situation in the Empress's household, by naming him Grand Maître; but, for a reason that has never been entirely fathomed, the Imperial bride over-ruled her lord's decision, and maintained in this post the Comte de Beauharnais. The Emperor, apparently annoyed at this *contretemps*, but in fact not sorry to be forced into giving his new favourite a position that brought him into nearer contact with himself, named as one of his aides-de-camp, Count Louis de Narbonne, now arrived at the age of fifty-five.

From this moment forward, the ex-Chevalier d'Honneur of Mesdames de France was the perpetual companion or agent of Bonaparte, sometimes, luckily, his adviser, always his confidant and most faithful friend. He it was who first received the vague communications of a plan so monstrously fantastic, that he held it for the mere nightmare of conquest. But as his imperial interlocutor recurred over and over to the same plan, and each time with more and more earnestness, he was at last forced into the sad conviction of the impossibility of warding off the greatest danger that had ever threatened France. No arguments were of any avail, no appeals would move the iron heart attracted, compelled by the magnet of its fate, and the invasion of the vast empire of the North was irrevocably decreed.

The more we study Bonaparte, as he appears to us in his conversations with M. de Narbonne, the more we are unavoidably, irresistibly struck by the constant and undeniable evidences of morbid excitement, almost amounting to an aberration of intellect. It was not so much to follow up any fixed system of policy, as to arrive at the realisation of a kind of dream, that Napoleon invaded Russia. Listen to all his rhapsodies about Alexander, to his theories upon the Tartaric race, to his wild Utopia of the future. 'Will you never be convinced, Narbonne?' we hear him say one day, 'you who are so well versed in history! Do you not see that I am doing what Marius did,

'eighteen hundred years ago, when, with his veterans, scorched by the African sun, he twice crushed the armies of the North in the neighbourhood of Aix, and put off for three centuries the invasion of the Goths? The extermination of the Kymbri is the first necessity of empire, and in that same blood has imperialism always found fresh strength successively under Trajan, and Aurelian, and Theodosius!' (Vol. i. p. 161.) 'The only difficulty of this expedition is a moral one,' he used to repeat: 'We must, whilst profiting by the energy of the revolutionary spirit, not set loose its passions; we must raise Poland, but not emancipate it, and assure the independence of western Europe, without exciting any republican fermentation — there is the whole problem.' And then he would delight in turning round somewhat sharply on M. de Narbonne, and adding — 'You were bitten by all those fine ideas once, don't forget it! You believed in the Constitution of 1791. . . . I don't blame you for it, the wisest may be mistaken; but you were all of you attempting an impossibility, and you brought about that earthquake in which was engulfed *my poor uncle, Louis XVI!*'

This, he it remarked, was one of Napoleon's favourite absurdities to allude, after his marriage with the Archduchess of Austria, to the unfortunate Louis XVI. by the title of '*mon oncle.*' But let us follow him a little further, in the course of arguments furnished by his unlimited ambition: — 'I like the Poles well enough,' he would observe; 'but I have well thought that over: I will have a camp in Poland, not a *forum.* We can have a little bit of a Diet all the same (*un bout de Diète*), just to help the levies of men we shall require, in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; but nothing more. I shall make war upon Alexander courteously, with two thousand *bouches à feu*, and five hundred thousand soldiers, but without any insurrection. . . . I shall take Moscow, and throw the Czar into Asia; but I shall not suffer a *club*, whether in Warsaw or Cracow — no matter where. . . . No! my dear Narbonne, I will only employ Poland as a disciplined force, wherefrom to recruit my battle-fields.'

Against these notions, as inflexible as they were extravagant, no representations of M. de Narbonne were of any avail. He merely found himself accused of not comprehending the vastness of the Emperor's designs, and what in fact was due to his extreme penetration, was set down precisely to the reverse.

'I cannot understand you, Narbonne,' was the perpetually recurring phrase. 'You — generally so confident, and of course so gay! . . . I know the Czar. I had influence over him once; and that sort of thing is never quite destroyed.'

‘His imagination must be powerfully struck—he will come round to me—perhaps even he may draw back before my armaments, and the European review I shall pass at Dresden, previous to sending my *ultimatum* to him by you. If not—let destiny have its way, and Russia be crushed by my hatred of England! . . . I am not afraid of the interminable deserts you talk of, and at the end of which are conquest and peace.’ ‘And then,’ adds the chronicler, ‘his eye would suddenly assume a glare that made his listener’s blood run cold;’ and M. de Narbonne has left the record of the following tirade, peculiarly interesting to the English reader.

‘“After all, *mon cher*,” (and his aide-de-camp observes, ‘he spoke with the tone of a man under the influence of a dream,’) “this long, long road is the road to India. Alexander started from a greater distance than Moscow, to reach the Ganges. I have often thought of it, ever since St. Jean d’Acre. If I had not been forced into abandoning that siege, I should have conquered half Asia, then, and taken Europe from the other side, in order to seize the thrones of France and Italy on my return home. Now, it is from the extremity of Europe that I must start, so as to come down from Asia, and get at England. . . . I have the map and the exact state of the populations to be encountered, in order to go from Teflis and Erivan to the English possessions in India. It is a less terrible campaign than that which we shall commence three months hence. Moscow is 3,000 kilomètres from Paris, and there will no doubt be some few battles on the road. But, however, we will suppose Moscow taken, Russia cast down, the Czar either reconciled to me or killed by some domestic conspiracy, and pray tell me, then, if for a grand army of Frenchmen, starting from Teflis, there be not an opening up to the Ganges, whose banks it will be sufficient to touch with a French sword, in order to throw down throughout India the entire edifice of the English mercantile grandeur? It will be the expedition of the nineteenth century—gigantic, I avow, but of quite possible execution. . . . You see, now, that every thing commands me to go to Moscow, . . . and you will allow, I hope, that all is pretty wisely combined. All is provided for, barring always the hand of Providence, which, I conceive, will not fail us.”’

M. de Narbonne’s sometimes unbroken silence amid the stunning clash of these formidable ideas, served as little as his more direct opposition to arrest Bonaparte in the prosecution of his schemes.

‘“Do not allow yourself to be deceived,” he would continue, “I am a true Roman Emperor; I am of the best race of Cæsars—those who are founders. Chateaubriand, in I forget what number of the *Mercur*, has tacitly compared me to Tiberius. A good notion, indeed! Trajan, Diocletian, Aurelian, if you will; one of those men, born of themselves, and who overturned the world. Why, now, how is it that

you who are so familiar with these things, how is it that you are not struck with the likeness of my government to that of Diocletian? See the close-woven web I continue to extend so far: then, too, the eye of the master, from which none can escape, and the civil authority that I have maintained omnipotent in the midst of a purely warlike empire. As to Trajan, I fancy it is no *flatterie d'opéra* to compare me to *him!*”

It was from such conversations as these that M. de Narbonne, terrified, confused, doubting almost of his own reason, used to return with that ‘air of sadness and irony,’ and that ‘bitterness of tone,’ which so surprised and impressed his youthful listener. Perhaps the most curious effect produced by this part of M. Villemain’s book, is the way in which it brings home to the reader the state of feeling in France during the last four or five years of the Empire. It is to be remarked that France, under Napoleon, is rarely *at home*, if we may so express it. The great events of her national life occur in other countries; her history is to be followed abroad, and it is in Berlin, in Vienna, in Naples, or Madrid, that the narrators of this period track what they believe to be the genius of France. But there is another reality which has remained comparatively undescribed till now; another history which has had no historian yet: — the history of the populations that were left behind when the conqueror’s legions went forth to their brilliant or bloody fate; of the women who wept, of the men who chafed, and of that France which was *not* the France of Austerlitz and Wagram, and which, worried and worn, grew to hate even her glory, and ended by casting off, with impatient disgust, the man whose greatness she had sacrificed herself to form. The gradual progress of this feeling of revolt, silent but stronger with each day, is admirably depicted by M. Villemain; and we see, touch, examine, as palpable realities, on the one hand, the change of public opinion from dull submission to ill-suppressed horror; and, on the other, the fearful darkness which, varied only by visions more fearful still, seems daily to have spread wider over the mind of the despot himself.

Not only M. de Narbonne, but all who surround, advise or implore him to abandon the Russian expedition. Caulaincourt, Daru, Lobau, Duroc, — all represent the strong improbability of success; and, were even success obtained, the frightful price at which it must necessarily be bought. ‘Sire,’ observes one day M. de Narbonne to Bonaparte, ‘we shall, of course, follow ‘wherever your majesty chooses to lead; we shall go on, without ‘a backward look. As to me, since 1792, I am prepared for no ‘matter what; but I venture to conjure you, *in the name of*

'those who remain silent, not to peril the luck, the marvellous luck of France, by dragging it to the unexplored extremities of the North.'

There is something appalling in the headlong way in which, both immediately before, and during the commencement of the campaign, Napoleon rushes on the destiny which lies in wait for him. Nowhere do we find more evident traces of this fatal obstinacy than in a journal kept by Duroc during the campaign, apparently for his own personal satisfaction; for he allowed it, while he lived, to be seen by none. In 1813, after the death of the Grand-Maréchal du Palais, it came into the hands of one of his most intimate friends, by whom it was communicated to M. de Villemain. We read such passages as the following:—

'The Emperor will find no possibility for concluding a peace at Smolensk, nor at Moscow, any more than at Vitepsk; he will only be farther from France,—that is all. Peace will fly us, as armed resistance has vanished; no battle will be offered us, till the enemy sees that we are still more exhausted by fatigue, and that a good part of our cavalry is dismounted. If the Russians are beaten, they will rally a little further on; for we cannot pursue them; they will easily recruit themselves; for they are at home, whilst we——'

Some of these notes are barely legible, and indicate the hurry and excitement of a writer ill at ease, whilst with a few, sometimes unconnected, words, they paint the perturbation of the chief actor in the drama. For instance—

'4th August, 2 o'clock in the morning.—*He* took a bath; great agitation. We must get on—make up for lost time! We can't stay eternally in this wretched palace of the Duke of Wittenberg.

'5th August, 1 o'clock in the morning.—He dictated a report on the movements of the different corps of the army. The trial has been in vain! Burnt grains of green rye will not stop the epidemic! Dombrowski cannot take the fortress with 1,200 horse; where would be the use of taking Riga? The only possible thing now would be a stupendous victory; a taking of Moscow that should astound the world.'

'The Emperor has slept two hours; he showed me the light of dawn at the horizon. "We have still," said he, "fine weather for nearly three months. I wanted less for Austerlitz and Tilsit."

'7th August.—The Emperor has been very unwell again; he has taken opium. "Duroc," said he, "we must go on or die. An Emperor dies standing, and in that case he, in fact, does *not* die. You fear the Prussians between Moscow and France. Remember Jena, and trust rather to their fear than to their hate. But for that we must get on, we must be doing." The Emperor is again unwell. This fever of suspense must end.'

Suspense, indeed, most horrible, and which, after partial

encounters, so strange that they seem like phantom fights, is to end in the catastrophe of Moscow !

Few things are more gloomy than an account left by M. de Narbonne of an evening spent in the smoking, smouldering city. In a vast saloon of the Kremlin, warmed by a colossal stove, and lighted up as for a *fête*, was Napoleon, surrounded by some of the chief dignitaries of his court. He walked rapidly up and down the room, trying to provoke a conversation in which every one should join, but which, in fact, was transformed by the timidity or sad preoccupations of those around into perpetual soliloquy. The Emperor's talk was of the splendour requisite for a great empire, of the importance of Art, of the Drama in particular, and of the decree he had that day (15th October) signed for the organisation of the *Theatre Français*.

“ I ought to have consulted you, my dear Narbonne,” exclaimed he, all at once, and as though resolved to draw some one into answering him ; “ you are, if I am not mistaken, a lover of the stage. By the by, though, I think you like comedy best ; the manners of the *grand monde*, Célimène, Mdlle. Contat ; is it not so ? For me, I prefer tragedy to all — tragedy elevated and sublime, such as Corneille wrote. . . . I wonder what possesses the poets of my reign ? Chenier put me out of patience with his *Cambyses*. Why don't they represent Charlemagne, St. Louis, Philippe Auguste ? I have no objection either to foreign subjects. Why don't they, for instance, take Peter the Great, that man of granite, who founded civilisation in Russia and the Russian influence in Europe, and who, a century after his death, forces me to this terrible expedition.” (Vol. i. p. 220.)

It is curious to mark how, at this return to the interest of the hour, — to which he is, as it were, fatally brought, in spite of all his attempts to escape, — the silence around the Imperial speaker is broken, and the nearest approach possible to discussion is attempted for the fiftieth time.

But whilst these scenes were passing in the midst of the Russian snows, what was the feeling at home, and how was France preparing to meet the Sovereign who returned to her unconquered, but not victorious, and who brought back only the miserable remains of what had been the grandest army of modern times ? M. Villemain will tell us, for here he speaks from his own personal recollection ; ‘ For about a-month past every one knew of the disaster, not in what concerned the horror of its details, but the immensity of the catastrophe. It was known too by that twenty-ninth Bulletin, issued in the *Moniteur*, of the 20th December, 1812, two days before the Emperor's return, and which was the funeral note heralding

‘his approach. People had there read, and were, in consternation, for ever recalling to memory, the account of the army’s last losses; and these tardy avowals, frightful though not yet complete, appearing like the reaction of Truth, after a long period of silence and falsehood, had struck men’s minds with ‘the stupor of alarm.’

For the first time, perhaps, a sentiment of bitter indignation was openly allied to public affliction and private wail,—to the gloom of uncertainty and the perpetual news of death bringing desolation to countless families. Undisguised blame ventured to burst forth at sight of the unlucky words which concluded the bulletin and seemed to tender a sort of compensation for its lamentable contents, — ‘*The health of the Emperor was never better.*’

Such things require no comment, and the less attempt is made to describe their effect, the more exactly the imagination pictures them to itself.

M. Villemain’s biography of M. de Narbonne is an impressive record of Bonaparte’s disasters from the moment that fortune began to desert him in the Russian campaign. Scarcely had the Emperor returned to Paris from the first retreat to which his armies had been compelled, than the news brought him by M. de Narbonne from Germany, whither he had been despatched to ‘study the feelings of princes and ‘people,’ revealed to him prospects the most threatening: the first month of the ominous year 1813 witnessed the demand of *three hundred and fifty thousand* fresh conscripts, and the vote of the Senate which, ratifying this enormous levy, offered these sons of France as ‘soldiers of peace.’ At the same time Napoleon was plunged into the less apparently dangerous, but in fact quite as embarrassing, question of the discussions with Rome. Here, again, all those best formed to advise were strenuously opposed to him. M. de Narbonne did not stand alone: M. de Fontanes, consulted by young Villemain, as to what documents he should employ for the Report he was charged to make, goes even further than the aide-de-camp, and declares Napoleon lost, if he does not immediately restore Pius VII. to the Papal See, and that without conditions, without a French garrison, and above all without any alteration of the Concordat of 1802.

All the best friends of Bonaparte, whatever might be their own religious convictions, recognised in his conduct to Pius VII. the same political fault, and were of M. de Narbonne’s opinion, that one of his greatest errors was to fancy that in France there existed any thing beyond a superficial trace of the doctrines of

Voltaire. 'Shall we gain our cause?' exclaimed M. de Narbonne on receiving the notes his *protégé* had prepared for him. 'I hope it, and that passionately, for the Emperor's own sake, and on account of the coming campaign. He already doubts,—that is something gained. I trust much to his strong sense, but will he have the time?'

That, indeed, was now the question. All Germany was up in arms against Napoleon, and Austria, so recently allied to him, was but neutral at best. Leaving St. Cloud on the 15th of April, 1813, he was, the 2nd of May, on that field of Lutzen which had witnessed the death of Gustavus Adolphus, and where Victory was to give one of her farewell smiles to Bonaparte. Lutzen was followed by Bautzen, and still no discouragement was felt by the German troops. An armistice was concluded, and the French army took up its position at Dresden, in expectation of the opening of the Congress of Prague. Whilst matters are progressing thus in Germany, one of the severest blows that could be aimed at his overgrown power was struck by England in the Peninsula. Joseph had fled from Madrid, and France had lost the battle of Vittoria. On all sides are the preparations for attack, and the once invincible soldier begins to question the constancy of success.

It is not our intention to enter into the details of the Congress of Prague, where, on the 12th July, the Emperor had appointed MM. de Narbonne and de Caulaincourt as his plenipotentiaries. Peace was impossible now, even had the German powers desired it sincerely; for the nations had risen in a body against Napoleon, and his fall was all they would listen to from their chiefs.

By the middle of August all was over, and diplomacy had shown its utter inutility. The battle of Dresden is styled by French historians a victory, but it paves the way for Leipsic six weeks later. Upon this subject of the battle of Leipsic, however, M. Villemain has an anecdote too curious for us to deprive our readers of it. At the close of the first day's struggle (16th of October), the French troops had had a partial advantage, and had made many prisoners; amongst others, an Austrian general, Mersfeldt, the negotiator of the Treaty of Campo Formio. Him, Napoleon bids to his presence, and at once charges to bear to the Emperor of Austria proposals of peace. One witness was present at this interview, whose name M. Villemain conceals, but whose testimony enables us to assist at one of the most striking spectacles of fallen greatness that we know of. 'It is every one's interest to negotiate now,' observed the Emperor, 'for who can tell what to-morrow may

'bring? Our political alliance is ended, but between your master and me another, an indissoluble alliance, subsists; this alliance I invoke; for I cannot choose but rely upon the feelings of *my father-in-law*! It is to him that I turn at this moment, and that I appeal from all the present state of things. 'Go to him, and repeat all I said to Bubna.' And then follows a list of Utopian plans, with assurances of love of peace, ending with a humiliating attempt at propitiation, the more sad that it affects a playful form: 'I must complain,' said Napoleon, gaily, 'that Austria so insists on altogether muzzling the lion, and will not be content unless she has cut off his mane, and filed away his claws.' Compare this humility with the mystical rhodomontades that were to explain the absolute necessity of the Russian campaign! And then came the details of all the sacrifices he offered to make: he would give up all idea of Poland, and restore Illyria; he was ready to abdicate the protectorate of the Rhenish Confederation, and make his troops retire from Spain and Holland, and the Hanse Towns, leaving all these states to their own laws, customs, and independence. He proposed detaching from his empire the kingdom of Italy, and, if an armistice were granted, he offered immediately to evacuate Germany and retreat beyond the Rhine. There was little you could name that he was not prepared to do; few proofs of self-abasement that he would hesitate to give! Yet all in vain. The portion of this anecdote which perhaps strikes us most — for we have already learnt from Chateaubriand and others to what depths of discouragement misfortune could lead Napoleon — is the account given of the bearing of the Austrian officer, whilst listening to the pleadings of his imperial host. By no single word did he interrupt him; by no gesture confirm or deny; but silent and impassible, from first to last, he hailed the conclusion of Napoleon's instructions with a mute bow, and retired, leaving on the mind of the one witness present the fixed impression that the interpretation of his silence meant — '*Too late!*'

And so it was, as we all know; and, two days after (18th October), the defeat of Leipsic 'rang,' as has been so often said in France, 'the funeral knell of the Empire.'

M. Villemain's chapters on M. de Narbonne are full of interesting details, on which, did our space allow, we should be inclined to dwell at greater length; relating, as they do, to matter of a different order to that of which we have already treated. Whilst he shows us Bonaparte excited by the spirit of conquest, so as to overstep the bounds of reason; we find him, where the passion of war is not concerned, just, even moderate,

and inclined to judge impartially the defects of his own system of government. 'Oh! the idiots!' he exclaims one day, when M. de Narbonne has proved to him the grossness of a mistake made by the writers of a private police report, '*Les imbeciles!*' 'Decidedly this kind of censorship, no matter how exercised, is 'good for nothing.'

There was in Napoleon's own conduct and ideas a more frequent recognition of the benefits of a constitutional government than has been generally conceived; and, narrowly watched, one might say that he very often had recourse to despotism from necessity more than from choice. He had not the contempt for public opinion that constitutes an essential part of genuine absolutism; on the contrary, he was moved by things which, if he had been autocratic in heart and soul, perpetually and *naturally* so, would not have caused him an instant's hesitation or desire. For instance, at the end of the fatal campaign of 1813, on his return to Paris in November, his chief difficulty was occasioned by the wish to obtain, not only men, but money, from the phantom of a parliament represented by the senate and corps législatif, without exciting in either too great a degree of animadversion. He was not, and could not be, in any fear of not obtaining either the money or the men; but he wanted them to be granted with a good will that he felt was for ever gone; and he shrank, as a genuine despot does *not* do, from 'that first legal expression of a nation's blame, which,' as M. Villemain remarks, 'however timid, however circumspect even, is yet so powerful against a government no longer 'certain of its luck.'

Not the least curious characteristic of Bonaparte is this craving after popularity, contrasted with the want of it, to which, by his position, he is inevitably condemned. We have heard and known of governments in whom not only the system, but the instinct was despotic; but such governments love silence more than praise, and consider themselves less ably served by being spoken well of than by not being spoken of at all. Bonaparte was the reverse, and silence to him was death. 'You do not yet understand the Emperor,' observed, on one occasion, M. de Narbonne to M. Villemain; 'all powerful and victorious as he is, the 'greatest anxiety he feels is on account of those who talk, and, 'after them, of those who think. It is not that he dislikes them, 'though, perhaps, he does not exactly like them, *but he cannot 'do without them.* He wants to be renowned as the inspirer of 'science and art, and he is immensely impatient at the small 'alacrity evinced by great geniuses at coming forth when he 'calls upon them. . . . He counts much upon the *Ecole*

'*Normale*, and insists on the study of antiquity and of the age of Louis XIV., as well as on mathematics and, later, on transcendental geometry, which is, he says, the Abstract Sublime, as poetry and eloquence are the Palpable Sublime; but' (here is the eternal corrective) 'he intends that all this should be in perfect accordance with the concentrated authority of the Empire, and, as he expresses it, "that intellect, elevated by his reign, " "should for ever turn round in his orbit."'

Philosophically speaking, this, the least studied portion of the modern Alexander's nature, would probably be the one richest in curious information to whomsoever should undertake to explore it attentively; and we may advise our readers to consult on this point both M. Villemain's volumes of *Souvenirs*, if they would acquire a more exact notion of the moral organisation of the extraordinary man who, according to what we believe to be the perfectly accurate judgment of this writer, was 'above all anxious for the suffrages of the enlightened few, and desirous of conquering admiration as he conquered the throne.'

The same character of historical penetration,—the power of decyphering, if we may so term it, the genius of Napoleon, and the talent of describing it when decyphered,—which renders M. Villemain's first volume of *Souvenirs* so interesting,—is still more remarkable in the second one, recently published. We are not surprised that in the two days following its appearance, 3000 copies of this extraordinary book should have been sold, nor do we the least marvel at the effect it made and still continues to make. It burst like a sort of intellectual thunderclap in the midst of the dull somnolence of the Press, if not of public opinion in Paris, and our witty neighbours woke up, rubbed their eyes and looked about them, astounded at a production recalling the best days of that quick vivacious spirit, as weighty as it is brilliant, as full of good sense as of irony, for which they were once so renowned. This second volume of the *Souvenirs Contemporains*, which contains the history of one single event alone,—the Revolution of the Hundred Days,—puts us in mind of the vogue of certain political pamphlets of Châteaubriand during the troubled times of the Restoration. There is the same fire, with equal bitterness and more genuine *esprit*. It must be observed, however, that this new book of M. Villemain's is not, properly speaking, of a polemical cast. It may even be termed an historical work, somewhat desultory in form, but upon the whole more curious, and more highly finished than anything that has yet fallen from his pen. The recollections of his youth still serve to colour or to convey the opinions of his maturer years.

The writer pursues his view of the character of Napoleon in an ingenious interpretation of the events of the Hundred Days. We have been assured that M. Thiers, who has now almost reached the term of his great work, had all along declared that he would conduct it no farther than the abdication of Fontainebleau, and that on no account would he consent to depict the period of the Hundred Days,—‘a period,’ he is said to affirm, ‘out of all keeping with the rest, a chaos whence there is no escape, and where his hero is not to be found.’ M. Villemain has, to a certain extent, supplied this deficiency; and his description of the debates that lead to the second abdication of Napoleon are curious and graphic.

He witnessed what he describes, and he combines the advantage of having seen the sights, heard the words, felt the impressions of the moment with singular liveliness, with that of being able, after a long lapse of time, to reproduce them with a wonderful mixture of deep reflection, sharp irony, or sadness rising into the highest eloquence of expression. Everything serves him in turn in this most interesting recital; and the variety of the forms in which he presents it, all and each, help to exhibit the fascination exercised by popularity upon the strange nature of Napoleon. We now see to what a pitch this went, and how Napoleon, who was not a sovereign by birth, who had not risen to empire through any pretended right of race, was, instead of disdainful, solicitous of popular favour, and of what sudden and singular transformations he was capable, when the hope, however vain, of re-seizing it was held out to him. At the same time, the historian, inexorable on this point, and all untouched by the imperial advances and concessions, shows us, from the very first pages of his book,—shows us by proofs as incontrovertible as they are new,—the irreconcilable divorce of Napoleon from France forty years ago; from France, rich, elegant, cultivated, learned, and constitutional, nay, even from military France, inasmuch as springing from the traditions of 1789; from the France that had applauded the Consulate, admired and served the Empire, but in serving it had felt the yoke, and gradually grown to hate its pressure. We see, as it were, in the very opening scene, the apparition of the past rising up to accuse Bonaparte, and foretelling his second and irreparable fall at the identical hour when he has achieved an ephemeral success. To appreciate this fully, one must read in the original text the scene where as witnesses and soothsayers of evil we remark upon the crowded stage Lafayette and Madame de Staël, the poet Lemercier, the astronomer Arago, and the learned and honest Ramond, a determined *Constitutionnel*, whose indignation against

absolutism is really admirable. This is at once the prologue, and the moral, of the book—its fatality. It is impossible, and you feel it to be so, that a conquest so dreaded, so resisted, so accurst by whatever, in a whole country, represents intelligence, science, or social dignity, can be other than condemned in its vital principle. The first scene of the book renders its termination unavoidable.

Nevertheless, throughout the whole, there is, as in all well constructed dramas (and we take those of history to be among the finest models) there is, we say, that portion of contradictory effort, and that succession of varying chances which hold the reader in suspense, and prolong his interest in the piece. But in spite of this moral resistance, of this general protestation so accurately marked out in what we have designated as the prologue, the drama proceeds a-pace. Bonaparte is at the Tuileries, and France subjected anew. We have no recollection that anywhere this rapid change has been so vividly brought before us, or so accounted for, as by M. Villemain. He is too much of a Frenchman, not to have had more than one opportunity of studying this fearful mobility of opinion in his countrymen, and this contagion of success which in fact decides the fate of everything in France. He has probably, since the *Cent Jours*, witnessed more than one repetition of a most strange scene related by him under that date; but he has done rightly to describe it again; for it is in truth the supreme model, the type *par excellence* of that inconceivable versatility, of those individual apostacies, overlooked or forgotten in certain privileged cases, and of those aggregate apostacies, the fruits of weakness and imitation, whereof our ingenious neighbours have afforded us so many examples. France is, as we all know, and as she herself has boasted, the country where originality of character or eccentricity of conduct is the least tolerated; to do what others do, *faire comme tout le monde*, is the real law of the land, as Jean Jacques so truly said one hundred years ago; and hence we may date, at particular epochs, particular political epidemics—a fever of liberty, or a lethargy of servitude. Freedom has been too free, has run wild; the next move is to lie prostrate beneath the censor's rod. Reform banquets were the order of the day, and not a voice but shouted patriotic songs—quick! the change comes; and it is thought imprudent to speak aloud at the table of a friend!

In no moment in the history of France had this mobility of temperament such occasions for display as on the morrow of the 20th of March, 1815, and on no field as on that of the Hundred Days has French versatility and political *légereté* ever developed

itself to such an extent. 'The capacity of servitude—we had well-nigh said of dégradation—attained to almost fabulous dimensions, and yet was, in a few weeks almost, to change its object once again! Our historian gives us various specimens of this contagious disease; but nothing surpasses the example afforded by Benjamin Constant. We cannot decide whether this eminent political writer, for years member of the Chamber of Deputies of France, and certainly of French extraction, really deserved that his origin should be denied as it was in 1825, and his rights, as a citizen of the realm, taken from him; but in 1815 he assuredly furnished the requisite proofs of indigenous versatility, and of the inconsistency peculiar to the sons of Gaul. The whole anecdote is exquisitely told by M. Villemain, who had already, in the opening pages of his book, brought forward as his actors Benjamin Constant between Lafayette and Sismondi.

On the 19th of March Benjamin Constant had printed in the 'Journal des Débats,' and addressed to the whole world, an article in which he denounced with excessive, though not unjust, violence, the first half of the reign of Napoleon—his wars, his internal despotism, his false promises in the *Manifestos* of his invasion and his incurable tyranny. In that article, swearing against Bonaparte resistance unto death, he beforehand heaped contempt upon whomsoever should prove weak in opposition, or should submit to so odious a yoke. 'At all events,' he exclaimed, 'such will not be my conduct; I shall not go, a vile transfuge, dragging myself from one Power to the other, and stammering out words perpetually profaned to ransom a despicable life!'

Five days afterwards, nevertheless, Benjamin Constant had had an audience of the Emperor at the Tuileries, had been won over by his fine speeches, his philosophic indifference to abuse, his apparently constitutional intentions, and had accepted from 'Attila' (it was he who called him thus) the well-paid functions of a Counsellor of State, and shortly after, the charge of co-operation in the framing of a new Constitution, and in the inauguration of the Representative Government brought back by the Emperor from the island of Elba.

We cannot resist the temptation to translate the page in which M. Villemain brings before our eyes, at a private party, the new Counsellor of State of the Imperial Government, announcing to those around him that he is busy upon the famous 'Additional Act' known under the name of the *Acte Additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire*!

'Often,' says M. Villemain, 'in the early days of April I had met

in M. Suard's *salon* Messrs. Benjamin Constant and Sismondi, the two adversaries of Napoleon's landing from Elba, reconciled to his empire, one Counsellor of State, the other *Maitre des Requêtes*, both somewhat embarrassed and ashamed, but keeping each other in countenance, and absolving each other, as best they might, by here and there a declaration of principles, or a few well-placed confidential communications about their own Liberalism. The master of the house lent a refuge to their embarrassment. Firmly independent in his own person, and incorrigible in his antipathy to the Empire, M. Suard had, for the variations of others, the indulgence that is prompted by age, and a long experience of vacillations on all sides. Without anger, without surprise, he received well the two new placemen of the 20th of March, and listened complacently to their talk, as they prated of the useful guarantees they had that morning caused to be adopted by the *Comité de Constitution*, or had insinuated into the Emperor's ear!

One of them, we have said, was the soul, or rather the principal instrument, of the *Comité* for the construction of the *Acte Additionnel*, the other was a writer in the former's train, abetting in the simplicity of his heart an impossible work. Often in the evening conversations at M. Suard's, M. Benjamin Constant would go into ecstasies upon the Emperor's resignation to Constitutionalism, and upon his ready disposition to admit all the scruples of Legality! He did not quite dare vouch for his conversion being one from the heart, but he could account for the change by the profound discussion which had taken place before his Majesty, and by a kind of logical necessity whence so elevated a mind could not escape! "The Past," would he say, "is everybody's fault. The Senate, the Ministers, the *Corps Législatif*, had quite spoilt us our Emperor. Every day now we are winning him back to the true principles." And this he would say seriously, then all at once—used as he was to extricate himself from an embarrassment of conscience by a joke, and to banter himself in order to be sure of being beforehand with other people,—he would sometimes add:—"After all, I will not answer for these excellent constitutional symptoms holding against a great victory gained. But what would you have? We must be content with what we can get, and hope the best for what remains. The speculative recognition of principles is always an immense point obtained. One day we carry off the jury, another day ministerial responsibility, another the definitive freedom of the Press and the admission of proof against public functionaries;—this is a vast deal, whilst we are waiting for a general peace." And then he would get up, and in his Counsellor of State's carriage whirl off to the *Cercle des Etrangers* to finish his evening.

Numerous other incidents, drawn from the life, serve to complete the picture given us by M. Villemain, of the interior of France at this epoch, which he so justly styles 'a condensed parody of the Consulate and first Empire.' But there are other subjects calling for our attention. Out of doors

the scene enlarges, and swells to dimensions which end by embracing the interests of all Europe and its future destinies. There remained upon this point to detail minutely the labours of the Congress of Vienna, the situation, whether secretly or avowedly hostile, of the several Powers; the preponderance of the ambition of this one; the fears and solitudes of that; the encroachments, either imminent or already begun, as in the case of Saxony and Poland; and, finally, the sudden blow that struck equally at one and all,—the descent of Napoleon into France. On the other hand, leaving the direct examination of the Congress of Vienna itself, the interior of every European State had to be considered, the disposition of its people, and the various impressions received by them on the announcement of the acts and projects planned by the Congress; what new ideas, what hopes had arisen, and what yet endured of the alarm and aversion so long inspired by Napoleon. By the side, too, of the Continent, though separated from it, and placed in opposition to the calculations and anxieties of the Absolutist monarchies, there was England to be studied; there was the echo of her voice to awaken, there were her forces to number, and the stake to be shown that she was again ready to throw upon the field of battle. There was more than this: there was to paint her moral force, the influence of her opinion, and the weight she brought to bear upon the impending struggle by her Parliament, her free Press, and the action of her political parties.

What was indeed that army of more than a million men, held as it were, in a leash, by the united monarchs of Europe, and armed and equipped, ready to be let loose upon France? Nothing more than a dense mass of hands and bayonets, wanting the animation, the direction of two things,—political impulse and moral purpose. Of these two things, there is no doubt that the public deliberations of our Parliament and the eloquence of our statesmen, were the two prime conductors. This part of M. Villemain's book, however, so fraught with interest for his Continental readers, is naturally not the one likely to attract us most; and the author has fallen into several of those blunders which are too common amongst French writers who talk of our politicians or our institutions.

We cannot pretend to follow M. Villemain in his interesting account of all that took place before the 18th of June,—the marvels of military organisation, the revival of the Empire and of the Revolution at once, the compréssion of Royalism, the explosion of Constitutionalism, the Dictatorial splendours, and the federal spirit of the mass, the inextricable *imbroglio*, the Gordian knot of confusion that the sword alone was to undo,—

which all give animation to this narrative. Nor can we trace, as he has done, the effect of the battle of Waterloo on the Legislative bodies sitting in Paris, or mark the course of events until the last remnant of the Empire crumbles into dust.

But from the midst of these ashes does there at least arise some one great form, some pyramid, some sphinx commanding the desert around? We cannot help regretting that, after his fall, Napoleon Bonaparte did not show himself better worthy of his former glory, of himself, for the honour of human nature, and for the sake of the many who were blindly devoted to him. In this respect, we think, too, that M. Villemain scarcely merits the reproach of immoderate anti-Bonapartist partiality brought against him by nearly the whole French press. He may bear a strong grudge towards the destroyer of all liberty; but, according to our judgment, in his work on the Hundred Days, it is not the historian who is wanting to the hero, and who from a prejudice (liberal and honourable assuredly, but a prejudice) underrates the merits of a monarch, whose despotic rule he dislikes; it is the hero, the sovereign himself, who fails his destiny, deserts his own ambition, and when fortune recedes, is resigned to his own fall, and accepts Fate with complete inertness. We are annoyed, in spite of ourselves, at seeing him pinioned at the Elysée, at Malmaison, at Rochefort, dreaming of one knows not what, and daring nothing, but patiently awaiting Fortune, instead of defying her, or seeking to outstrip her in the race.

There is no lack of writers who have painted Napoleon Bonaparte, either in the ascendant period of his life, or in the last years of his exile. From Toulon to the hour of his marriage with Marie Louise, the conqueror more or less dazzles every eye, whilst at St. Helena a sterner, loftier greatness compels even his enemies' respect; but, between the splendour of his triumphs and the grandeur or littleness of his adversity, there exists a kind of intermediate Napoleon, comparatively but little studied—the insane dreamer who twice tempts Fate and fails—the man of Moscow, of Fontainebleau, of the Hundred Days. *This* Napoleon M. Villemain has by his two volumes of *Souvenirs* made his own. He is preeminently the historian of Bonaparte's disasters. In spite of the extraordinary abilities of the founder of the Empire, and of his more extraordinary fortune, in the hour of trial its resources were exhausted, and its end was miserable; for the Imperial institutions were wholly devoid of that principle of freedom which is, in the long run, the chief element of duration, and the best security of power.

ART. IV. — 1. *The Crimea and Odessa: Journal of a Tour, with an account of the Climate and Vegetation.* By Dr. CHARLES KOCH: translated by JOANNA B. HORNER. 8vo. London: 1855.

2. *An Historical Sketch of the Crimea.* By ANTHONY GRANT, D.C.L., Archdeacon of St. Albans, &c. 12mo. London: 1855.

IT is almost impossible to cast one's eyes upon the map of Europe, without being struck by the remarkable geographical position of the Crimean peninsula. Projecting, like an advanced bastion, into the midst of the Black Sea, completely commanding the mouths of two of the greatest rivers of Eastern Europe, the Don and the Dnieper, and lying opposite to the Danube and the Bosphorus, it seems destined to secure the dominion of the Euxine and to exert the most important influence over all the surrounding countries, both of Asia and Europe. At the present moment, when the eyes of the whole civilised world are bent on this remote corner of the Russian Empire, and the question of ascendancy between the East and the West appears about to be decided within the narrow limits of the Crimea, an inquiry naturally suggests itself as to the past fortunes of a region destined to play so important a part in the present contest. Has the Crimea never before assumed that position in history, for which its geographical advantages so eminently qualify it? or has it first emerged from obscurity since it became annexed to the Russian Empire? Probably all our readers are aware that before the reign of Catherine II., it was governed by its own Tartar princes, as a dependency of the Turkish Empire; and many of them will remember the combination of fraud and force, intrigue and injustice, by which its transfer to the Russian Crown was effected. But we suspect that there are few among them who have any acquaintance with its history in earlier ages. And yet indications are not wanting that it *has* a past history, and that it has not always been the abode of wandering tribes of Tartars, like those who have swept over the plains of the Ukraine and the Steppes of the Volga, without leaving any permanent traces of their occupation or record of their existence.

In Dr. Koch's pleasant, but somewhat superficial, little volume, and more fully in the older and more satisfactory works of Clarke and Pallas, — to which we recur for information concerning the Crimea not to be found in more

recent books of travels,—it will be remarked, perhaps not without surprise, that numerous relics of Greek civilisation are still preserved on the shores of the Tauric peninsula; and it may be inferred, that the high-sounding Greek names of Eupatoria and Theodosia are not mere modern fictions, but really preserve the memory of that highly gifted race, which has left the indelible marks of its presence wherever it established its widely disseminated colonies. On the other hand, the Genoese castles, whose mouldering towers still crown the rocks of Balaklava as well as the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, remind us of a period,—much more recent indeed, yet now almost equally forgotten, when that active and enterprising commercial people were the undisputed masters of the Euxine, and the trade with Persia and India was almost wholly centered in the Genoese colony of Kaffa. Even in the midst of the absorbing interests of the present, some of our readers may be glad for a moment to recur to the past, while we endeavour to present them with a brief review of the historical associations of the Crimea.

The establishment of the first Greek colonies on the shores of the Euxine belongs to a period before the commencement of authentic history. The greater part of those colonies were sent forth by the Ionian city of Miletus; and of the history of Miletus itself we know nothing, beyond the general fact, that it was in very early times one of the wealthiest and most flourishing cities of the Greek world, and that it was indebted for this prosperity to its extensive trade, and the commercial energy and activity of its people. It was, in fact, the Venice or Genoa of its day. But the greatness of Miletus had as completely passed away, as that of Venice or Genoa has now, before the period of Greek history with which we are most familiar. Even in the days of Aristophanes it had become a byword and a proverb for something altogether gone by.* Hence we can scarcely expect any very accurate historical account of the foundation of its numerous colonies. But we know from the concurrent testimony of antiquity that it was to Miletus the Greeks were indebted for first opening to them the navigation of the long-dreaded waters of the Black Sea. Tradition had preserved the memory of the day, when that sea was still the terror of mariners; and when we remember

* Πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι, is the sarcastic remark of a young man to his antiquated mistress, when he wishes to remind her that her youth and beauty, like the greatness of the Milesians, were things of the past. (Aristoph. *Plutus*, v. 1002.)

the kind of mysterious apprehension with which it was regarded even at the outbreak of the present war, we certainly cannot wonder at the fears it inspired in the infancy of navigation. We are rather struck with admiration at the boldness and energy of the people who could, with such imperfect resources, explore its unknown extent, and penetrate to its inmost recesses. The legend of the voyage of the Argonauts, in the form that it has been transmitted to us, is evidently founded upon traditionary tales of the dangers encountered by the first voyagers in the Euxine.

But the perils of the deep were not the only dangers these early colonists had to fear. Vague and mysterious stories were current of the fierce character and savage habits of the barbarians who bordered the shores of the Black Sea. The Tauri especially, from whom the Crimea derived its ancient name of the Tauric Chersonese, were represented as sacrificing human victims to their deities, and offering up without mercy the unhappy stranger who was unfortunate enough to be cast upon their shores. Herodotus speaks of this barbarous custom as if it still subsisted in his time; and there seems no doubt that it was really prevalent at the period when the Crimea was first visited by the Greeks. It thus became the basis of the well-known legend of Iphigenia in Tauris, to which the Greeks certainly gave a 'local habitation' in the Crimea. The temple of the virgin goddess, in which the daughter of Agamemnon was believed to have officiated as priestess, was still shown in the days of Strabo; but the image of the deity was no longer to be found on its pedestal, according to the legend that it was carried off, together with Iphigenia herself, by Orestes and Pylades. The temple itself was situated within a few miles of the city of Chersonesus, on a lofty promontory commanding an extensive view over the sea; and its site has been fixed with much probability in the immediate neighbourhood of the monastery of St. George. It is a curious coincidence between the very earliest and the very latest records of this region, that the rocky headland from which the temple of the sanguinary goddess frowned upon the Greek mariner, should be the very same spot from which the wires of the electric telegraph have just been placed in communication with our own metropolis.

Well might the Greeks give to a sea fraught with such dangers, both real and imaginary, the name of *Axine*, or 'the Inhospitable': it was not till the Milesians had in great measure dissipated its terrors, and peopled its coasts with Greek colonies, that it came to be known by that of the Euxine or the 'Hospitable,' which it has ever since preserved. So far as we

can discern through the dim historical twilight of this period, it was as early as the seventh, if not the eighth century before the Christian era, that this process of colonisation took place. It is certain that before the close of the sixth, the whole circuit of the Black Sea was surrounded with a complete girdle of Greek towns, several of which were already engaged in an extensive trade with the interior and had risen to a condition of opulence and prosperity; while they all had carried with them their language, their civilisation, their religious legends, and their republican institutions. Other cities had followed the example of Miletus; and the Greeks had made themselves at home on the shores of Scythia, as well as on those of Gaul and Africa.

There can be little doubt that the colonies along the western and southern shores of the Euxine preceded those on its northern coast. At a very early period a range of flourishing Greek cities already extended along the southern coast of the Euxine from Heraclea to Trebizond. The most considerable of these was Sinope, a name so familiar to us all from the recent catastrophe of the Turkish fleet, but equally well known to Herodotus and Xenophon as one of the most important commercial cities in the Black Sea. Eastward of this were Amisus (Samsoun), Cerasus, and Trapezus or Trebizond itself: all of them either colonies of Sinope or founded directly from the parent city of Miletus. The cities on the west coast were of inferior importance and never rose to any great prosperity; but two of them may deserve a passing notice: — Odessus, which seems to have occupied the same site as Varna, while its name has been transferred by Russian caprice to the now celebrated city of Odessa; and Tomi, so well known to every schoolboy, as the place of exile of Ovid, from whence he poured forth his querulous elegies. We cease to wonder at the lamentations of the unfortunate poet when we learn that the place of his banishment was situated within a few miles of Kustendji, on the coast of the barren and insalubrious Dobrudscha.

But it is with the colonies established along the northern shores of the Euxine that we are now more immediately concerned. One of the most important of these — apparently in early times the most considerable of them all — was Olbia or Olbiopolis ‘the wealthy city,’ as it was called by its inhabitants, though better known to the Greeks in general by the name of Borysthenes, from the great river (now called the Dnieper), near the mouth of which it was situated. Its position on the estuary of the Dnieper, just where it receives the river Bug (the Hypanis of the Greeks), secured to it very much the same com-

mercial advantages with the modern city of Odessa, about fifty miles further west; and the rapidity with which this Russian port, which scarcely counts more than sixty years of existence, has risen into a great and opulent city, will serve to illustrate the manner in which the Milesian colony of Olbia attained to the prosperity from which it derived its name. It was visited by Herodotus in his travels, and it was there he collected the curious and valuable information concerning the Scythian tribes of the interior, which he has left us in the fourth book of his history. The extent and accuracy of his knowledge sufficiently shows how widely spread were the relations which the Greeks had already established with the barbarian nations from the banks of the Dnieper to the sources of the Don and the Ural mountains.

Next to Olbia, but inferior to it in importance, was the city of Chersonesus, or Cherson, as it was called in later times, which was placed near the western extremity of the Tauric peninsula, in the immediate neighbourhood of Sebastopol, and on the very ground now the scene of contention between the French and Russian armies. Its ruins were still visible, on the west side of the Quarantine Bay*, when the Crimea was visited at the beginning of this century by Pallas and Clarke, but they have now almost entirely disappeared. Dr. Köch complains that he could find but little of what had been described even much more recently by Dubois de Montpéroux†: and the last remains of this long flourishing and powerful city have been carried away piecemeal to furnish materials for the modern buildings of Sebastopol. An imperial ukase has, it appears, been recently issued — when the mischief was already in great part done — to prohibit such Vandalism; but it has been obeyed as such decrees usually are when no one in authority is interested in enforcing them.

Chersonesus, which was not, like its neighbours, of Milesian

* Some remains are also to be found, or were so till very lately, on the south side of the Bay of Kamiesch. These, which are marked on several maps as the ruins of Cherson, are evidently the remains of the *old* city of that name, which was already in ruins in the days of Strabo, the inhabitants having quitted the site for that nearer Sebastopol. (*Strabo*, vii. 4. p. 308.)

† This author, who, in 1832, devoted two months to an elaborate examination of the ruins of Chersonesus, of which he has given us a complete plan and description, himself remarks that their destruction was going on with such rapidity, that he was in haste to take an account of what still remained, before they should have entirely disappeared. (*Voyage autour du Caucase*, vol. vi. p. 137.)

origin, but a colony from *Heraclea* in *Bithynia*, was probably one of the later Greek settlements on these coasts; but it certainly became one of the most flourishing of them all. It was, however, unable — in early times at least — to vie with the rival city of *Panticapæum*, at the other extremity of the peninsula, a Milesian colony, situated immediately on the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* and close to the modern town of *Kertch*. Here vast ranges of sepulchral mounds still attest the long duration of this powerful and opulent city, and have afforded to the researches of successive excavators an inexhaustible store of coins, gold ornaments, painted vases, and other objects of art — the unfailing accompaniments of Greek civilisation. From its position on the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* — the narrow strait which forms the entrance to the *Sea of Azoff* — *Panticapæum* naturally commanded the whole commerce of that inland sea, and became almost the sole channel of communication with the barbarian tribes which surrounded its shores. *Phanagoria*, also a Greek colony from the Ionian city of *Teos*, was situated on the opposite side of the straits, in the peninsula of *Taman*; but seems to have early given way to the preponderance of *Panticapæum*, which was commonly known to the Greeks as ‘the city of the *Bosphorus*.’ *Theodosia*, on the southern coast of the *Crimea*, about fifty miles west of *Panticapæum*, and, like that city, a Milesian colony, was a city of subordinate importance, and first rose to be a considerable place of trade after it had passed under the dominion of its more powerful neighbour.

But the Greeks of the Northern *Bosphorus* were not content with thus commanding the entrance of the *Sea of Azoff*; and with the view of extending still further their commercial relations with the wild tribes of the interior, they at a very early period established a commercial station or factory at the mouth of the river *Don* or *Tanaïs*, which ultimately became itself a thriving town, and in the days of *Strabo* was inferior only to *Panticapæum* as an emporium of trade. The position thus selected was marked by nature as one of the chief points of communication between the East and the West. *Tana*, which in the middle ages succeeded to the Greek colony of *Tanaïs*, was still one of the chief centres of the trade with Asia when the *Black Sea* was frequented by the *Venetians* and *Genoese*: and after an interval of some centuries, *Taganrog*, founded by the *Russians* in the same neighbourhood, rose rapidly to great commercial prosperity, and has only been recently rivalled by the increasing trade of *Kertch*.

There can, indeed, be no doubt that the commercial relations of the Greeks with the semi-barbarous tribes of the interior,

differed but little from those of the Venetians and Genoese eighteen centuries later; and even at the present day the trade of Taganrog and Kertch with the merchants of the Archipelago and Mediterranean represents that of Tanaïs and Panticapæum in the days of Herodotus. The wants of a nomadic and pastoral people, as well as their productions, will always continue very much the same. 'The mare-milking Scythians, dwelling in waggons,' described by Hesiod*, were probably scarcely to be distinguished from the modern Tartars; and the Argippai of Herodotus are characterised in a manner in which it is impossible to mistake the ancestors of the present Kalmucks.† The furs of the Ural mountains were brought down by caravans to the Greek ports on the Euxine; and the slave markets of Greece were supplied from the wild tribes of the Caucasus. Salt fish and corn were then, as now, the staple productions of the southern provinces of the Russian Empire. The fisheries of the Palus Mæotis were already turned to account by the natives of its shores, under the direction of the Greek colonists, in whose hands they became the objects of a lucrative trade; and the pickled sturgeon and caviar of the Don and the Dnieper were among the favourite dainties of Athenian epicures.

But far more important than these was the trade of the same provinces in corn. From the earliest period at which we have any information concerning them, the countries north of the Black Sea were known as among the richest wheat-growing regions in Europe. Even in the days of Herodotus‡, the peasants of the Ukraine were engaged in growing corn, not for their own consumption, but for exportation from the Greek port of Olbiopolis. The Athenians especially, whose scanty and barren territory was altogether inadequate to the support of its numerous population, derived a large part of their supply from the shores of the Euxine. In the time of Demosthenes this trade was almost wholly absorbed by the two ports of Panticapæum and Theodosia, both of them at that time subject to a ruler named Leucon, who seems to have been fully alive to the value of these commercial relations with Athens, and gave a great stimulus to them by remitting all export duties on the corn destined for that city. According to statistical returns quoted by the great orator, the quantity imported into Athens from this quarter alone, amounted, one year with another, to

* Hesiod. Fr. 131, 132. ed. Didot.

† Herod. iv. 23.

‡ Herod. iv. 17.

400,000 medimni, or nearly 75,000 quarters.* But in years of scarcity it greatly exceeded this amount, and if we may credit the numbers given by Strabo †, — whose statistics, however, are far less trustworthy than those of Demosthenes — Leucon on one occasion supplied the Athenians with no less than 2,200,000 medimni (415,000 quarters), within a single year.

This Leucon was one of a dynasty of rulers, who governed the Greek colonies on the Cimmerian Bosphorus during a period of more than a century. The existence in these secluded colonies of hereditary monarchy, in general so opposed to all the feelings and prejudices of the Greeks, is an anomaly, which we have no means of explaining. We learn indeed that, like the despots or tyrants of so many other Greek states, they retained the semblance of republican forms, and ruled over the cities of Panticapæum and Phanagoria, under the title of their chief magistrates, while they assumed the regal title only over the neighbouring barbarians. But one cause which undoubtedly contributed to the permanence of their authority, was to be found in their personal character. All accounts represent them as a series of enlightened rulers, distinguished for the mild and equitable spirit of their government. Besides fostering their commercial connexion with Athens, — a policy which seems to have been a hereditary tradition among them, having been commenced by Satyrus, the father of Leucon, and continued by his son Parisades — they became the patrons of men of letters, and lived in habitual intercourse with the philosophers of their time. Some of these even took up their residence at the court of the kings of the Bosphorus, and were taunted by their adversaries with displaying a very unphilosophical eagerness for the wealth and favours which it was in the power of those monarchs to bestow. The speeches of Demosthenes, as well as those of his contemporary orators, contain numerous references to the little kingdom of the Bosphorus, and sufficiently show us how completely the Greek colonies in the Crimea, notwithstanding their secluded position, were regarded as constituent members of the Hellenic world.

This was probably the period of their greatest prosperity. Shortly after, one of those unfortunate gaps occurs which so often interrupt our researches in ancient history; for owing to the loss of the later books of Diodorus, we lose sight almost entirely of the Greeks on the Bosphorus for a period of nearly two centuries. When they reappear in history we find them

* Demosth, adv. Sept. p. 467. ed. Reiske.

† Strabo, vii. p. 311.

struggling hard with the northern barbarians, and on the point of being overwhelmed by hordes of Scythian invaders, who threatened to extinguish all traces of Greek civilisation north of the Euxine. Up to this period it is remarkable how little they appear to have suffered from their barbarian neighbours. We hear, indeed, of Parisades, the son of Leucon, being engaged in a war with the Scythians in the time of Demosthenes; and it is impossible to suppose that such hostilities should not have occurred from time to time; but the great prosperity attained by the Greek cities, as well as the extent of their commercial relations with the interior, prove that such a state of things was not of very frequent occurrence. The tribes immediately bordering on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff early acquired the first elements of civilisation, and occupied themselves with husbandry or with the productive fisheries at the mouths of the great rivers. The wilder races of the interior, who preserved their primitive wandering habits, were content to leave these agricultural settlers and the Greek colonists themselves in the undisturbed possession of the more fertile districts, so long as they paid them a moderate tribute.

But this state of things appears to have undergone a great change at the period to which we have just referred; and it would seem as if in the interval during which we lose sight of the little kingdom of Bosphorus, some considerable movements had taken place among the wild tribes of Scythia. The Sarmatians, a people who in the time of Herodotus dwelt exclusively to the east of the Tanaïs, had crossed that river and spread themselves over the broad plains of southern Russia, from the Don to the Dnieper; and with them we find associated the name of the Roxolani, a people who now appear for the first time in history, but who have a special claim upon our attention as being in all probability the ancestors of the modern Russians. Contemporaneously with the pressure exercised upon the Greek colonies by these new hordes of northern invaders, there had arisen within the Crimea itself a power more formidable than any previously existing. The Tauri, a tribe long remarkable only for their ferocity and barbarous customs*, would seem to have at length imbibed to a certain extent the habits of their more

* One of these was very peculiar. Whenever one of their kings lost a friend or follower to whom he was much attached, he was expected to cut off a piece of one of his own ears, or a whole ear if the loss was such as to call for a very strong expression of grief. Kings have proverbially few friends; and in a country where such a custom prevailed, they would scarcely be disposed to extend the circle of them.

civilised neighbours, and were consolidated into a regular kingdom by a chief named Scilurus, who soon became a formidable neighbour to the Greeks of the Chersonese. It is clear that this monarch possessed more than the ordinary resources of barbarian warfare, as we are told that he hemmed in the Greeks of Chersonesus with a chain of fortresses; against which they in their turn erected a line of wall, fortified with towers, and extending from the deep inlet of Balaklava across to the head of the bay of Sebastopol. The remains of this fortification, which was repaired and strengthened long afterwards by the Byzantine Greeks, were still extant in the days of Pallas, and may perhaps still be traced, whenever the Russian artillery shall leave the valley from Balaklava to Inkermann open* to antiquarian investigation.

While the inhabitants of Chersonesus were thus hemmed in by Scilurus, at one extremity of the peninsula, the Sarmatians were pressing equally hard upon those of the Bosphorus at the other. Parisades, who then ruled at Panticapæum, — probably a lineal descendant of the earlier monarch of the name, — had in vain sought to buy off the formidable invaders by offers of an increased tribute; and at length saw no other resource open to him, than to sacrifice the independence of his country, by calling in the aid of a monarch who had recently founded a powerful empire on the southern shores of the Euxine. It was thus that the little kingdom of the Bosphorus became merged in the dominions of the great Mithridates.

That remarkable man, one of the few eastern sovereigns in ancient times who have earned for themselves an enduring place in history, had succeeded at a very early age to the throne of Pontus — the name given by the Greeks to the mountainous province which occupies the south-eastern shores of the Black Sea, and extends from the waters of the Euxine to the cold and dreary highlands of Armenia. Here, after the dissolution of the empire of Alexander, a petty kingdom had arisen, governed by a race of native princes, who had already ruled the same territory as satraps under the Persian Empire. They claimed to be descended from the royal house of the Achæmenides, to which the kings of Persia had belonged, and asserted their lineal descent from one of the seven Persian nobles, who had conspired with Darius Hystaspes against the Magi. But for a considerable period their dominions were limited and their names obscure. Pharnaces, the grandfather of Mithridates the Great, was the first who annexed to his dominions the city of Sinope, at that time the most flourishing and important of all the Greek colonies on the southern coast of the Euxine, and which became

thenceforth the capital of the kings of Pontus. Mithridates the Fifth, father of the more celebrated monarch of the name, had still further extended his power by entering into an alliance with the Romans, and assisting them in their war against Aristonicus, the last of the kings of Pergamus. The all-powerful republic had already begun to dispose of the kingdoms and provinces of Asia according to its sovereign will and pleasure; and the consul Manius Aquilius rewarded the services of the king of Pontus with the extensive district of Phrygia. But the senate refused to ratify his acts; and though they did not disturb the elder Mithridates in the possession of his newly acquired territory, they soon after took advantage of the minority of his son to wrest from him the province thus bestowed upon his father. The young prince was in no condition to resist. Left at the age of eleven years in nominal possession of the sovereignty, he found himself surrounded by unfaithful guardians and exposed on all sides to the designs of treacherous foes, whose machinations had already brought about the death of his father. But the difficulties and dangers by which he was thus beset only served to call forth the latent energies of his character, and became the means of training him up to future greatness. Early acquiring the habit of profound dissimulation, so essential to an eastern despot, he pretended to be indifferent to the cares of royalty and insensible to political ambition. Devoting himself with ardour to the pursuits of the chase, he plunged into the wildest and most secluded mountain districts, and frequently resided there for considerable periods of time, braving all kinds of dangers, while he inured his bodily frame to hardships and privations. At the same time in his intervals of repose he cultivated with assiduity all the branches of a Greek education, for which his capital of Sinope afforded him ample opportunities. His powerful memory gave him a peculiar facility in the acquisition of languages: so that we are told that in the days of his greatest power he could speak the dialect of every tribe that was subject to his rule, and converse with the deputies of twenty-five nations in their several native languages.

A spirit so active and energetic was not likely to remain long contented with the narrow limits of the kingdom of Pontus. The injury inflicted on him by the Romans immediately after his accession had sunk deep into his fiery and vindictive spirit; and there can be no doubt that from an early period he was preparing for a contest with the haughty republic. But he had the sagacity to see that the time was not yet come, and that he was no match for the armies of Rome. On his western frontier the kingdoms of Bithynia and Cappadocia enjoyed the all-

powerful protection of the Roman name, and any attempt to aggrandise himself at the cost of these neighbours would be sure to involve him — as it ultimately did — in hostilities with the great republic. But on the east he found free scope for his arms; and in wars with the wild barbarian tribes of the Caucasus and Armenian mountains, he himself acquired military reputation and experience, while he trained up his armies for future conquests. At an early period of his reign, though the exact chronology of these events is very obscure, he had extended his dominions along the eastern shores of the Black Sea as far as Dioscurias, the last of the Greek settlements on this coast *, and the chief emporium of trade on this part of the Euxine. Inland from thence to the Caspian, the warlike races now known as the Imeretians, Mingrelians, and Georgians, had submitted to his arms and acknowledged his supremacy. The part of Armenia adjoining to Pontus was also directly subject to his rule, while Tigranes, the powerful sovereign of the interior or Greater Armenia, was secured to his alliance by marriage. The wild tribes of the Caucasus — the indomitable ancestors of the Lesghians and Circassians — still maintained their lawless independence, and defied alike the arms of Mithridates and the Romans, as they have those of the Turks and Russians in our own days.

It was at this time, before hostilities had actually broken out between Mithridates and the Romans, but when both parties were looking forward to them as inevitable, that the Greeks of the Crimea invoked the assistance of the king of Pontus. The free cities of Chersonesus and Olbiopolis joined in the application of the royal ruler of the Bosphorus. Their overtures were gladly welcomed by the ambitious monarch, but Mithridates did not regard the war as deserving of his own presence, and confided to two generals, named Diophantus and Neoptolemus — both of them evidently of Greek origin — the defence

* In the time of Strabo, Dioscurias, which was situated at Isgaour, a little to the south of Soukhum Kaleh, was a very important mart, to which all the nations of the Caucasus and the regions between the Black Sea and the Caspian were in the habit of resorting. They were said to speak seventy different languages. It is one of the best roadsteads on this coast, and was still much frequented by traders in the days of Chardin, though the site was then no longer inhabited. (*Voyage en Perse*, vol. i. p. 57.) The circumstance may serve to show the importance of the evacuation of Anapa by the Russians, and the possibility of establishing commercial relations at the very same ports which were frequented by the ancients on the Circassian coast.

of their countrymen on the other side of the Euxine. Their success justified his confidence: Diophantus overthrew the power of Scilurus in the Tauric Chersonese, defeated the numerous hordes of the Roxolani, whom he had called in to his assistance, and established the power of Mithridates over the western portion of the peninsula. It is from this period that the now familiar name of Eupatoria derives its origin. It was bestowed by Diophantus upon a fortress which he erected to confirm his conquests, and strengthen the position of the Chersonesites on the north, and was derived from the surname or title of Eupator, by which Mithridates was distinguished from his predecessors; his well-deserved appellation of 'the Great' being unknown alike both to Greek and Roman historians. The site of this ancient Eupatoria is uncertain, and the name has, as usual, been bestowed by the Russians upon the Tartar town of Khoslov without any sufficient warranty.*

Meanwhile Neoptolemus liberated the Greeks of the cities on the Bosphorus from their formidable neighbours, overthrew the Sarmatians and Roxolani in repeated battles, and carried his victorious arms along the northern shore of the Euxine, as far as the mouth of the Dniester, where a fortress, called the Tower of Neoptolemus, served to mark the limits of his conquests, and of the dominion of Mithridates. The district between that river and the mouths of the Danube, now included in the province of Bessarabia, seems to have been in ancient times a mere desert, and was never occupied by either Greek or Roman conquerors. Even in the days of Augustus, it was from thence that the wandering Getæ used to cross the frozen Danube, and shoot their poisoned arrows at the terrified colonists under the very walls of Tomi.

The Greek cities on the Euxine now became permanently tributary to Mithridates; but the long-continued wars in which that monarch found himself engaged with the Romans, left him but little time to attend to his remote dominions on the Bosphorus, the government of which he intrusted to his son Mahares. Perhaps, however, amid the vicissitudes of that long-protracted contest, the thought may have occasionally presented itself to his mind, that here, at least, he had a safe place for refuge in the hour of adversity, whither the Romans

* According to Dubois de Montpéroux (vol. vi. p. 250), the fortress of Diophantus was erected on the plateau of the hill of Inkermann, but it must be confessed that the language of Strabo is not very clear. It seems certain, however, that it must have been situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of the great harbour or bay of Sebastopol, which was known to the Greeks by the name of Ctenus.

would find it difficult to follow him. That hour came at length. Worn out by twenty-two years of almost unceasing warfare, and driven back step by step from the shores of the *Ægean* to the mountains of Armenia; closely pursued by Pompey, and abandoned by his son-in-law Tigranes, on whose support he had vainly counted, Mithridates found himself at the head of a scanty band of followers in a mountain fortress on the frontiers of Armenia. In this extremity he adopted the daring resolution of transporting the theatre of war to the shores of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and placing the *Caucasus*, with its wild barbarian tribes and inaccessible mountain fortresses, between himself and his enemies. A project so boldly conceived was carried out with equal ability. He took up his quarters for the winter at *Dioscurias*—a position already sufficiently remote to secure him from immediate pursuit—and here he once more assembled a small fleet and army, with which he, the next spring, continued his progress along the coast of *Circassia*. The wild tribes that occupied this tract had never acknowledged his sovereignty, and had been irritated by previous attacks without being subdued. Nevertheless, he fought his way step by step along these rugged and mountainous shores, till he arrived in safety at the Greek town of *Phanagoria*. Thither even Pompey did not attempt to follow him; and while the Roman general returned to regulate the affairs of Asia, Mithridates established himself in security on the shores of the Northern *Bosphorus*.

But nothing could be further from his thoughts than to give himself up to the tranquil enjoyment of this security. Though now nearly seventy years of age, the old king, with a spirit worthy of Hannibal, whom he resembled in his unceasing animosity against Rome, however inferior to him in genius, began to form fresh schemes of aggression against that formidable power, the superiority of whose arms he had already felt so often and so severely. The successes of his generals *Diophantus* and *Neoptolemus* had established the fame of his arms amongst the barbarians north of the *Euxine*, and Mithridates now meditated nothing less than to rally round his standard all these wild nations, and fling himself upon the *Danube* and the European provinces of the Roman Empire, at the head of a countless multitude of *Sarmatians*, *Roxolani*, and *Getæ*; thus anticipating three centuries the great irruption of the northern barbarians, which ultimately proved destructive to the power of Rome. The mighty scheme is described by *Racine* at the opening of the third act of his '*Mithridate*' in one of the noblest passages of French tragic verse. But the king of Pontus stood alone. Those who surrounded him were alike incapable of appreciating

his magnanimous spirit or comprehending the vastness of his schemes. His soldiers murmured at the dangers to which he was about to expose them; and a conspiracy was formed against his life, at the head of which was his favourite son Pharnaces. The plot was discovered, and the accomplices of the young prince put to death; but Mithridates, with a clemency unusual among eastern despots, and which was in this instance but ill-requited, spared the life of his son. Pharnaces immediately took advantage of this impunity to raise the standard of open revolt, and putting himself at the head of the discontented troops, marched upon Panticapæum, where Mithridates was confined to his palace by a painful illness. Finding that all hope was at an end, the aged monarch in vain endeavoured to put an end to his own life: the habitual use of antidotes in his youth had rendered his constitution proof against all kinds of poison, and his feeble hands refused to wield the sword. He was forced to call in the aid of one of his Gaulish guards to dispatch him.

Pharnaces hastened to make his submission to Pompey, and sent the body of his father to the Roman general as a proof of his fidelity and a claim on the gratitude of the republic. Such was the terror that the name of Mithridates still inspired, that the sight of his lifeless remains was hailed by the Roman army as equivalent to a great victory. But Pompey had the magnanimity to show respect to a deceased enemy, and ordered the remains of Mithridates to be consigned with due honour to the royal sepulchre at Sinope. It is therefore without any foundation that the inhabitants of Kertch still profess to point out the tomb of Mithridates among the mounds which surround their city. But it is a natural feeling that leads them to claim the sepulchre of the only great man whose name is to be found in the annals of the kings of the Bosphorus. For once that obscure corner of the Euxine had attracted the attention of the whole civilised world: as long as Mithridates lived, the petty kingdom was raised into a sort of preternatural importance, which it lost immediately afterwards. Pharnaces in vain took advantage of the civil wars of the Romans to raise once more the standard of his father in Asia: his futile attempt to restore the kingdom of Pontus is remembered chiefly as the occasion of Cæsar's celebrated dispatch, which commemorated in three words, 'Veni, Vidi, Vici,' its complete and decisive defeat.

A very few words will suffice to dispose of the remaining kings of the Bosphorus. Asander, to whom Cæsar delegated the task of completing the defeat of Pharnaces by expelling him from his dominions north of the Euxine, after successfully performing his mission, seated himself on the vacant throne. He

is chiefly remarkable as having fortified the peninsula of Kertch with a wall drawn across from the Bay of Arabat to the Bay of Theodosia; the remains of which were still visible in the time of Pallas. Such a mode of defence seems to have been a favourite resource in the Crimea, and was probably sufficient to guard against the hasty inroads of wandering Tartars. Asander was in his turn dispossessed by the Romans; but the next monarch, Polemon, who was placed on the throne by Augustus, was more fortunate, and became the founder of a dynasty who continued to rule over the little kingdom of the Bosphorus for more than three centuries. Their names, and the order of their succession, have been traced throughout this period by the diligence of antiquarians, principally by the aid of their coins; but all we know of their history may be summed up in the fact that they continued to maintain their position as petty sovereigns, dependent upon the Roman emperors, whose favour they purchased by the payment of a moderate tribute, and by occasional embassies of compliment. Its secluded position preserved the Bosphorus from the fate of most of these dependent kingdoms, which were gradually absorbed into the colossal mass of the Roman Empire.

But the petty kings of the Bosphorus soon began to find that the nominal protection afforded by the rulers of the Roman world, was insufficient to defend them from the increasing swarms of invaders from the north and east. The Crimea lay in the highway of these nations, which swept in successive waves over the broad expanse of the plains from the Volga to the Danube. Even as early as the reign of Nero it was ravaged by the Alani; and it was probably on this occasion that Theodosia was destroyed, as we are told by Arrian (whose geographical account of the Black Sea was composed in the reign of Hadrian), that in his day that city was already in ruins. Before the middle of the third century the Goths, who had already taken up their abode in the provinces north of the Euxine, spread themselves into the Crimea, where they soon obtained a firm footing. Of all the nations that contributed to the overthrow of the Roman Empire, the Goths,—whose name has become almost a synonym for barbarism—were unquestionably the least barbarous. Wherever they came in contact with civilisation they speedily began to feel its influence, and partially adopt its refinements. Thus in the Crimea they became an agricultural and settled people, and occupied the fertile tract along the northern and southern slopes of the mountain chain which extends from Sebastopol to Kaffa; a district which thence

acquired the name of Gothia, by which it continued to be known down to the period of the Turkish conquest.

It was far otherwise with the next swarm of barbarian invaders. The Huns, whose progress was everywhere marked by destruction and devastation, in 375 crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and spread like a torrent over the plains of the Crimea. Phanagoria, and several of the smaller Greek towns on the Bosphorus, were utterly destroyed. Panticapæum, though it survived the catastrophe, fell into the hands of the barbarians, and the kingdom of the Bosphorus, which had preserved for so many centuries the traces of Greek civilisation in this quarter, was finally extinguished. Cherson, at the other extremity of the peninsula, was more fortunate. That city seems to have been gradually increasing in importance as those on the Bosphorus declined. Under the Roman Empire it existed as a nominally free republic, though acknowledging the supremacy and enjoying the protection of the Empire; and its strong and almost insulated position seems to have preserved it from all attacks of the barbarians. It thus became the chief centre of what trade was still carried on in these parts, and secured to the Byzantine emperors a footing in the Crimea. Hence it was treated by those monarchs with especial favour. An inscription still extant records the repairs and additions to its fortifications by the Emperor Zeno; and Justinian not only renewed the walls of Cherson itself, but constructed two fortresses on the southern coast of the Crimea, the names of which, Alustum and Gorzubitæ, are still retained with little alteration by the villages of Alushta and Gurzuf. He at the same time repaired and partially restored the walls of Panticapæum. But the decay of that city was already too far advanced to be arrested. The period of its final desolation is not recorded; but it seems to have gradually dwindled into utter insignificance; though the names of Pandico, Bospro, and Vospro, which we still find applied to its site in the geographers of the middle ages, show that its name was not yet forgotten. It is not till the fourteenth century that we find mention of the Tartar town of Kertch: the Genoese built there a castle which they called Cerco; but it never rose to be a place of importance under their rule, being eclipsed by the prosperity of the neighbouring Kaffa.

Justinian, who was a great builder and sought to immortalise his reign by architectural monuments not less than by conquests, also rebuilt on the eastern shores of the Euxine a town or fortress to which he gave the name — now so inseparably associated with the Crimea, — of Sebastopolis, or the city of the

Emperor. The description of it given by Procopius is curiously applicable to the modern city of the name. ‘Sebastopolis (he says) was formerly a mere fort, but the Emperor Justinian has now wholly rebuilt it, and surrounded it with a circle of fortifications which render it impregnable, while he has adorned it with broad streets and public buildings of all kinds, so as to render it one of the finest cities that it is possible to see.’* But the ancient Sebastopol had nothing to do with the modern town: it occupied the now desolate site of Dioscurias on the coast of Circassia; and hardly one stone remains upon another to mark the place where this impregnable fortress once stood. May the omen attend the name!

At this period the Goths, who had taken refuge in the mountains during the invasion of the Huns, and had gradually spread themselves again over the peninsula, after the departure of those formidable invaders, occupied the greater part of the Crimea. They are described by Procopius as a peaceful and agricultural people, who had adopted the Christian religion and become the firm allies of the Byzantine Emperors. But they had not yet lost their traditional valour, and the three thousand troops whom they could send into the field were among the choicest auxiliaries of the armies that still called themselves Roman.

We cannot attempt to trace the history of the Crimea through the long and stormy period that follows, during which it was overrun and occupied in succession by the Khazars — a Turkish tribe, who gave to the whole tract north of the Euxine the name of Khazaria, by which it was commonly known in the time of the Genoese — the Petschenegans and the Comanians. It is remarkable that the position of the Crimea, apparently one of such great natural strength, never seems to have offered any obstacle to these successive swarms of invaders, who passed with equal facility the isthmus of Perekop and the strait of the Bosphorus. The hardy Goths nevertheless maintained a state of virtual independence in the mountains; while the artificial fortifications of Cherson were able to defy the efforts of these rude warriors, who were more than once repulsed from its walls. That city was at this period a place of considerable trade and one of the most important dependencies of the Byzantine Empire. But its connexion with Constantinople was far from being an unmixed benefit, as it more than once involved it in the revolutions of which that capital was so often the scene; and in 711 Cherson narrowly escaped the vengeance of the sanguinary tyrant Justinian II., who had sent a fleet and army against

* Procop., *De Ædif.* iii. 7.

it, with orders for its utter destruction. Cherson was saved on this occasion by the intervention of the Khan or chief of the Khazars, and for a time passed under the supremacy of those sovereigns; but it was soon again reunited with the Byzantine Empire, to which it continued subject, with one brief interval, till the time of its final downfall.

The exception, however, deserves our notice. In 988 Cherson, together with the rest of the Crimea, fell for a time into the hands of the Russians. In the tenth century that people had already established their power over a considerable part of the countries now included in the European dominions of the Czar, and their fleets had already struck terror into the Byzantine rulers within the walls of Constantinople; but Vladimir, surnamed the Great, was the first who subdued the Khazars and Petschenegans, and thus extended his dominions from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The rest of the Crimea was speedily overrun; but the fortified city of Cherson for a long time defied his arms, and the haughty barbarian, who had threatened to persist in the siege for three years, if necessary, seemed likely to be obliged to keep his word, when a treacherous monk betrayed to him the fact that the pipes upon which the city depended for its whole supply of water were in his power; and by cutting them off Vladimir quickly compelled the inhabitants to surrender.

From the walls of Cherson he now dictated terms to Constantinople, and compelled Basil, the emperor of the East, to give him his sister Anna in marriage. The only condition made by the Byzantine monarch, was that Vladimir himself should embrace Christianity; a demand readily acceded to, and the baptism of the Russian prince was celebrated, at the same time with his nuptials, in the cathedral church of Cherson. That city was now restored to the Byzantine Empire, and Vladimir returned to his own capital of Kiev, from whence he issued ukases, in the true spirit of despotism, commanding his subjects without delay to follow the example, and adopt the religion, of their sovereign. The ruins of the church in which the baptism of Vladimir took place, were still extant when the site was explored by Dubois de Montpéroux, and are described by him as an interesting specimen of Byzantine architecture.* But we learn with surprise that a monument of so much interest in connexion with the first introduction of Christianity into Russia has been treated by that orthodox government with the same neglect as the more ancient relics of the Greek city.

* Voyage autour du Caucase, vol. vi. p. 142—144.

We hasten over this obscure and confused epoch to come to one nearer our own time, when the Crimea once more rose into importance in the hands of the Genoese. That active commercial people had from an early period turned their attention to the trade with the East, and sought to rival the Venetians in the markets of Constantinople. But they had long contended in vain against the privileges enjoyed by that favoured people. It was not till 1155 that the first treaty between the Byzantine emperors and the Genoese secured to the latter the same commercial advantages already enjoyed by the Venetians and Pisans. Nearly a century more elapsed before the commencement of their settlements in the Euxine. It was the Latin conquest of Constantinople—an event which seemed likely to establish for ever the supremacy of their Venetian rivals in these seas—that, on the contrary, opened the way to the maritime supremacy of the Genoese. The establishment of the Latin Empire secured to the Venetians, for the short period of its duration, the exclusive command of the Bosphorus and the Black Sea; but it threw the Greek emperors into the arms of their rivals; and Michael Palæologus, who had already before his accession concluded an alliance with the Genoese, no sooner found himself established on the throne of Constantinople than he hastened to accord to them privileges as ample, and monopolies as exclusive, as had been previously enjoyed by their rivals. They were not slow in availing themselves of these advantages. Their establishment at Galata speedily rose from a mere commercial factory into a fortified suburb, which awed and intimidated the feeble emperors of Byzantium, while it gave to its enterprising possessors the exclusive command of the Bosphorus, and, with it, of almost the whole commerce of the Black Sea. The possession of this trade was at this period the more important, as the ports of Syria and Egypt were now in great measure closed against Christian merchants, and the trade with India across the Isthmus of Suez had almost entirely disappeared after the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens. But commerce is ever ready to find for itself new channels; and long disused or neglected caravan routes through Central Asia now became the means of transporting the gems and spices of India, and the silks of China, to the shores of the Black Sea, and the markets of Europe. The Genoese soon absorbed into their own hands the greater part of this lucrative trade, though the Venetians still continued the competition with them, and carried on constant intercourse with Tana, in spite of all the efforts of their rivals. The latter possessed almost exclusively the supply of Constantinople—still the most populous and

flourishing city of the East—with corn, fish, and salt, for all which important articles it was mainly dependent upon the northern shores of the Euxine.

But the Genoese were not long contented with the footing they had thus permanently gained at the entrance of the Black Sea, and sought to establish themselves equally firmly at other points on its shores. The Byzantine emperors had long ceased to exercise any kind of sovereignty over the countries north of the Euxine; and the Greek colonies there had wholly disappeared with the single exception of Cherson, which, though greatly enfeebled and decayed, still retained some traces of its former prosperity, and carried on a certain amount of trade with Constantinople. The Crimea had at this time fallen under the dominion of the Tartar khans of Kaptschak, who about the middle of the thirteenth century had founded a powerful kingdom in the southern provinces of Russia, and given a check to the growing power of that empire, which for nearly three centuries reduced it to comparative insignificance. These Tartar chiefs, with a policy more enlightened than was commonly found among their brethren, seem to have been desirous of promoting commercial intercourse with more civilised nations, and lent a favourable ear to the overtures of the Genoese, to whom they granted in the first instance considerable privileges. Of these, the most important was that of erecting a factory for the residence of their merchants and the security of their goods. The spot selected by the Genoese was at Kaffa, on the site of the ancient Greek colony of Theodosia. This last had fallen into decay long before, and no trace of it is found after it is mentioned by Arrian as lying in ruins. But a village had grown up on the spot, which is mentioned in the tenth century by the name of Kaffa, though it was apparently an obscure and unimportant place, till the Genoese, attracted by the advantages of its port, or rather roadstead, determined to make it the emporium of their trade in the Black Sea. Their humble factory—for at first it was really nothing more—soon followed the example of Galata, and rose with rapidity into a flourishing town. As early as the year 1318, about forty years after its first foundation, it was erected into a bishopric by Pope John XXII., on the express ground of its opulent and populous condition. In 1357, the trench and rampart, which had at first served for its defence, were replaced by a stone wall and towers; the city itself was by this time adorned with splendid buildings, and is said to have contained not less than a hundred thousand inhabitants. We are assured by contemporary writers that Kaffa vied in splendour with its parent city of Genoa, and even

with the imperial Constantinople,—a statement we suspect of exaggeration, but which at least bears testimony to the impression produced by its opulence.

But we must not suppose that the Genoese had established their power without opposition, or that the rising prosperity of Kaffa was altogether undisturbed by storms and reverses. The Greek emperors soon began to take umbrage at the power they had themselves raised, and the insolent and domineering tone which the colonists of Galata early began to assume. Conscious of their naval superiority, which gave them the almost absolute command of a capital situated like Constantinople, the Genoese were not content with excluding their commercial rivals from the trade of the Euxine, but began to assert their own exclusive rights against the Greek emperors themselves. They gradually absorbed into their own hands the fisheries of the Bosphorus, the customs, and even the tolls which were levied by the Imperial authorities at the entrance of the strait. The Byzantine emperors found themselves powerless to resist these encroachments of the haughty republicans; but the Venetians were unwilling to submit without a struggle to the domination of their rivals. In the reign of Andronicus the Elder a great sea fight took place in the Bosphorus, under the very walls of Constantinople, between the fleets of the two powerful republics. The Genoese were worsted, and the Venetian galleys for a time rode triumphant in the Black Sea. A squadron of twenty-five ships, under Giovanni Superanzo, attacked the rising colony of Kaffa, and made themselves masters of the town; but having had the imprudence to winter there, the Venetian commander lost a great part of his crews by the cold. This was in 1297; the next year the great naval victory of Curzola restored the superiority of the Genoese: Kaffa was rebuilt, and their power in the Euxine re-established more firmly than before.

Their relations with the Tartar khans were for the most part of the most peaceable character. We are even told that they had established so high a reputation with that people for justice and fair dealing, that the Tartars of the Crimea used to resort to the magistrates at Kaffa for the settlement of their own disputes, and a regular tribunal was established for their decision. But this tranquillity was liable to occasional disturbances, and on one occasion the colonists had to stand a long protracted siege from the arms of the Khan, or Emperor, as he is styled, of Kaptchak; but the fortifications of Kaffa defied his efforts. At another time the Tartar sovereign avenged his defeat on this occasion by a promiscuous massacre of the Genoese traders who were dispersed through the Crimea or settled at Tana;

and the republicans in consequence instituted a regular blockade of all the coasts of his dominions. A collateral effect of this measure was to cause a famine at Constantinople, which was thus deprived of its ordinary supplies of corn.

But it was the war in which the Genoese found themselves engaged, in 1350, with the Byzantine emperor, John Cantacuzenus, that finally established their dominion in the Black Sea. The increasing arrogance of the colonists of Galata, who now sought nothing less than to prohibit the Greeks themselves from the exercise of navigation, even within the waters of their own dominions, at length drove the feeble emperor to an attempt at resistance. But his fleet was speedily annihilated by that of the Genoese; and his only resource was to call in the assistance of their rivals, the Venetians. 'The weight of the Roman empire,' observes Gibbon, 'was scarcely felt in the balance of these opulent and powerful republics;' and the Emperor of the East was content to look on as a passive spectator at the memorable battle which decided the contest, under the walls of Constantinople. The victory was claimed by both parties, but the real success rested with the Genoese; and three months after the battle the Emperor Cantacuzenus accorded to them by treaty the exclusive right of navigation in the Black Sea.

Kaffa now reigned without a rival in the Euxine. The Venetians bound themselves by treaty to forego the trade with Tana, at the head of the Sea of Azoff. Cherson, at the western extremity of the Crimea, which had still maintained a feeble and languishing trade with the Greek capital, now sunk into utter decay.* Sudak, or Soldaia, as the Italians termed it, a Greek town on the southern coast of the Crimea, which, before the rise of Kaffa, had enjoyed some prosperity, was attacked and taken, in 1365, by the colonists of that city, under their consul Bartolomeo di Jacopo. The same fate soon after befell the small town of Cembalo—an Italian corruption of the Greek name of Symbolon, which we find applied, as early as the time of Strabo, to the remarkable land-locked port of Balaklava. Both these points were secured by the Genoese with strong castles, the picturesque ruins of which still remain. Some years later, a special treaty with the Khan of Kaptchak secured to

* No mention is found of Cherson at the time of the Turkish conquest of the Crimea; it was, probably, already desolate. Bronovius, who visited and described its ruins in 1595, found them totally uninhabited. It is hardly necessary to remark that the Russian town of Cherson, at the mouth of the Dnieper, founded by Catherine II. in 1778, has no claim to any connexion with the Greek city of which it has usurped the name.

them the absolute dominion of the long strip of coast which extends from the one point to the other,—the beautiful district now become the favourite resort of the Russian nobility, and of which every traveller speaks in terms of well-merited admiration.

The Genoese pursued the same enlightened policy towards their distant colonies as the Greeks had done, and treated them rather as allies than as subjects. Both Galata and Kaffa seem to have been left, in great measure, to their own management. The parent republic protected them against foreign aggression, and fought their battles against the Venetians. But, in these cases, her own commercial empire was at stake, as well as the interests of her colonists. At other times the colonial administration was left, practically, in the hands of the citizens of each place, though the chief magistrate, who was termed Podestà at Galata, and Consul at Kaffa, was always appointed by the mother city. The frequent occurrence of the names of the noblest Genoese families, shows that the most illustrious of her citizens did not disdain to join the colonists in the Black Sea.

For more than a century the whole course of events tended to the aggrandisement of Kaffa and the extension of its dominion. Tana, the important emporium at the mouth of the Don, was destroyed by Tamerlane, as it were incidentally, on his expedition against the Tartars of Kaptchak in 1391, and the whole of its trade was thenceforth transferred to Kaffa. At the same time, the conqueror of Asia so effectually humbled the Tartar potentates in question, that they from thenceforth became far less formidable neighbours to the Genoese colonists, whose alliance and favour they courted by every means in their power. It was not long before this that the all-powerful merchants had succeeded in establishing themselves in an almost equally dominant position at the south-eastern corner of the Euxine. Here a dynasty of Byzantine Greeks, an offshoot of the imperial family of the Comneni, had established themselves in an independent position after the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, and assumed the proud title of Emperors of Trebizond. The city of that name—originally a colony of Sinope, and familiar to the readers of Xenophon as the place where the Ten Thousand first reached the sea, and found themselves once more among their countrymen—had always retained its Greek population and character, but had first risen into importance under the Roman empire. The emperor Hadrian had constructed there a well-sheltered artificial port to supply the deficiency previously felt of a secure anchorage for shipping, at a place which seems marked by nature for one of the principal

points of communication between Europe and the East. Even at the present day, though it has again nothing more than an insecure roadstead, Trebizond is, next to Odessa, the most important trading town on the Black Sea, and sends into the interior of Persia and Asiatic Turkey a yearly increasing quantity of European manufactures.

So important a commercial position was not likely to be neglected by the Genoese; and almost as soon as they began to extend their power in the Black Sea, we find them establishing themselves in considerable numbers at Trebizond. Their trade with that place became inferior only to that which they carried on with Kaffa and Tana. But its progress was checked for a time by their own immoderate pretensions. The Genoese government having sent an embassy formally to claim the same privileges accorded to them by the emperors of Constantinople, and insisting not only on the exemption of their goods from the transit duties levied on all others, but on the right to farm those duties for themselves, Alexius II., then emperor of Trebizond, had the courage to refuse; and, in the contest that ensued, the warehouses of the Genoese were set on fire, and all their valuable merchandise consumed. 'After this,' says the chronicler, 'they behaved themselves more quietly.' But it was only for a time. They soon repaired their losses, and renewed their extensive commercial establishments at Trebizond. In 1348 they broke out into open war with the emperor Michael, took the important town of Kerasunt, the second city in his dominions; and only agreed to restore it in return for the cession of Leontokastron, a fortress close to Trebizond itself, and completely commanding its harbour. But even this did not satisfy the grasping ambition of the Genoese: the circumstances that led to the final establishment of their power at Trebizond are too curious and characteristic to be omitted.

Megollo Lercari, a Genoese of noble birth, established in Kaffa, was one of the most wealthy of the merchant princes of that opulent city. During an occasional residence at Trebizond he was grossly insulted by a favourite page of the reigning emperor, Alexius III., who had the insolence to strike him in the presence of the whole court. Lercari instantly appealed to the emperor; but Alexius protected his minion, and affected to treat the affair as a trifle. Hereupon, the Genoese indignantly withdrew from Trebizond, vowing vengeance, not against the miserable page, but his imperial protector. With the assistance of his friends and kinsmen at Genoa, he quickly fitted out two galleys, which were far more than a match for any ships of war belonging to the petty prince who gloried in the title of Emperor

of Trebizond. Cruising with these vessels on the southern shore of the Euxine, he carried on a piratical warfare against the subjects of Alexius. The Greeks of Trebizond and Kerasunt had still up to this time retained a certain portion of the maritime trade in their own hands; but now they saw their commerce ruined, their ships captured, and their coasts ravaged by the insolent and daring Lercari; while a feeble attempt on the part of the emperor to protect them only resulted in the capture of all the imperial galleys that were sent out to the rescue. With a barbarity unworthy of his name and country, Lercari cruelly mutilated all the prisoners that fell into his hands, by cutting off their noses and ears, and sent a barrel full of these miserable trophies to the emperor, with the threat that he would continue to exact a similar tribute till he should obtain full satisfaction for the insult he had received. Alexius had no choice but to submit, and surrendered the wretched page into the hands of his enemy. But Lercari, with a magnanimity hardly to be expected from his previous cruelty, scorned to punish the poor stripling, and contented himself with having humbled his master. At the same time he took the opportunity to secure for his countrymen a fresh commercial treaty by which the whole trade of Trebizond was virtually secured to them.

The beginning of the fifteenth century was the period when the power of the Genoese in the Black Sea was at its greatest height. Even the conquests of the Ottoman Turks did not for a considerable time seriously interfere with it. But the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II., in 1453, involved their flourishing colony of Galata in the ruin of the capital; and though Kaffa still survived for a time, and from its secluded position witnessed in apparent security the successive fall of Constantinople and Trebizond, it was evident that its own fate could not be far distant. It was accelerated by domestic dissensions. Such was the influence that the Genoese colonists had at this time acquired over the Tartar chiefs, that the governors or Khans of the Crimea were not appointed by their superior lord, the Khan of Kaptchak, without the consent and approbation of the magistrates of Kaffa. A contest had arisen between two candidates for this appointment, in which the Genoese magistrates, who had been gained by large bribes, favoured the cause of the wrongful claimant, and succeeded in forcing his appointment upon the unwilling Khan. Hereupon Eminek, the defeated candidate, had recourse to a more powerful protector, and persuaded Mahomet II., who had just assembled a powerful fleet and army for the conquest of Rhodes, to turn his efforts against Kaffa. The appearance of so formidable

an armament struck terror into the citizens of the colony, who were already divided among themselves by internal dissensions, and assailed from without by a Tartar force under Eminek. On the 6th of June, 1475, after a faint attempt at resistance for a few days, they opened their gates to the Turkish commander Achmet Pacha. He promised to spare their lives, but transported forty thousand of the inhabitants to Constantinople, where they served in some measure to fill the gap of desolation that had been created in that populous capital by the Turkish conquest.

The fall of Kaffa was naturally followed by that of the smaller places held by the Genoese in the peninsula. The fate of most of these has nothing to arrest our attention. But the remarkable rock-fortress of Mangoup deserves to be made an exception, not only on account of the heroic resistance offered by its defenders to the overwhelming forces of the Turks, but as the last occasion on which the once dreaded name of the Goths makes its appearance in history. In the mountain district of the Crimea, that people had preserved its nationality and its language for above twelve centuries*; and the two brothers who so gallantly defended the fortress of Mangoup against the troops of Mahomet II. showed that they had not degenerated from the hereditary valour of their race.

Thus fell the power of the Genoese in the Black Sea. But it would be unjust to attribute (as Dr. Koch has done) the final desolation and decay of Kaffa to its Turkish conquerors. Severely as it suffered on this occasion, as well as from the subsequent oppressions of the Tartar khan Mengli Ghirci, who now ruled the Crimea as tributary to the Turks, it is certain that it subsequently recovered itself to a great degree, and became again one of the most flourishing commercial cities in the Black Sea. So far from all trade having disappeared with the departure of the Genoese, we learn from Chardin, who visited it in 1672, that the town then contained not less than 4000 houses, and carried on so active a trade that during the space of forty days which he spent there, not less than 400 vessels arrived in or quitted its port.† At a later period, Peyssonel, who was for many years French Consul-

* In the treaty of 1380 between the Khan of Kaptchak and the Genoese, 'la Gotia con i suoi casai ed i suoi popoli che son Cristiani' is annexed to the dominions of the latter. Giuseppe Barbaro, who has left us a curious account of Tana, and the trade with the interior of Asia in the fifteenth century, remarks, 'I Goti parlano in Tedesco.' (*Ramusio*, vol. ii. p. 91.)

† Chardin, *Voyage en Perse*, vol. i. pp. 47, 48.

General in the Crimea, estimated the population of Kaffa, shortly before its conquest by the Russians, at 85,000 souls. Forty years after that event it was reduced to less than 4000; and even as late as 1834, had not again risen to more than 4500.* Pallas himself, writing in 1803, under the authority of the Russian Government, deploras the state of desolation of this once opulent city, which was already little more than a heap of ruins. The splendid Genoese churches had been spared by the Turks and Tartars, who had contented themselves with converting them into mosques; but they have been demolished, with one single exception, by the Russian authorities. The picturesque walls and towers, which still subsisted uninjured in the days of Pallas, have been since almost entirely destroyed, and their materials employed in the construction of barracks. Kaffa, in the hands of the Tartars, was probably but a shadow of what it had once been under the Genoese; but it was immeasurably superior to what it has become under the Russians.

We cannot attempt here to trace any further the fortunes of the Crimea.† Under the government of the Tartar Khans it sank for more than three centuries into that state of obscurity from which it has only recently emerged. But the events of the last twelve months have earned for it a place in history which can never again be lost. Whatever be the destinies of the Crimea itself, its name has become imperishable; and the gallant deeds that have been done under the walls of Sebastopol will live as long as the English language shall endure. But it is impossible to repress a hope that this memorable contest may be also the beginning of a fairer period for the country in which it has been carried on: and when we look back at the important position once held by the Tauric Peninsula under the Greeks and the Genoese, we cannot but feel that its natural advantages require only to be developed by a more liberal policy, in order that it should again rise to a condition both of agricultural and commercial prosperity very different from the state to which it has fallen under the Russian Government.

* Dubois de Montpéreux, vol. v. p. 285.

† We regret to have received Mr. Danby Seymour's interesting and comprehensive volume upon the Shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff too late to have availed ourselves in this article of the result of his researches and observations; but we recommend this work to our readers as one of the most complete productions which has been published on this interesting subject.

- ART. V.—1. *Annals of the Deaf and Dumb.* By C. E. H. ORPEN, Esq., M.D. London: 1836.
2. *The Lost Senses.* PART I. *Deafness.* By J. KITTO, D.D. London: 1853.
3. *The Art of Instructing the Deaf and Dumb.* By J. P. ARROWSMITH and the ABBÉ DE L'ÉPÉE. London: 1819.
4. *Le Bienfaiteur des Sourds-Muets et des Aveugles: Revue Mensuelle du Progrès des Institutions et de l'Unité d'Enseignement dans les Deux-Mondes.* Par M. L'ABBÉ DARAS, Fondateur. À Paris: 1854.
5. *Results of an Inquiry respecting the former Pupils of the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.* Printed by Boys of Deaf and Dumb School at Doncaster. 1847.
6. *Trench on the Study of Words.* London: 1852.

ON the 18th of November, 1852, the day when the great Captain, 'full of honours as of years,' was laid in solemn pomp beneath the dome of St. Paul's, a train which reached London at four in the morning brought one passenger who during the journey had attracted no little attention. He had entered the carriage at the Blenkinsop Station some ninety miles from town, and spent upwards of three hours with his fellow-passengers in profound silence. He was a well-dressed, handsome fellow, bright-eyed, and intelligent in look; but throughout the entire distance not even once did he open his mouth but to give his front teeth a tap* with a paper-knife.

Six o'clock found our traveller one of the vast multitude who on that memorable morning eagerly crowded every damp inlet

* 'I was much interested,' says Dr. Kitto (himself a deaf-mute), 'in reading the account of a lad both blind and deaf, whose principal enjoyment appeared to be derived from striking a small key upon his teeth. It is evident that *in the search of a sensation*, he had hit upon this trick as affording a more distinct impression of a *felt sound* than any other which he had been able to attain. Until this case fell under my notice, it had escaped my attention that I have myself unconsciously contracted a habit of continually striking the back of my thumb-nail, or the point of a penknife, upon the edge of my teeth; and that I also felt pleasure, for which I had not previously seen any particular reason, in vibrating a knife or spoon upon the edge of a dish or plate, or against an empty glass.' (*Kitto's Deafness*, p. 46.) We regret (since writing the above) to notice Dr. Kitto's sudden death; and hope that the subscription on behalf of his family will be a successful one.

to the thronged and muddy Strand. After some three hours' wandering through this densely-packed thoroughfare, he at last paused at the corner of Bridge Street, Blackfriars, and there became firmly wedged into a compact mass of spectators near the obelisk. From this post of observation he never stirred again until the whole pageant, with all 'its boast of heraldry 'and pomp of power,' had with solemn tramp swept by him and was gone. Then the huge living wave rolled back and onward through the mighty thoroughfare, spreading silently away through the countless veins and arteries of the City. But of all the thousand mourners near him probably not one shares in such feelings as now fill the heart of our traveller. He has been present with them throughout the whole spectacle, but of many of its grandest features has been utterly unconscious. Many a time throughout the day solemn silence slowly rippled over the waves of that vast and expectant multitude; the silence awoke up again into a busy hum—anon died away, and yet again dawned into sound. Then far away in the distance there rises on the wind to ten thousand listening ears the shrill cry of trumpets, and the low moan of distant and muffled drums; the solemn wail of the dead march, and the heavy tread of armed men: but to this one spectator the gale brings no trumpet-cry, no sound of the military pageant,—no word of wonder, delight, surprise, or sorrow from speaking lips on every side. To him the whole scene is one of deep unbroken silence—he neither hears nor utters word or sound of even the least emotion. He is deaf and dumb. His neighbours on either side are half inclined to suspect him to be crazy, and now and then hint their belief; but the unconscious object of their charity neither hears nor answers their sarcasm. So concentrated, keen and fixed is his gaze, that with his eyes he seems to hear and speak as well as see, as if the one organ embraced the life and power of three. The face of the blind man—mentioned by Coleridge—was all *one* eye, while in the face of the deaf and dumb the very absent senses seem most present.

We have called our readers' attention to this sketch from life because it aptly enough introduces us to one important feature in the isolation of the deaf and dumb when compared with their fellow-sufferers the blind, or with the rest of mankind. That point is, the eternal, unchanging, desolate *silence* of their whole existence. An hour's silence may be at times a very pleasant thing; but a whole existence, unbroken by even the faintest sound or murmur, is a totally different question,—so different, indeed, that it is doubtful if hearing men can at all form a true idea of it. What would the busy

Strand be like without the din of carriages? a stroll into the country without the song of birds, 'the cock's shrill clarion, 'or the echoing horn?'—streams babbling by without murmur, the ocean without a voice, the whirlwind without its crash?—lightning without even the faintest echo of thunder?—the thousand melodies of earth, air, sea, and sky, unheard and unknown! The full conception of existence in such a world as this is, we repeat, to hearing men most difficult, if at all possible. And as it is thus difficult for us to imagine what the full loss of the deaf-mute is, so conversely is it a thousandfold more difficult for him to imagine even remotely the nature of our gain. The blind man by dint of practice at last realises by *touch* the *visible* form and substance of many objects, and among them, perhaps, some of the least plainly visible; but no kindred agency can convey to the ear of the deaf-mute the remotest conception even of what *sound* is. His eye may beam with intelligence, his touch vie with that of the keenest of blind readers, his store of information be already great, and every faculty of mind be vigorous; but not the wisest discipline of the most skilful teacher will ever impart to him an idea of any given sound. For, be it remembered, the deaf-mute is in most cases unconscious even of the sound of his own attempts at speech; and hence, as we shall hereafter see, the dreary and forlorn moanings in which these attempts so often result. †

Deafness at birth, or the loss of hearing at an early age, before the habit of speaking is so confirmed, or the stock of articulate language so copious, as very powerfully to impress the memory, is invariably followed by dumbness; though not, certainly, on account of any sympathy between the organs of hearing and of speech, by which disease or defect of the former might be transferred to the latter. Were this the case dumb people could not be taught to speak. Total dumbness seldom

* 'The loudest thunder is inaudible to me,' says Kitto, 'neither does it make any impression whatever upon my sensorium; for being in the upper air the percussion does not produce that very distinct vibrating connection with my standing place *as is* (sic) most essential to the sensation which is described. But I remember that some years ago, during the most awful thunderstorm in the memory of man, a dreadful clap, which shook the house, made such an *impression* as led me to suppose that a servant was moving a table in the adjoining room.' (P. 33.) Even this sensation produced by loudest thunder was but an *impression*.

† 'When I myself blow any wind instrument, no impression whatever is made upon my organs, and I have to ask others whether any sound has been produced.' (Kitto, p. 46.)

proceeds from any other cause than want of hearing or want of intellect. Want of hearing from birth, or from an early age, is followed by dumbness (if the intellect is perfect) merely because it precludes the opportunity of learning or being confirmed in the use of speech in the ordinary way. Dumbness, where the hearing is perfect and the intellect defective (no uncommon case) proceeds from want of ideas, and of judgment to direct the organs of speech in the formation of articulation.

Of the causes of birth-deafness, whether arising from actual defect in the organ of hearing or not, we know little; and even in cases of total deafness, to all appearance the ear is wanting neither in external or internal apparatus, presenting in this respect a striking contrast to blindness, the mediate or immediate cause of which—as well as the diseased part of the organ—may be generally discovered without much difficulty. In comparing the organs of sight and hearing, and judging of their respective degrees of structural complication, exposure to accident, and liability to injury, we should be apt to consider the eye as more frequently the seat of disease than the ear, and the decision is on the whole just. ‘Yet the ear is no less artificially and mechanically adapted to its office than the eye, though we do not so well understand the action, the use, or the mutual dependency of its internal parts.’ While, on the other hand, of the wisdom and beauty of all the several parts of the aural structure the investigations of modern science have given us abundant proof;—a point not only of interest in itself, but immediately connected with our subject, and demanding a few words of description.

Sound may be said to consist of pulsations of the air. The office of the ear is to receive, and to assist in conveying to the brain, impressions from these pulses or waves of air which are collected by the *concha*, or external shell.* Thence they are transmitted into a narrow winding passage, closed at its furthest extremity by a thin membrane like the pelt of a drum, stretched obliquely across the passage on a bony rim. This membrane is semi-transparent, and vibrates at every breath of air. Beyond the membrane or drum is a hollow chamber of air, curiously fitted with a chain of moveable bones, which are put in motion by the vibration of the external air, and serve

* The translation, so to speak, of these oscillations of the outer air into thoughts, words, or emotions for the sensorium, is one of the many marvels continually going on around us, the existence of which we are apt now and then to forget by reason of their very commonness.

to convey sounds to the internal ear, and to the interior channels and recesses of the skull. These recesses or cavities have been likened to wind instruments of music, on account of their spiral or circular form, and they contain lodged in them the nerves communicating with the brain. That the air may pass freely into and out of the barrel of the ear, as the covering vibrates or the temperature chances to be altered, there is a passage called the Eustachian tube, which leads from the throat to the cavity of the tympanum, answering the purpose of the aperture in the side of an ordinary drum. The whole labyrinth with its perfect apparatus is, as it were hewn out of a rock; that is, wrought into the substance of the hardest bone in the body.*

The small bones behind the membrane are three in number; so arranged and, as it were, hinged upon one another, that when the drum of the ear vibrates, all the three are put in motion together. The last bone of the three plays upon an aperture, which it closes, and which opens into the winding canals leading to the brain. It bears the name of *stapes*, and its especial office is to repeat the vibrations of the aural membrane, like a repeating frigate moored within the line. But this sensation of sound may be excited without any affection of the drum of the ear, by anything which communicates motion to this *stapes*; as when a solid body in a state of vibration is applied to the bones of the skull, *e.g.*, when a metal bar held at one end between the teeth touches a tremulous body at the other.† Of this, also, a common tuning fork supplies at once a ready and complete proof, by being held between the teeth whilst the fork is vibrating in the usual way.

* The *membrana tympani* is not found in the ears of fish,—furnishing another proof that it is appropriated to the action of air, or of an elastic medium. Sir Astley Cooper perforated the tympanum in one or two cases of deafness, with success. In the '*Journal de Physiologie*' (1825), mention is made of a case of partial recovery of hearing by forcing air into the hollow of the tympanum through the Eustachian tube.

† A deaf man once sat smoking a long clay pipe by the side of a spinnet on which his daughter played. As he smoked on he became drowsy, and gradually fell asleep with the pipe still between his teeth. His head sunk, inch by inch, until the bowl of the pipe touched the wires of the instrument, and then a few faint sounds as 'of bells in the distant sky,' (so he described it) stole upon the old man's astonished brain. In utter amaze he started up, dashed the pipe to the ground, and heard no more. It was the first time for twenty years he had been conscious of a sound. His deafness had been caused by a sudden discharge of cannon.

Fine and delicate as every part of the aural structure is, and exquisitely adapted to discharge its peculiar functions, even a slight disarrangement of so elaborate a machine at once interferes with its working power. But though slight or occasional deafness is easily induced, total deafness rarely supervenes. The drum membrane of the ear may possibly become slightly thickened,—inflammation or cold may attack any one of the interior parts; sore throat may partially close the Eustachian tube, and so deaden and destroy all sound in the air chamber; the organs of secretion which line the auditory passage may diminish or suppress the necessary supply of wax, or, on the other hand, unduly increase or thicken it; and thus deafness to a greater or less degree may supervene. But deafness of a severe kind is on the whole rare; and the proportion of mutes in the whole population of Great Britain is about one in sixteen hundred*, making a total of seventeen thousand three hundred; being considerably less in number than the blind.† If we take the population of Great Britain to be in round numbers 27 millions, the proportion of deaf-mutes will amount to about one-sixteen-thousandth part of the whole population; whereas the number of blind persons in the United Kingdom is estimated at about *one* in every thousand.

Let us now proceed to inquire what has been really done by the different systems for the intellectual education of the deaf and dumb. We shall not attempt to give our readers a detailed account of all past labourers in the cause,—their toils or successes,—but be content with a glance at the most notable and

* The exact proportion is 1 in 1590, a fact well worthy of notice on account of its close approximation to the average for the whole of Europe, which, according to latest returns, is 1 in 1593. For this valuable information we are indebted to the ‘Journal of the Statistical Society’ for June 1855, where also will be found many accurate and interesting details connected with deaf-mutes of England, which want of space compels us to omit here. On the same authority, also, we have been able to revise the tabulated report below (taken from ‘The Penny Cyclopædia’) so far as Great Britain is concerned. We regret being unable to revise the other items of this Report on equally good authority, as they are manifestly incorrect. In its present state France, Prussia, and Great Britain are the only three countries that can be justly compared.

† In the subjoined table will be seen the comparative number of deaf-mutes in all the chief European States, of institutions for their reception, and of the number of inmates they now contain. The statistics are in some respects curious. As might be naturally expected, the wide and semi-barbarous domain of the northern Czar contains by far the largest number of deaf and dumb, amounting at

successful since the time of Rodolphus Agricola* (ob. 1485), whom the Abbé de L'Épée mentions in his Chapter entitled

least to 27,834, for whom it makes the least provision in only *two* institutions accommodating 111 pupils.

Countries.	Population.	No. of Deaf and Dumb.	Pupils under Instruction.	No. received annually.
Portugal - - -	3,815,000	2,407	1 20	
Spain - - -	11,500,000	7,255	1 30	
France - - -	35,783,170	29,512	28 798	159
Italy - - -	20,000,000	12,618	147	29
Switzerland ¹ - - -	2,000,000	3,976	80	16
Austria - - -	26,444,000	16,684	6 197	39
Prussia - - -	16,331,187	11,973	18 314	62
Other German States -	9,905,475	8,283	28 410	81
Hanover - - -	1,500,000	946	1 10	2
Holland and Belgium -	6,166,584	2,166	5 249	50
Denmark - - -	1,800,000	1,260	2 190	38
Sweden and Norway -	3,800,000	2,397	1 40	8
Russia - - -	44,118,000	27,834	2 111	22
United Kingdom -	27,511,801	17,300	18 1401	

Estimating the population of the globe at 850,000,000, 547,000 are deaf-mutes, for whom about 200 schools are provided. (*S. S. Journal*, p. 185.)

¹ It is remarkable that Switzerland and Baden—two of the smallest European States—should contain the highest ratio of deaf-mutes: Baden, 1 in 559; Switzerland, 1 in 503 inhabitants. This, however, has been accounted for by the assertion, that the idiots or cretins and deaf-mutes had been reckoned together. (*Journal of the Stat. Society*, June, 1855, p. 175.)

* Many centuries before Rodolphus Agricola, John, the good abbot of Beverley, (A.D. 685) had the credit of working a most wondrous miracle in having enabled a deaf and dumb man to hear and speak, as Venerable Bede tells us in lib. v. cap. 2. of his Ecclesiastical History. But with the highest respect for the monk of Jarrow, we must trace the success of the abbot to another source. The deaf-mute who attracted the worthy man's notice was treated much in the same way he would be treated if he *now* begged for alms in the Kent Road instead of at the gate of a Yorkshire monastery some ten centuries ago. He was brought to live in a little cot close to the abbey, where he might get food and daily instruction. The first step in his education was to induce him to attempt to utter

L'origine de l'Art d'instruire les Sourds-muets, as one of the earliest believers in the capacity of the deaf and dumb to receive an intelligent education. The sight of a deaf-mute who had learned to understand writing, and to write down his own thoughts, he regarded 'comme un témoignage du pouvoir immense et presque incroyable de l'intelligence humaine.' Even he is a reluctant witness, and evidently inclines towards a miraculous cause for the wonder which his own eyes beheld. Of him who taught that deaf-mute we have no record; and perhaps many another solitary labourer besides himself,—in other countries besides his own,—toiled on with greater or less success. But we hear of no systematic attempt to educate the deaf and dumb until the middle of the 16th century, when Petrus Pontius* the Benedictine instructed the sister of the high and mighty the Constable of Castile. An account of his method was published at Madrid in the year 1620, about thirty-five years after the death of Petrus; from which it is clear that the education of deaf-mutes was no longer regarded as impracticable or fruitless, but was attracting at least European attention. In the register of the Benedictine monastery recording his death, we read, 'in the month of August, 1585, died Pedro Ponce, distinguished for his eminent virtues, but chiefly excelling in the art of instructing deaf and dumb, for which he has obtained a world-wide fame (*dans tout l'univers*).' This probably is true enough; but with the utmost respect for the registrar of that famous Benedictine abbey in the year of grace 1585, we are really not quite prepared to receive his concluding words, 'les sourds-muets

some sound. 'Pronounce some word,' said the abbot, 'say *yea*; whereupon his tongue was loosed;' that is, he uttered probably some inarticulate sound, as deaf-mutes gradually learn to do. Soon after we find him pronouncing names of letters, from A, B, to X, and Z; ere long, syllables and words; and by and by whole sentences. Great was the joy of the deaf-mute doubtless; so he lay awake many nights talking to himself, and the miracle was thus completed.

* It is a singular fact that a blind man named 'Pierre du Pont, ou Pontanus,' should have been a famous cotemporary of Petrus Pontius, the teacher of deaf-mutes, if not a near relative. In spite of his blindness his reputation was great at Paris in the year 1510, where he studied and taught 'les belles-lettres, avec un grand succès.' Among his numerous Latin works is one bearing the title of 'Petri de Ponte, cæci Brugensis prima et secunda grammaticæ artis Isagoge, ad Felicem de Ponte suum primogenitum.' This eldest son, to whom he dedicates his elementary book on grammar, it has not without reason been conjectured afterwards became Peter the Benedictine. (*Annuaire des Sourds-muets et des Aveugles*. Bruges, 1840.)

‘ses élèves parlaient, écrivaient, calculaient, priaient à haute voix, servaient la messe, se confessaient, parlaient le Grec, le Latin, l’Italien, et raisonnaient très bien sur la physique et l’astronomie. Quelques-uns sont même devenus d’habiles historiens. Ils se sont, dit-il, tellement distingués dans les sciences, qu’il eussent passé pour des gens de talent aux yeux d’Aristote.’ To find one such prodigy *even now*, after two centuries of progress in the art of education, would be a difficult task,—*then*, we imagine, in the very infancy of the art, an impossible one. The worthy Abbé Carton wisely remarks, ‘Ceux qui sont un peu familiarisés avec les sourds-muets, savent combien il est facile d’attribuer à leur *intelligence* ce qui est l’effet de leur *mémoire*, et combien il faut procéder avec prudence si on ne veut pas charger leur mémoire sans développer leur esprit.’

In the year 1623, Sir Kenelm Digby returned from Spain, with Charles, then Prince of Wales; and in a work intitled ‘Treatise of Bodie,’ gives a full account of the younger brother of the Constable of Castile, who had been taught ‘to *heare* the sounds of words with his *eyes*.’ This doubtless attracted attention in England, and we are therefore not surprised to find that in the year 1648, ‘J. B. (John Bulwer), surnamed the *Chirosopher*,’ published a curious treatise, intitled ‘*Philocophus*, or the Deafe and Dumbe Man’s Friend.’ He seems, also, to have been the first Englishman who recommended the institution of a college for deaf-mutes, and mentions their capacity of enjoying music by means of their teeth. But within thirty years of this date, George Dalgarno, the Scot (whose name was some years since most justly rescued from oblivion by Dugald Stewart), published a still more valuable treatise, intitled ‘*Ars Signorum*,’ not only introducing a *Finger Alphabet*, but containing at least the germ of many future pretended discoveries from the time of Bishop Wilkins, 1661, to the ‘immortal Abbé de L’Épée’ of the 18th century. ‘He first attempted the education of deaf-mutes in the general principles of grammar, and in the association of thought with *written* instead of *spoken* language.’ And this alone constitutes sufficient ground for claiming Dalgarno not only as one of the earliest educators of the deaf and dumb in England, but as having achieved for them more than had been individually achieved by any one before him.

It is beyond doubt that ‘the ingenious Dr. Wallis,’ who corresponded with Robert Boyle, and was Professor of Mathematics at Oxford in the year 1653,—who also published a ‘Treatise on Words or of the Formation of Sounds,’ most disingenuously plundered his predecessor Dalgarno of much that afterwards

brought fame to himself. 'En le comparant,' says Abbé Carton, 'avec son "Traité de la Parole," et les ouvrages de Dalgarno, on est tenté de croire qu'il a dû profiter des vues de ce dernier; il ne le mentionne pas cependant une seule fois. Dalgarno le nomme quelque part "son savant et digne ami le Docteur "Wallis," mais Wallis ne cite pas son digne ami le Docteur "Dalgarno." Wallis was also in communication with Sir Kenelm Digby, and from him most probably, if not certainly, obtained much of that information concerning Bonet's success in Spain, which Bulwer had incorporated in the 15th chapter of 'Phi-locophus.' So that we are inclined to regard the learned Doctor simply as having taken some pains to systematise what had already been achieved by his predecessors. His two objects, he says in his letter to Mr. Boyle, are 'to teach a person who cannot hear to pronounce the sound of words, and to understand a language, and know the signification of those words spoken or written, whereby he may express his own sense and understand the thoughts of others.' His pupil, Daniel Whalley, was exhibited before the Royal Society in 1662, and proved that at least in one instance the Doctor's plan had partly succeeded. However successful a teacher, his published works on the subject are marked by dullness of expression and penury of original thought.

France, who has since that period laboured so devotedly and successfully in this art, was the last among the enlightened nations to commence its study, about the middle of the 18th century. M. Pereire, the first whose system was deemed worthy of Parisian discussion, kept his plans so profoundly secret, that even at the present time little is clearly known concerning them. But of their apparent results no doubt appears to have existed. His pupils are said (in a Report of a Committee of the Academy of Sciences) to have been capable of understanding what was said to them, whether by signs or by writing; they could read and pronounce distinctly all sorts of French expressions; they gave very sensible replies to all questions proposed to them; they understood grammar and its applications; they knew the rules of arithmetic, and could perform exercises in geography: and it appeared that M. Pereire had given them, with speech, the faculty of acquiring abstract ideas. In short, if this account be true, M. Pereire's pupils, though deaf-mutes, were, on the whole, possessed of a better education and higher intellectual power than many persons in their own station of life, in possession of the full complement of senses! And yet, since those days, the nations of Europe have not retrograded either in physical or intellectual development. The

modes of instruction for articulate-speaking men remain more or less the same; or if changed, are changed for the better. For one person in the lower or even middle class of life, who could in that day think, utter his own thoughts, and act for himself, we have at least ten in this busy, spirit-rapping, biological 19th century. And we have good ground for believing that the deaf and dumb, the blind, and every other isolated section of humanity, have shared—at least to some extent—in the increase of knowledge and enlargement of the domain of intellect. However zealous the labours of M. Pereire; however unwearied his industry, or great his talents, no ‘*laudator temporis acti*’ need now search in vain among our teachers of deaf and dumb, for equal industry, talents as great and brilliant, labours as unwearied. They are to be found in the Old Kent Road, London, and in Yorkshire; from Liverpool to Edinburgh, from Exeter to the mouth of the Clyde. We believe, therefore, that whatever M. Pereire achieved for his pupils, far more has since been done for pupils of like powers and capabilities in sure intellectual cultivation and progress. The general principles of his method were articulation, reading from the lips, the manual alphabet, and *Syllabic Dactylology*, i. e., digital signs not representing *single letters*, as in the ordinary deaf and dumb alphabet, but each one an *entire syllable*.* By this last means a rapid communication may perhaps be maintained between teacher and disciple, and an acquaintance with the words of a language be more readily acquired, so far at least as their appearance to the eye is concerned. But it must not be forgotten that to be of real value the acquisition of mere words in this way is but the last link in the chain, and presupposes the first and most difficult steps in intellectual education to have been already achieved; for of what use is it to enable a deaf-mute to utter words of the meaning of which he is but remotely and vaguely sensible? But how to make the deaf-mute thus conscious or thus sensible of the power of language, or of the manner in which he achieved this, Pereire tells us nothing.* A great writer remarks, that although it may be possible for the deaf-mute to imitate sound

* ‘*Dactylology*,’ says Mr. Baker, ‘must not be confounded with the natural language of the deaf and dumb, which is purely a language of mimic signs. We mention this because it is easy to misunderstand and overrate the value of finger-talking, imagining that all deaf and dumb persons naturally understand language, and converse with their fingers, and that by acquiring the manual alphabet, those not possessed of speech and hearing can communicate with persons possessed of both.’

by imitating organic modifications on which it depends, 'there still in reality exists no sound for the deaf; that the signs to which they attach ideas are only perceptions of *sight* and *feeling*; that these on the one hand are minute, ambiguous, and fugitive, and on the other difficult; and that it would be far better to associate thought with a system of signs more easy to produce, and less liable to be mistaken.' Upon the important question involved in the latter part of this assertion — whether the deaf-mute shall be chiefly taught by a system of articulation and reading on the lips, or of arbitrary signs as adopted by the 'immortal Abbé,' the highest authorities are still divided. The distinction between the two plans, in fact, forms the line on either side of which all the systems naturally group themselves. At the head of the one clearly stand Dalgarno the Scot, and the Abbé; at the head of the other is Petrus Pontius, the Benedictine.*

'Of late years,' says Mr. Baker, 'artificial articulation, with or without the exercise of reading from the lips of a speaker, has come into almost general favour in the Institutions for the deaf. At the London Asylum, it has always occupied a prominent place, and at the Royal Parisian Institution; it is also employed at Groningen, Gudensberg, Quedlingbourn, Breslau, Gmünd, Zurich, Sleswig, Leipzig, and Munich;' but in most of the provincial establishments in England speech has *not* been made (wisely we think) an object of exclusive

CLASS I.

*Chiefly relying on articulation,
reading on the lips, &c.*

1. Petrus Pontius, of Spain.
2. J. Bulwer, the *Chirosopher* of England, 1645.
3. Wallis, of England, 1660.
4. Van Helmont, German, 1667.
5. Amman, of Haarlem, 1690.
6. Pereire, Arnaud, of France.
7. Baker, the English Naturalist, 1750.
8. Braidwood, 1780, and his successor Dr. Watson, 1809, the father of the present able superintendent of the London Institution.

CLASS II.

*Chiefly relying on methodical
signs for words and writing,
as well as natural signs for
other points.*

1. Dalgarno, the Scot, 1660.
2. The Abbé L'Epée, 18th century, and his successor, the famous Abbé Sicard, 1790.
3. Mr. Baker, of Doncaster, (whose plans, however, would appear to embrace many features of both systems).

importance. By *artificial articulation* we suppose is meant the power of reading from the lips of another inaudible words, and of replying to them by such gestures of the vocal organs as would in an ordinary case produce audible speech, and in the deaf-mute's case, do actually produce what we must call a good imitation of it. The possession of this faculty of course includes in it such a knowledge of words as admits of the pupil's writing down his answer instead of merely pantomiming its utterance.

If this definition be correct, we can conceive nothing in the whole education of the deaf-mute of more vital importance, not so much *as an end, as a means*. We are, therefore, surprised to find that in most of the English Institutions its importance is not more fully acknowledged and acted on. We are told that the great objection is its demanding more than a due share of time. We can imagine no time to be so well or so fruitfully spent on any other subject; not only as the test of knowledge already acquired, but as the surest means of acquiring new information. Without doubt a system of signs, whether purely arbitrary, natural, or conventional, possesses some advantages over the slower mode of articulation in ordinary language. But it must never be forgotten that in the education of the deaf-mute every substitution of a gesture or sign for vocal utterance of that language by which the rest of the world communicate with each other, is a step in the wrong direction. Every such step tends to render the isolation of the deaf and dumb more complete, and to remove them still further from the common sympathies of men; to render them more and more a peculiar people, and to make them forget that they still live in a world of *speaking, hearing* men, and are still sharers in all their privileges, rights, and feelings. Every step in this direction tends to lower them to the rank of mere animals, with whom rational beings gifted with speech are wont to communicate by signs and gesticulations. As in the case of the blind, we strongly urge the necessity of binding them by every available link to their fellow men, *as far as may be*, by subjects of instruction common to all learners, in the very language and in the very words in use for other purposes. If the blind or the deaf-mutes of England are to become an *educated* class, in however restricted a sense of the word, it will not be achieved by cutting them off as utterly distinct and different from the rest of humanity; but rather by infusing fresh life and strength into every tie and every connexion which yet remains between us and them.

'After any pupil,' says Mr. Watson, 'with ordinary intellect

‘has acquired the use of written and spoken language, he should have frequent intercourse with those who can only communicate with him in the language which he has recently, and as yet imperfectly, acquired. This language will then be daily increased and improved by such intercourse; whereas should he unfortunately be again thrown among his own class (deaf and dumb), he will naturally revert to his rude gestures and mimic forms, perfectly incomprehensible to the initiated, and wholly useless as a general means of communication.’ If, indeed, the deaf and dumb are to be considered as a degraded class, not fitted for intercourse with their more fortunate fellow creatures, then their complete isolation by every possible means, and entire exclusion from general society, might be considered an act of mercy. But in common justice, and common charity, they cannot be thus considered. It is true, without doubt, that by the total want of hearing, *high intellectual culture* is in almost all cases seriously if not entirely impeded. But every deaf-mute who leaves the school, after average training, and average acquaintance with written and spoken language, has at least eyes, hands, and sagacity; he can learn a trade by being shown what to do, as other apprentices are. Why, then, should he be condemned to talk to his master by signs like a monkey, or merely to gesticulate as an Indian savage? Will not such a course infallibly drive him back from that position in the social scale which it was one chief object of his education to enable him to attain, into his former state of ignorance and degradation? His stock of words may be comparatively small, but still sufficient for the ordinary purposes of every-day life and conversation. If he has few words at command, and knows well how to use them, the chances are that by constant intercourse he will add to their number, and every word thus gained will become a germ of new thoughts and ideas, a seed and centre of renewed life.

Of the importance of the study of words, and the utterance of thought in spoken or written language, it is scarcely necessary to speak. If we believe that language was given to man by Him who also gave reason, ‘and just because He gave reason (for what is man’s word but his reason coming forth so that it may behold itself), that it was given because he could not be man—that is, a *social being*—without it,’* we need no arguments to convince us of the infinite value of this acquirement to the deaf-mute. *He cannot be a social being without it*; and failing of *this*—one great and most manifest object of his education—he must either sink down to the level

* Trench, on the Study of Words, p. 15.

of those in a like condition with himself—herding with them as a mere animal among animals,—or pass the rest of his days as a silent, moping, solitary, helpless, hopeless unit of mortality, in a world which he was meant to enjoy, amid thousands with whom he was intended to hold some, however restricted, converse. Accident, sudden disease, innate malformation, or other causes,

‘ May seal the ear of man
‘ Gainst every message of sweet vocal air ;’

and thus indirectly or directly check, and at last totally destroy, the power of utterance; yet it must not be forgotten that ‘ the power of naming things and expressing their relations, has been laid up in the depths of man’s being,—a divine capacity ‘ with which he was created;’ which cannot remain dormant in him, since man can only be man through its exercise. Regarding this power as thus innate, we may induce it ‘ to bud and ‘ blossom out from within him at every solicitation from the ‘ world without, and from his fellow;’ and this we conceive to be one object of education in its highest sense. Mr. Trench states, in the remarkable volume to which we refer, that as a tribe or nation or people ‘ loses one habit of civilisation after another, the ‘ words also which those habits demanded have dropped, first out ‘ of *use*, then out of *memory*; and thus after a while have been ‘ wholly lost.’ Thus the South African traveller, Moffat, tells us of one savage race of Caffres, among whom the word ‘ *Morimo*,’ once used to designate Him that is above, or in heaven, had actually disappeared from the language, carrying with it also its corresponding spiritual idea. Here and there an old man might be met with—scarcely one or two in a thousand—who remembered, in his youth, to have heard speak of ‘ *Morimo*;’ but this word, once so deeply significant, now only survived in the spells and charms of the so-called rainmakers and sorcerers. ‘ And as there is no such witness to the degradation of ‘ the savage as the brutal poverty of his language, so there is ‘ nothing that so effectually tends to keep him in the depths to ‘ which he has fallen. *You cannot impart to any man more than ‘ the words which he understands either now contain, or can be ‘ made, intelligibly to him to contain.* Language is as truly on ‘ one side the limit and restraint of thought, as on the other ‘ side that which feeds and unfolds it.’ (*Trench*, p. 19.)

We believe this to be true not only of the savage properly so called of New Zealand and South Africa, but of the savage of *England*—the deaf-mute; who, if left alone, neglected, and untaught, or taught only by a system of signs and gestures, will sink down to a state of semi-barbarism, equal in degradation

and in darkness to the more open grossness of the South Sea islander. If it be true (and we have ample evidence that it is so) that a savage nation, or tribe, or individual, as it sinks to a lower status, gradually loses the words expressive of its highest and noblest duties, belief, and practice,—so in a measure the converse of this, as of every great truth, is unanswerably true. As words, themselves the outward signs and symbols of inner thought and impression, die out of use when their corresponding ideas perish in the mind, so impression and knowledge, and idea in the mind will at best remain but a cloudy and indistinct vision till they find being and utterance in the living word of the deaf-mute. We trace the same law in the growth and structure of languages, as in the formation and utterance of single words. Wherever men are learning more ‘accurately to define and distinguish, more truly to know;’ ‘wherever new thoughts are rising up over the horizon of a nation’s mind, new feelings stirring at a nation’s heart, and new facts coming within the sphere of its knowledge, *there* language is growing and advancing. It cannot lag behind; for man feels that nothing is properly his own, that he has not secured any new thought, or entered upon any new spiritual inheritance, till he has fixed it in language, till he can contemplate it as his own Word.’

It may be all very well, as a matter of amusement or speculation, for Dr. Orpen to talk about a theory of signs for the deaf and dumb, and of a tribe of North American Indians, who use a language of signs, though not deaf and dumb; but as a matter of practical value we count it of little worth. The North American Indian, it is true, has recourse to occasional signs to express his meaning; he uses them to eke out the meagreness of his language; and between the two, by dint of gesture and imagery, and by force of expression, he succeeds in saying vaguely what the white man says succinctly and clearly, without signs, in half the number of words. If the deaf-mute is taught to speak by signs only, he will use them not to eke out his imperfect knowledge or command of language, but gradually as a *substitute for spoken words*; and herein lies the peril of adopting signs but as a subordinate and secondary means of communication. Dr. Orpen tells us that ‘the language of signs is so true to nature that the deaf and dumb, from different parts of the globe, will immediately on meeting understand each other.’ Our great object, however, should be not so much that the deaf and dumb may communicate with each other, as with the rest of the world. If they, as a body, were in after life to live together, and mingle not with hearing and

speaking men, the question of signs might be viewed under another aspect. But as, after they leave school, they will very rarely, if ever, associate with even a single deaf-mute, the Doctor's argument, if it can be so called, is without value. But he instantly adds, that their language (of signs) is limited to the expression of their immediate wants, and to the few ideas which they have acquired by their silent intercourse with their fellow-beings,—a result far below what may be, and has since been, done for this unfortunate class of persons.*

A deaf-mute's words on this subject will serve to show our readers in what light signs are regarded by the deaf and dumb themselves and in a measure, also, their power of expression and knowledge of words:—

‘The language of signs is the action of some members of the body with the arms, and the expression of the face, or the counterfeit of the feelings. The expressions of the soul, or counterfeited feelings, are indispensable to the language of signs. If the expression of a real or false feeling were not used with the sign of feeling, the sign would be unique. Signs would be advantageous to persons. A person who can speak his own language cannot speak another language of another.’ (*Report of American Asylum, Hartford, 1823.*)

We do not print this fragment because of its intrinsic merit; certainly not because of any cleverness of composition or of thought, but as a fair *average* specimen of what an educated deaf-mute can do towards uttering his thoughts, after being trained for the usual time in one of our Deaf and Dumb Schools.

* Still, as a matter of curiosity, the identity between many signs now used by the deaf and dumb and the Indian tribes, of whom Dr. Orpen speaks, is well worthy of notice; *e.g.* that of *truth*, which in the language of signs is represented by words passing from the mouth in a perfectly straight line, without deviation, and among the Indians is expressed by the fore-finger passed, in the attitude of pointing, directly forward from the mouth, the other fingers being carefully closed: while *a lie*, a deviation from the straight course of truth, is symbolised by one or more fingers passed several times forward from the mouth, joined *at* the mouth, but separating obliquely as they depart from it. So again of *drinking*, and *water*, the hand is partially clenched to something of a cup-shape, and the opening between the finger and thumb is raised to the mouth as in the act of drinking; while if the idea of water only is to be conveyed, the hand does not stop at the mouth, but is raised above it. The signs for *theft*, *exchange*, *riding on horseback*, *fish*, *be quiet*, *fool*, and *snake*, are also the same in both cases; that for *fool* being a very singular one—to express it, the finger is pointed to the forehead, and the hand then held vertically above the head, and rotated twice or thrice on the wrist.

Some pupils would be found to surpass—the average number certainly to equal—this specimen of composition, both in style and in originality of thought. How far such letters as those to be found in Dr. Orpen's book are to be relied on as genuine, our readers must judge for themselves. The testimony of Mr. Watson, one of the ablest instructors of the deaf and dumb in Europe, inclines us to doubt their value. But as the subject is vitally connected with the state of education among the deaf and dumb, we shall cull a few specimens from the works before us.

It is first of all to be borne in mind that written composition is to all deaf-mutes an act of considerable mental exertion, and to many of extreme difficulty. Their letters (speaking of those we know to be authentic) for the most part bear traces of the broken and disjointed condition of their vocabulary; many of the words at command being stored up in their minds as solitary lifeless fragments, rather than living germs of thought, connected by association with past ideas, and ready for new life. They resemble, in some respects, the letters of a foreigner attempting, after a few months' study, to master the English idiom. Adjectives, nouns, and verbs are dashed into a sentence, just managing to stand upright, and, to a certain extent, tell their own story with truth. We choose one or two extracts, that appear *tolerably* genuine, by way of contrast to those of an opposite character:—

A deaf-mute's account of her former ideas as to death and its effects.

'I thought formerly a person died, and he was deceitful to die. I talked with my sister Sally (also deaf and dumb) about him. We true thought he buried alive, and also cried the people did not hear him, and also did not eat the meat, and drink the water, the people did not come there and also did not dig the ground. He was very hungry and angry to rise from the grave in the midnight. I wondered at him who did not rise from the grave for a few days.' (*Eliza M—, aged 19.*)

This extract appears genuine, and the more so because it corresponds in roughness of diction, and want of rhythm, with what we have ourselves seen written by the pupils of a deaf and dumb school. It may possibly be surpassed in originality as well as correctness and ease of expression; though, on the whole, we consider it as a fair average specimen in its native state. But if we remember that the mind of the *uneducated* deaf-mute is an utter blank; that his employments, wishes, and fears often seem guided by little more than instinct; that he is capable of fancying 'that the stars were in the sky like grates

‘of fire,’ and ‘that sun, moon, and stars were lighted every morning and evening;’ ‘that the world was like a round table only a little too large for a walk;’ we must regard with suspicion a letter from a boy who goes home to see his parents, and finding his mother in a state of intoxication, proceeds in a pensive manner to moralise on the subject, and with tears in his eyes to think ‘that if he himself got to heaven, how sorry he should be not to find his mother there.’ Or, another, of a deaf and dumb child who writes to his master, and, after thanking him ‘for having given him knowledge to love the Lord, &c., and to keep him from going to hell, speculates on the probability of his father’s reaching that place of torment, on account of his not going to church on Sundays, and never praying, &c.’ (*Orpen’s Annals*, p. 133.) After which speculation he lectures his sister, who had sinned by walking on the Sabbath, &c.: ‘I am afraid to think of her; and I told her, “You will see what will become of you at the Judgment-seat; and I said, you will not then laugh so merrily as you do now.”’

To the same effect elsewhere a young Pharisee of the tender age of ten years thus writes, writing to his master:—‘Sir, I think many wicked men go to public-houses every Sunday, and I think they drink ale, brandy, &c.; and I think they never go to chapel, and they are very wicked, and perhaps never pray to God; they will all go to hell, and they will stay there for ever, &c. &c. Such words as these do not flow naturally from the lips of children; and we doubt the propriety or advantage resulting from religious teaching which induces its disciples to be, even in their tenderest years, so very eager to speculate on the probable future destiny of their nearest relations.

But we now have to speak of another branch of our subject, in the sayings and doings of Massieu, one of the *few* famous deaf-mutes. The life of Massieu presents a bright picture of one who, in spite of very formidable disadvantages, managed, by resoluteness of purpose and intensity of will, to achieve fame as an original thinker and genius. It was more than an ordinary task to achieve this; and the possession of great perseverance, considerable originality, and a memory of far more than common power we freely accord to him. But whether the records on which his fame rests are altogether trustworthy is a question, which, after some further remark, we must leave to our readers’ own consideration.

‘I was anxious,’ says the author of ‘*La Corbeille de Fleurs*,’ ‘to have some details of the childhood of Massieu; he brought to me soon after the following sketch, which is entirely composed by himself.’ In giving our readers a short account of

Massieu's life, we shall chiefly rely on the words of this reputed autobiography, commenting as we proceed in the narrative. 'I was born in a hovel at Semens, in the department of La Gironde; my father died in January, 1791, my mother still lives. In my country we were six deaf-mutes, of the same paternal family, three boys and three girls.* Until the age of thirteen years and nine months I remained in the country, where I never received any instruction. *J'avais ténèbres pour des lettres.*' In this forlorn state his ideas were wholly expressed by such manual signs or gestures as the neighbours only understood; but he tells us, nevertheless, that he saw children going to school, 'et j'en étais très jaloux.' He begged to go with them, but was refused permission. Whereupon the deaf-mute, who says 'j'avais ténèbres pour les lettres,' caught up a book, and opened it upside down to mark his ignorance. It however appears doubtful if a deaf-mute, whose mind was a mere darkened blank, who had no knowledge even of his letters, would know whether a book was upside down or not; secondly, if he did, such a degree of knowledge would not mark his ignorance, but his discernment, especially in the eyes of the ploughman his father. But the appeal was useless. In vain he again took up books, 'he knew neither the letters, nor words, nor phrases, nor periods;' 'in vain he put his fingers into his ears, and demanded to be cured.' The paternal Massieu was apparently as deaf a mute as his son. The consequence was, that the boy quitted the house without his father's leave, and applied to the schoolmaster to teach him to read and write. Again in vain; the pedagogue roughly repulsed him. 'This,' says Massieu, 'made me cry,' 'mais ne me rébuta pas.' 'I still thought of writing and reading, and attempted alone to form *with a pen the writing signs.*' Yet at this very time so extreme was his ignorance, that he knew not whether he had been made, or had made himself; he knew neither words, their meaning nor their value; when he knelt down by his father's side at prayer-time, it was to wish that the heavens would come down and cause the plants to grow; he hid himself in the dykes to

* In 1833, the London Deaf and Dumb School published a most valuable statistical document, from which it appears that in 20 families containing 159 children there were 90 deaf-mutes; being an average of more than 4 to each family. Such cases as these are found in most instances to be the result of the intermarriage of first cousins and other near relatives. A plain and direct natural law is transgressed, and is instantly followed by its own peculiar punishment.

watch the heavens descending for the growth of beings. In these and other such statements it appears to us, that if Massieu was above condescending to be untruthful, he was really of far too acute a mind to pen such apparent contradictions. It must not be forgotten, also, that he was perfectly dependent on Sicard, who had taken him as a fit object of charity into the school at Paris, to the management of which he had succeeded at the death of the Abbé de L'Epée. The master was of course anxious to contrast the former ignorance of his pupil with his increasing intelligence and information. The pupil was anxious to show his gratitude by making his former condition of darkness as violent a contrast to his present one of light and knowledge as he possibly could. But to return to the biography.

In due time he escapes from this bondage of ignorance, and was informed that he should go to Bordeaux, 'where,' he says, 'we visited the Abbé Sicard.' His after progress was most rapid. He began by forming letters; 'in many days' he could write some words. In three months he could write many words; in six months, phrases. In a year he wrote well. In a year and nine months he wrote better, and answered well to questions proposed to him. After being for three years and a half with the Abbé, he set out for Paris, where a six months' residence made him like one of the 'entendans-parlans.'

Within a few years from being a savage youth keeping his flocks in the pastures of the Gironde, 'he excelled most hearing persons in the readiness, precision, and wisdom of his answers.' Of these answers we select a few certainly most striking ones, but which yet to us appear to bear marks of *preparation*. Answers were given, it is said, on almost all subjects with equal readiness; and almost equal brilliancy to any chance questioner. But to this assertion is added a singular proviso; 'if the question did not present "un intérêt piquant," it produced an answer *more common than that of a man without any cultivation*; and that whoever wished to find him such as fame reported, must interrogate him on subjects of some depth.' (*Orpen*, p. 194.)

It is difficult to understand how Massieu, having not long escaped from savage ignorance, and being still incapable of speech and hearing, was so peculiarly gifted as to answer some questions with a skill beyond that of ordinary educated mortals,—while to other queries his answers were those of a man utterly void of cultivation. It appears more than probable, that between the Abbé Sicard and his two pupils such philosophic questions as elicited the most striking answers were made topics of private discussion, and when propounded in public, drew forth replies

apparently impromptu, but, in reality, well-considered, ready cut and dry ; while ordinary common questions were left to take their chance—and very badly they fared. From accounts still in existence we select a few of these extraordinary answers.

‘What is gratitude?’ ‘Gratitude is the memory of the heart.’—‘What is hope?’ ‘Hope is the blossom of happiness.’—‘What is the difference between hope and desire?’ ‘Desire is a tree in leaf; hope is a tree in flower; and enjoyment is a tree in fruit.’—‘What is eternity?’ ‘A day without yesterday or to-morrow,—a line that has no ends.’*—‘What is time?’ ‘A line that has two ends; a path which begins in the cradle, and ends in the tomb.’—‘What is God?’ ‘The necessary being, the sun of eternity, the mechanist of nature, the eye of justice, the watchmaker of the universe, the soul of the world.’ Dr. Orpen tells us that the deceptive and acute question ‘Does God reason?’ was then put to him by Sir Jas. Macintosh, and that without hesitation Massieu gave this admirable and lucid reply: ‘*Man résonne because he doubts; he deliberates, he decides; God is omniscient; he knows all things; he never doubts; he therefore never reasons.*’

In 1792, during the French Revolution, Sicard was imprisoned; and to effect his liberation, Massieu wrote a letter to the National Assembly; which, whatever its effect may have been, is remarkable for an air of extreme commonplace. ‘Monsieur le Président,’ he commences, ‘On a enlevé aux sourds et muets leur instituteur, leur nourricier, et leur père; on l’a renfermé dans un prison comme s’il était un voleur, un criminel. C’est lui, qui nous a appris ce que nous savons. Sans lui, nous serions comme des animaux. Depuis qu’on nous l’a oté, nous sommes tristes et chagrinés. Rendez le nous, et nous serions heureux.’*

* Sicard barely escaped with life. The oath affirming the civil constitution of the clergy was not indeed required from him, and the Assembly were content to exact from him an acknowledgment of liberty and equality, and at the same time to accept a donation of 200 livres; but he was nevertheless arrested on August 26. 1793, and kept in prison until September 2. On that day Massieu’s letter was laid before the Assembly by the writer in person, and well received. But the bloodhounds had clutched their prey, and were unwilling to give it up. The poor Abbé was transferred to L’Abbaye, a proceeding almost equivalent to a sentence of death. At the last moment a watchmaker stood between him and the executioner, and by a fortunate and bold appeal saved his life. Sicard declared who he was, and after lingering for two more days, between life and death, was released through the interest of private friends. After many reverses of fortune, he died in 1822.

At such a crisis, with all the ghastly enormities of the Reign of Terror daily before their eyes, the question of revolutionary power was doubtless fully discussed even by the deaf and dumb. We are prepared therefore to find, not far off, the pertinent question '*What is a Revolution?*' and that Massieu replied to it at once: '*Une Révolution est un arbre, dont la tige est en bas, et les racines sont en haut;*' or, as another authority reports, '*C'est un arbre, dont les racines prennent la place de la tige.*' Here, again, what more natural than that the good Abbé should revise his pupil's definitions, and that '*variæ lectiones*' should yet survive as traces of his handywork?

And if this view be just, what deduction is to be drawn from it? That the two famous deaf-mutes had not attained to a high degree of mental culture? and that their history, with all its glowing atmosphere, as portrayed by the heavy dullness of Orpen and the light vivacity of Carton, is an invention? By no means. Jean Massieu and Laurent Clerc beyond all doubt possessed more than ordinary powers of mind; and those powers were skilfully awakened, and successfully trained into sharp and vivid life. But at the best, when compared with other educated men, their mental training must have been incomplete; and many a nook and corner in the mind of each must have remained to the very last in utter darkness. For one in this state of partial obscurity to be constantly giving utterance, *at a minute's notice*, to aphoristic morsels of concentrated wisdom, even on abstract and metaphysical subjects, exceeds, we imagine, the capacity of poor deaf and dumb humanity.

Let us now turn to a school of deaf and dumb children in full work, and judge from existing evidence with what success the deaf-mute is trained to think, to utter his thoughts, to understand, if not hear, vocal utterance of others and reply to it,—in short, *to hear and to speak*. We will, therefore, visit the school in the Old Kent Road, probably the largest in the world; containing accommodation for three hundred poor children of both sexes. All the pupils who are capable of receiving such instruction, are taught to speak artificially, and thus enabled, in many instances, to be understood by those in constant intercourse with them. They receive daily instruction in the Scriptures and the Catechism, and by degrees learn to read the Bible and Prayer-book with sufficient ease to take part in the Church service. The ordinary routine of the school includes reading, arithmetic (which the deaf and dumb readily master), writing, the outlines of British history and

geography ; while such pupils as show taste for the art, are taught drawing.*

We begin by observing that the deaf and dumb as a class are generally counted inferior in moral and intellectual perceptions to those who 'cæteris paribus' do not labour under the same defect. Childishness and credulity characterise the deaf-mute far into youth, if not to mature age.† Neither his love nor hatred, though passionate, appears to be very lasting, his gratitude deep, or his resentment bitter ; but on the other hand, his affections are easily moved, and his mental powers, when once fairly at work, quickly interested in any new thought rightly brought before him. If he cannot receive from his teacher the fullest complement of knowledge, he will readily receive what he can.

Let us walk into the schoolroom, and judge for ourselves what is going on. Some two hundred children are at work ; the boys and girls (in opposite divisions of the same room) being seated in ranges of parallel desks, as in an ordinary national school. Some are at work with slate and pencil, some with reading- and spelling-books, and others with slips of paper, on which apparently syllables and short words are written. So far, all appears as usual, and there is even the same buzzing noise of work as in ordinary schools. But it is not the well-known hum of whisper in the class, of sly remark in corners, or of suppressed laughter. The sounds, whatever they be, are not clearly articulate. This cloud of subdued, vague voices is not only the usual concomitant of the pupils *at work*. At a signal from one of the teachers the whole two hundred woke up into a sudden Babel of bewildering, moaning sounds, each repeating his modicum of words, syllables, or letters. But all are at work. There is a look of intelligence in most of the faces, a degree of smartness and subdued sharpness and cunning, for

* It is however found that the cleverest and most highly cultivated of deaf-mutes evince very little original, creative, power. As mere copyers of outline, and design, they often excel, and so may be good engravers on wood and copper ; but they rarely, if ever, become artists in the higher sense of the word. More than one of our London engravers and printers numbers a deaf-mute among his apprentices.

† A current writer on the deaf and dumb, in speaking of their characteristic self-sufficiency, and the prodigious opinion they have of themselves and their order, tells us that the parents of an existing Member of Parliament, were both deaf and dumb, and lamented over their ambitious son that he was able to hear and speak. Of the truth of this latter point, however, we beg leave to doubt.

which it is difficult to account. Above all, a ray not so much of sadness as of frozen-up, statue-like life, that looks as if waiting to be thawed by some enchanter's rod into full and conscious vitality. At first, it is difficult to decide wherein or to what exact degree the deficiency exists; but that 'out of the golden 'harmony of nature's powers' some vital third or fifth has been taken is at once apparent; the very vagueness and uncertainty adding keenness to the sense of the loss.

Let us take up the slate of this quiet, placid-looking, white-haired boy, and glance at what he has been writing. It is an account of a visit to his mother. 'I went to my mother's,' he writes, 'on Tuesday, and she was very glad to see me; and she told me to help her to wash the dishes; and after she poured some hot water on the dishes, I washed the dishes for my mother; and after I had washed the dishes,' &c. &c. and so on for some twenty lines. Not much of the model skilfulness and cold propriety of the letters before cited from printed Reports, but simple direct proof that the child's mind (*ætat.* 14) was at work, and that after three years and a half training, he was beginning to obtain command over words, and learning to express his own not very profound but natural thoughts. The writing is good for a boy of his age—clear, even, and distinct; the spelling moderately, not too perfectly, correct. It has been rather a slow and difficult half-hour's task; but has served to exercise the memory, the power of expression, and of writing down his own thoughts.

One of the teachers is a deaf-mute; formerly a pupil of the school. The superintendent beckons to him, and with his lips utters, *in dumb show*, the question, 'How long have you been 'an inmate of the school?' Mark how intently the deaf-mute watches the speaker's lips, and how instantaneously comes the reply, *in dumb show*, indistinctly audible, 'Seventeen years.' He is then asked what he has been teaching his class, and at once answers, 'Writing from dictation?' Even *we* could catch the words of this reply. The whole matter seems a marvel; but clear proof of its reality and truth is before us. There stands the man himself: deaf, yet able to understand what is said to him; dumb, and yet able to give intelligible answers to what is asked. What can be more convincing?

How such an amount of education is ever attained, it is difficult to describe within our present limits. We will, however, endeavour most briefly to sketch the process. When a deaf and dumb boy enters the school, he is rarely able to communicate with others but by a few of the commonest and simplest manual signs. He is unconscious of all sound uttered by others,

as well as by himself. Nothing but an inarticulate moaning babble ever escapes his lips; and at first, even this power is not always possessed. He, however, soon begins to communicate with and to understand his companions by signs, and ere long, by watching them, or perhaps by *their* individual teaching, also learns in some measure to understand and to communicate with his teacher. The power soonest awakened in him—as in the child possessed of all his senses—is that of imitation. He cannot, indeed, hear the words which his companions utter, but he is conscious, he feels, that their lips, mouths, and tongues have some definite object in moving; that that object is understood not only by the scholars themselves, but the teacher, in whom they seem to produce corresponding motions for a similar object, in turn understood by those about him. At this crisis—eagerly watched for by the teacher—instruction really begins. The learner has set before him a card having on it the printed or written forms of the vowels A E I O U; ‘and at these ‘he is made to look for a minute or two; when, if of acute ‘intellect, he will look up, as if asking what to do next.’ Then the sound—say of A—is slowly, fully, and sharply pronounced, and the learner made to observe with his eye, *and feel with his hand**, the exact position and motion of the external organs of speech, and to feel the astriction of the muscles of the throat, carefully noting the difference *to be felt there* between *sound and silence*. After having thus mastered, one by one, the vowel sounds of Ah, Ee, Ii, Oo, Uu, &c., the pupil soon passes on to the simplest forms of combination with ‘the powers of the con-

* There is nothing new under the sun. What is now being done with such success in the Kent Road, was done with perhaps equal success 160 years ago. Then the world deemed it impossible, and would not receive it; now it is deemed possible, and is therefore carried into effect. Nevertheless, John Conrad Amman, of Haarlem, in 1690, thus expounds his system, when as yet Kent Road was not: —‘My first care is to make the deaf-mute sound forth a voice, without which almost all labour is lost; but that one point whereby deaf ‘persons do discern a voice from a mute breath, is a great mystery of ‘art; and if I may so say, it is the hearing of deaf persons; viz., that ‘trembling motion and titillation which they perceive in their own ‘throat, whilst they of their own accord do give forth a voice. That ‘the deaf may know that I open my mouth to emit a voice, and not ‘simply to yawn, or draw forth a mute breath, *I put their hand to ‘mine that they may be made sensible of that tremulous motion when I ‘utter my voice*; then I put that same hand of theirs to their own ‘throat and command them to imitate me; nor am I discouraged if at ‘the beginning their voice is hard and difficult, for in time it becomes ‘more and more polished.’

'sonants,' as Ba, Be, Bo, &c. &c. The succeeding steps of progress can be easily imagined. Almost every deaf-mute is found even at first capable of uttering *some* moaning noise; and this faculty is by degrees turned to account, until it result in the actual power of uttering intelligible sounds and words. It is true that this power of utterance differs widely in extent and quality. In some cases it is harsh, noisy, and jarring to the very end; in others soft, and though without modulation, not unpleasant to the ear; but in all cases, we believe wholly inaudible to the utterer. When once this power of *seeing* sounds*, by reading them on the lips of those gifted with speech, is acquired, the art of writing, which has hitherto been quietly practised as mere copying, is readily and effectively turned to account. Deafness offers no impediment to this operation, and the pupil, therefore, wisely employs all his leisure while learning to pronounce letters and words in writing them on slate or paper. So that speaking and writing go hand in hand. Of arithmetic we need but remark that it is taught in almost the usual manner,—when once the powers of the mind are awake, and the pupil has mastered the common signs of intelligent communication.

Great use is made of pictures, when the pupil is once able to write down the name of an object, expressed to him in the usual way by vowel sounds and consonant powers which make up the word. Of course, when he has made sufficient progress to give utterance to his own thoughts, to receive the uttered or written expression of his teachers, the step from the simple picture of some common familiar object to that of a more remote or difficult one is soon taken. Thus, to a limited degree, an acquaintance is opened with very many subjects, the nature, properties, or qualities of which can be represented by visible outline; and even of some which cannot be thus represented.† But the acquisition of every new word must, until after long

* *Seeing sounds*, at once strikes us as an anomaly. Our authority for such a phrase is to be found in many well-known sayings of deaf-mutes, of which we quote one:—'Did you then know, said the Abbé Sicard to Massieu, 'what it was to hear?' "Yes."—"How did you "learn it?" "A hearing female relative, who lived at our house, "told me she saw with her ears a person she could not see with "her eyes who was coming to my father. The hearing see with "their ears during the night a person who is walking," &c. &c.'

† Under the superintendence of T. Jas. Watson, Esq., a most comprehensive and valuable '*Illustrated Vocabulary*' is now being prepared; the words being arranged as in a dictionary, and each followed by its own pictorial meaning, synonym, or sign. This will even include many abstract, metaphysical words and ideas.

training, still involve a separate and complete act of the mind; and, therefore, be a task of difficulty. Few words can be caught up, as by the ordinary child, by imitation; still fewer formed by analogy or comparison, but at the seasons of direct instruction. And if it be so with the acquisition of single, individual words, how vast must be the labour and arduous the task of acquiring but a fair knowledge of an ordinary modern language is at once apparent. The whole process of educating the deaf-mute is a slow and lengthy one. The teacher who succeeds in it, attains success only after years of diligent and patient toil. The blind boy *may* learn his letters in a week, and be a basket-maker in a month; but with the deaf-mute no such immediate fruit can be expected. The harvest is not reaped until perhaps more than one cold and barren winter has dragged its slow length away. Spring comes with little sign of life; and summer with but scanty blossom. Yet, autumn comes at last, and the fruit is worth waiting for.

But a class before us is about to have a lesson in dictation, and we are asked to choose a sentence from an ordinary reading book. We select this short one, — ‘*I met a lad with a hawk,*’ for a lesson in signs to be translated into words written on the slate. A hand held up by the teacher at once commands silence and attention. Every eye is instantly fixed on him *to see* what he will say. The first word *I* is at once understood, as the teacher touches his own breast with his fore-finger. *Met* is expressed by the two fists being extended, held for a moment apart, and then suddenly brought together. The first finger of the right hand held up, represents *a*, while *lad* is symbolized by the teacher’s pointing to himself with outstretched retroverted finger, and then suddenly bringing the hand to a dead stop below the chin, showing that a human being is meant, not exceeding that certain definite height. (At this sign several of the boys wrote down *boy*, or *youth*, but by far the greater number *vocalised* and wrote down *lad*.) The preposition *with* is simply expressed by two fingers of the right hand, *close together*, extended horizontally in the air, and then moved to and fro, as if being used in some operation of cutting or scraping, and instantly written down. *A* is despatched as before. *Hawk* is now the sole remaining word, and clearly the most difficult. We watch, therefore, with some interest to see how it will be expressed and understood. The teacher’s first step is to give an idea of the curved beak of a bird of prey by placing the fore-finger in a bent position by the side of his own nose. This appears to be realised at once. He then raises both his hands, extended horizontally with open palms downwards, in

front of him, to about his own height, and after moving them in a tremulous way, as a hawk would her wings in moving over her prey, suddenly brings them swiftly down on the desk before him, as if clutching at some small object beneath. Many at once exclaim, 'more suo,' the word *eagle*, which is rejected; then a solitary voice whispers *kite*, and at last several conclude it must be *hawk*.*

Thus ended the lesson, and our readers can now in a measure judge for themselves of one chief mode in which instruction of all kinds may be conveyed even to deaf-mutes. The writing was good, and the spelling in most cases *sufficiently* accurate; affording plain proof that the lesson was received and fairly understood. Before we leave the room we will look at one other slate in another more advanced class. The boy has begun the study of grammar, and is now writing on his slate an exercise set for him as the test of a previous lesson. Thus it runs. The teacher in setting the exercise has made use of four conventional signs, | = Indef. Article; □ = Noun; ∨ = Verb; arranged at the head of four columns on the slate before us to be filled up by the pupil in the following manner.

	□	∨	□
a	cow	gives	milk.
a	boy	plays	field.
a	whip	spins	top.
a	man.	rides	horse.
a	moon	shines	bright.
&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.

This doubtless is a useful exercise, and being easily varied in many ways, will gradually lead the pupil into the mysterious land of grammar by a most intelligible road. But we are free to confess that we do not see the precise reason for adopting conventional signs in a case where (to derive any benefit from their adoption) the pupil must have previously mastered the meaning of such words as Verb, Article, Noun, &c., for which they stand; and must be able to select from his own vocabulary appropriate examples of each under their respective headings. The above exercise stands, as we have said, in its original uncorrected state; and thus may give our readers a fair idea of the progress of an ordinary deaf-mute after but a few years' instruction.

From a general consideration of the whole question we have

* We afterwards heard the whole fable of the 'Fox and the Grapes' conveyed by signs into written language, with equal readiness and accuracy.

good ground for believing that the scheme of education marked out in this institution is completely fulfilled. We believe also that this education is not surpassed throughout Great Britain, in similar schools; and that the attainments of deaf-mutes cannot be expected, under the ordinary time training, to exceed this standard. Individual cases of higher cultivation no doubt are to be found. We are ourselves aware of more than one,—a barrister who at this very time is in active practice as a chamber counsel; a merchant who conducts a large business with skill and efficiency; and a gentleman who has rendered important services in the department of the Admiralty. But we regard these as exceptional cases of real genius in men, who, in spite of all difficulties, and in almost any station of life, would, by sheer industry and power of mind, have made themselves a name.

So far, therefore, the educational state of the deaf and dumb may be regarded as satisfactory.

But there still remains one point to be noticed in this and other similar Institutions, which we cannot understand,—*the entire absence of active industrial work.** In spite of all existing differences of opinion among the teachers of deaf-mutes as to the precise period for beginning to learn a trade,—whether before or after leaving the school,—it is incontrovertibly true that where the body and the mind are together exercised and refreshed by due change of employment, both mental and bodily toil are crowned with more frequent and sure success. The healthy tone and activity of mind is closely and vitally connected with tone and vigour of body. We would not for a moment depreciate the value of the ‘*mens sana*,’ but we would desire it for all practical purposes, ‘*in corpore sano*.’ To this it may be replied, ‘how would such sedentary occupations as shoemaking, basket-making, &c., furnish the requisite degree of stimulus and ‘activity?’ But change of work from eternal slates, pencils, spelling books and grammar lessons, if but to the tapping of a shoe, the weaving of a door-mat, or the elaboration of a withy basket, must act healthily and beneficially on the tone and

* The needle-work of the girls occupies, we believe, but a small portion of each day.

Our opinion on this point has been much strengthened by having recently learned that the deaf and dumb children in Donaldson’s Hospital, in Edinburgh, are actually engaged for several hours of each day in out-of-door work together with ordinary children; the mixture of the two classes being found most beneficial. The prosperity of this excellent Institution is, doubtless, in a measure owing to this very practice.

vigour of the body. It may involve no great amount of exercise to comb three square feet of oakum, but the change of room, the changes of faces about the worker, and of substance before his eyes, will at least bring change of thought. And at any rate, fingers, hands, arms, and legs must be more or less in motion; and mere motion must tend somewhat to life and briskness of blood and spirits. The deaf-mute who works eight hours per diem at the school-room desk, would work with double spirit and equal success if he devoted three out of the eight to mending his Sunday shoes, or the fabrication of an osier basket. We can see no just reason why his education as a craftsman should not at least begin ere he leave the school; why he should be too clumsy to use a saw, or too awkward to hammer on a lapstone. In the list of pupils sent out from the Doncaster* schools there are many who have practised trades and occupations of various kinds with success; such as shoemakers, gardeners, bookbinders, labourers, printers, joiners, and tailors. We urge it on four grounds,—health of body, vigour of mind, profit to the Institution, and pleasure to the pupil. The deaf-mute has few means of actual amusement. Monotony pervades most of his daily tasks. Industrial work, if well managed, will afford him both entertainment and instruction.

In conclusion, we have but to remark that much yet remains to be accomplished for the deaf and dumb in Great Britain; not so much in the extent to which their education is to be carried, as in the means of instruction actually placed within their reach. Of the few schools which now exist, many need enlargement, increase of funds, and more perfect operation. New schools are greatly needed in several parts of the country. It is supposed that upwards of 17,000 deaf-mutes are now to be found in Great Britain and Ireland; a large proportion of whom are still uneducated.† Our present schools will accommodate at most but 1400, not much more than one-twelfth part of a

* We regret to find such a noble institution as that at Doncaster not so well supported as it might be; and are convinced that its claims on public support need only to be more widely known, to be more fully satisfied. We can only wish for it as full a treasury as that of the kindred foundation in London.

† Mr. Baker tells us that at least one-eighth of the whole number are within the age, and possessed of other qualifications, generally prescribed for education. Schools are wanted at Newcastle for the densely populated country between the Tees and the Cheviot Hills; at Norwich, for the Eastern Counties; at Carmarthen, for the whole of Wales, and especially for the populous counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan.

class of unfortunate beings whose need of education is most urgent, and whose claims upon our pity are strong and just. That this necessity may be relieved, and the claims allowed and satisfied, there must be not only larger contributions on the part of the public, but fuller co-operation among the founders and managers of existing schools. Great and broad principles of method must be laid down, fairly and heartily adhered to by all, and so by common experience and judgment moulded and expanded into a scheme as catholic in its nature as its success.

ART. VI.—1. *The Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe, late Governor-General of India, Governor of Jamaica, and Governor-General of Canada.* 2 vols. By J. W. KAYE. London: 1854.

2. *Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe, &c. &c. &c.* Edited by J. W. KAYE. London: 1855.

3. *The Life and Correspondence of Henry St. George Tucker, late Accountant-General of Bengal, and Chairman of the East India Company.* By JOHN WILLIAM KAYE. London: 1854.

R. JOHN WILLIAM KAYE, already very favourably known to the public as the author of 'The History of the War in Afghanistan,' has more recently published the biographies of two Indian Statesmen,—Mr. Henry St. George Tucker and Lord Metcalfe;—eminent in different lines of the public service, and in very unequal degrees; but the less distinguished of whom was a man of remarkable capacity and energy, and one whose example is well worthy to be proposed for the study and imitation of all those before whom a career of public life, whether in India or elsewhere, is about to open.

To them, and to all, it will, we think, be both interesting and instructive to observe the entirely different starting posts from which these two brave and wise men (for such they were from the outset to the end of their respective careers), severally began the race which each so successfully ran. The one was the son of a Director of the East India Company, a retired officer of the Indian army, who had manifestly left behind him many and warm friends in that country; who was a fervent admirer of Lord Wellesley, then the Governor-General; and who is represented to have lost, on account of the strenuous support which he gave in the Court to the policy of that statesman, the votes of the majority of his colleagues for the Deputy Chairmanship. The other

sprang from a family long settled, in respectable obscurity, on the Island of St. George, one of the Bermudas, with no other connexion with India than that his mother's brother held a high office in Calcutta, for which port he sailed in his sixteenth year, as a midshipman in an Indiaman, without any prospects, apparently, beyond the life of a merchant-sailor. The one, though he also left home as a boy of sixteen, had received at Eton the best education that England could then give; and had profited so well by his opportunities, that he not only had secured to himself for life the cordial friendship of his tutor, Dr. Goodall (afterwards Head Master and Provost of the College), but had extended his studies, as his journals evince, far beyond the narrow limits of his school-books, and even of the dead languages, into the more flowery fields of French and Italian literature. The other, coming to England at ten years old, not advanced, as he tells us, beyond 'a little reading and 'less writing,' spent the next four or five years of his life between an academy at Hampstead, conducted on the principle of Do-the-boys-Hall, and the pupil-room of a teacher of navigation, from the latter of which he passed straight, under the convoy of the purser, into the midshipman's berth on board of 'the William Pitt.' The one was transferred, with the ease of natural development, from the College of Fort William, which had then just sprung, with a splendid staff of provost and professors, from the fertile brain of Lord Wellesley, to the office in the Government House, where a selected few of those who had most distinguished themselves in the college were employed, like the clerks of the Foreign Office, in copying those secret minutes or despatches which could not be safely intrusted to common hirelings, and were trained up in the ways of diplomacy, and fashioned into 'Politicals,' by the Governor-General himself. The other passed the six first years of his life in India as a mere clerk, (for it was not till 1792 that he was appointed from home to the Covenanted Civil Service); sometimes kept, 'fasting and weary, at his desk, 'in a close, hot room, two or three hours after sunset, until, 'utterly exhausted with want of food and rest, his head sunk on 'the table before him;' sometimes in the receipt of the sufficient salary, with strict economy, of 200 rupees a month; and sometimes glad to obtain employment without salary in one of the public offices, and just keeping up a respectable appearance upon a small pittance, advanced to him by his kind friend Mr. Law of the Civil Service, a brother of the first Lord Ellenborough. More than half a century afterwards Mr. Tucker wrote to one of his sons: 'I entered the world without money or friends; and I had to 'struggle for almost fifteen years against poverty and debt. I

‘lived for a time on about sixty rupees per month, in Rannee-
‘Moodee-Gully,’ (one of the narrowest and dirtiest lanes in Calcutta), ‘in a small hovel which I had to maintain against a colony
‘of rats. ‘Consider’ (he concluded), ‘these premises and the
‘result, — and take comfort.’ It may be well to add, that the debt alluded to was not the consequence of extravagance, but of the misconduct of an agent; and that although Mr. Tucker was under age when it was incurred, he endured ten years of rigid self-denial, in order that he might save the means of paying off both principal and interest.

It redounds in no slight degree to the honour of the two lads of sixteen, who thus severally began their lives in India,—Mr. Tucker in 1786, and Lord Metcalfe in 1801,—that the one was not spoilt and cockered into vanity and idleness by the great success so early achieved; and that the other was not chilled, and permanently stunted in his mental growth, by the difficulties and hardships, and still more depressing uncertainties, of the up-hill battle which he had to fight. Neither the head of the one was turned, nor the heart of the other daunted. Metcalfe never relaxed in his studies, making himself thoroughly master of both the languages essential for the conduct of diplomatic business — oral and written — in North-western India; and keeping at the same time such a hold upon his classical acquirements, that he read some Greek, as he frequently assured his friends, every day of his life, until the toils of office, when he rose to be Governor-General of India, deprived him of all leisure for even that favourite pursuit. And Mr. Kaye’s volume presents us with papers upon Indian revenue and finance, written by Mr. Tucker during the years of his probation as a clerk, and when he was not older than many a sixth-form boy at Eton, which are equally remarkable for the insight the writer had so quickly acquired into subjects of much depth and difficulty, for the acuteness and vigour of his logic, and for the happy perspicuity of his style.

But although we have spoken in the foregoing passage of the great advantages which young Metcalfe might be supposed to have derived from his parentage, from the kindness of his father’s friends, and, above all, from the favour which the Governor-General might be well inclined to show to the son of his staunchest supporter in the Court of Directors, we would by no means be understood to imply that he was treated with any undue partiality. Nothing, indeed, appears to have been done for him, except to place him in situations where he had the opportunity of displaying his great natural abilities and his indefatigable industry; and where, on the other hand, if he had not

possessed these qualities, his deficiencies would have been as certainly exposed. The privilege accorded to him was, in fact, that common to himself with scores of his fellow-servants in India,—but more frequently in former times than at the present day,—of being flung headlong, in mere boyhood, into the deep waters of difficult and responsible public business, at a distance alike from counsel and from control, there to swim or sink as his ability and courage might or might not be sufficient to float him through the first two or three emergencies. After that, in his case as in others, since the young aspirant for distinction was not choked in the eddies, or stranded on the beach, experience soon came to the aid of native talent. The crisis of peril was passed for life, at an age when contemporaries whom Metcalfe had left at Eton were still in terror of the birch; and habits of prompt decision and confident self-reliance were formed long before the young statesman came to what the law terms ‘years of discretion:’—habits such as many an able man in this country acquires slowly and painfully after long years of conversance with public affairs; if, indeed, with rare exceptions, one trained in such trammels can ever command the calm resolution with which Metcalfe acted in many trying emergencies during his long and varied career. But we must not forestall events:—he had occasion, at the very outset of his employment, to strain all his high qualities to the uttermost in a keen conflict with the most astute and unscrupulous of Indian Princes.

In 1808, Mr. Metcalfe was appointed Envoy on a special mission to the Court, or rather to the Camp, of Runjeet Singh, since so well known; but who had then but recently emerged from the condition of a petty chieftain, one among many co-equals and rivals, and who was naturally intoxicated by the great and sudden growth of his power, and by the invariable success of all his ambitious schemes. The object of the mission was to form a defensive alliance with Runjeet against an apprehended invasion of India by the French, then in close relations with Russia. That sagacious Prince,—wiser in his generation than the British Government of the day—was satisfied that such a danger, if existing at all, was so extremely remote, that he could hardly bring himself to believe that to urge him to make common cause in providing against it, could be the real and primary motive of the Governor-General in Mr. Metcalfe’s deputation.* But he saw that the British Government,

* In 1830, in a paper on the Designs of Russia in the East, Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote: ‘Twenty-two years ago, the writer of this Minute was employed to negotiate an alliance against a French in-

from whatever cause, was very desirous to secure his co-operation; and he caught at the opportunity to make a market of this obvious anxiety, by demanding, as the price of his friendship, the acquiescence of the Governor-General in his subjugation of the Sikh Principalities lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna. But there was no intention of allowing Runjeet thus to aggrandise himself, and to advance his outposts to our frontier. The Governor-General was determined to protect the chiefs in question, over whom Runjeet had not the smallest claim to rule, and who had, in fact, been the tributaries of the Mahrattas, to whose dominion in North-western India we had recently succeeded by right of conquest. Moreover, during the months which had elapsed since Metcalfe's negotiations commenced, Lord Minto had either seen cause to question whether a French invasion was an event so immediately impending; or to doubt if it were, whether—to use a proverb with which, as a Borderer, he must have been familiar,—Runjeet was exactly ‘the man to ride the ‘water with.’ At any rate, quite a new view of this much desired ally is given in Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's letter to Mr. Metcalfe, dated ‘November 7. 1808.’ ‘Government is satisfied,’ he wrote, ‘that Runjeet Singh will never be the cordial friend of ‘the British Government:—an engagement with him for co-operation would be mere waste paper.’ Acting upon instructions coloured by these sentiments, Metcalfe gave the ambitious Sikh to understand, in the plainest terms, that if he continued his aggressions upon any of the petty chiefs on the left banks of the Sutlej, he must be prepared for a collision with the British Government, which was determined to uphold those states. Still, every trick of evasion and delay was played to postpone compliance with the demands of the Governor-General; and well did the young diplomatist act the frank and manly part becoming a British Envoy, displaying at every turn of the crafty and unscrupulous prince with whom he had to deal, that moral courage which has so happily co-operated with the valour of our troops in the field to establish our ascendancy in India.

‘I asked,’—Metcalfe wrote to Calcutta,—‘what explanation I should offer to my Government for the delay which had taken place on the part of the Rajah. Imaum-ood-deen begged me to bear in mind,

vasion with a native State beyond our north-western frontier. A French invasion was our bugbear then, as a Russian one is now—Abdullah Mehrou, at the head of a French army, was reported to have reached Ispahan. But the Spanish insurrection broke out. Sir Arthur Wellesley beat the French at Roloia and Vimiera. The vision of Abdullah Mehrou and his legions vanished, and we thought no more of a French invasion.’

that the Rajah, from the earliest age, had been without control ; that his disposition had, in consequence, become ungovernable ; that he had throughout life acted according to his pleasure ; that God had prospered all his undertakings ; that he had acquired a habit of acting without reference to the inclination of others ; and that allowances ought to be made for these considerations. I observed that the Rajah's eccentricities were evident enough, and that I had been often amused by them ; that they would, indeed, by very entertaining if they did not interfere so much with important business ; but that I could not state them to my Government to account for the Rajah's conduct, as any consideration for them would be inadmissible. The British Government, I remarked, could only judge of the Rajah by his acts ; and if these were improper, I could not think of justifying them by any reference to his education. I pressed upon the attention of the Imaum-ood-deen that it was necessary for the Maha-Rajah to reflect that every matter pending was between Government and Government ; and that it was indispensable that he should lay aside the notion that he might act according to his own pleasure, without regard to the rights and dignity of the British Government.'

But it was not until after many remonstrances and warnings, and until, as a demonstration of the *ultima ratio*, a body of British troops under Colonel David Ochterlony, already celebrated for his defence of Delhi against the Mahrattas, had advanced to the Sutlej, that Runjeet actually relaxed his gripe upon two or three of the protected states of which he had taken forcible possession. He was, in truth, a man in whom the organ of acquisitiveness was so enormously developed, that he seemed to suffer absolute agony in giving up anything—either a principality or a piece of ordnance—on which he had once fixed his talons. There is something exquisitely *naïve* in his remonstrance against the plain language—equally characteristic—in which Mr. Metcalfe (thoroughly worn out at last by the Rajah's endless evasion and procrastination) informed him of the determination of the British Government to drive him by force beyond the Sutlej, if he still persisted in maintaining his troops to the westward of that river. 'I must observe,' he wrote, 'that when matters are settled in an amicable and friendly way, to talk of armies and such things is neither necessary nor pleasing to my friendly disposition.' But Metcalfe was not to be frightened nor cajoled from the execution of the duty entrusted to him. His firm demands were backed by the advance of a British force ; and then, at last, Runjeet Singh yielded, withdrew his troops to his own side of the Sutlej, and forthwith concluded with this ambassador of twenty-three years old a treaty of perpetual friendship. 'At this time,' says Mr. Kaye, 'Runjeet Singh

‘was in the very flush and vigour of life. He lived for thirty years afterwards; but the treaty which he and Metcalfe signed at Umritsur’ (on the 25th of April, 1809), ‘was never violated during his supremacy in the Punjâb, either by the English or the Sikhs.’ This fact alone would afford sufficient ground to the general observer, for placing a very high value on the services rendered to the British Government by Mr. Metcalfe:—services rightly declared by that Government to have established for the youthful diplomatist ‘a peculiar claim to public applause, respect, and esteem.’

The career of Mr. Tucker, though eminently creditable and useful, was not one of such early and brilliant success. Indeed, as we have shown, he was not so fortunate as to be placed in the field where alone such success could, under any circumstances, be achieved, until he had passed six years in humble employments, and was nearly twenty-two. The line of business to which he subsequently devoted himself,—that of revenue and finance,—afforded no openings, in subordinate office at least, for the display of such ability, courage, and judgment as had distinguished Metcalfe in his single-handed conflict with the redoubtable Runjeet Singh. Yet Mr. Tucker’s rise; when compared either with the steps by which public men reach distinction in England, or with the rate of promotion in the Civil Service of India at the present day, must be regarded as extremely rapid. In 1792 he was appointed a member of that service; in 1799 he was raised to the situation of Secretary to Government in the judicial and revenue departments; and in 1800, when he had just completed his thirtieth year, he undertook, at the special request of the Governor-General, the office of Accountant-General, and, with it, the general superintendence and control of the finances of India.

Thus, Metcalfe, at twenty-three, had won for himself, after a severe trial of his powers, the reputation of an eminently successful diplomatist; and Tucker, though he had entered the service only eight years before, was placed, at thirty, in charge of the finances of a great empire. No doubt, these were special cases. But whilst Metcalfe was baffling and coercing Runjeet Singh, the *de facto* ruler of the Punjâb, the boys whom he had left at Eton were struggling for first and second classes at Oxford; and no contemporary of Tucker’s, unless he were the son of a Prime Minister, would have been deemed qualified for any considerable Parliamentary office.

Mr. Metcalfe had soon an ample field assigned to him for the exercise of his talents and of his philanthropy. As Resident at Delhi, besides his diplomatic functions, it was his duty to direct and control the administration of a large

province, brought down to the lowest depths of poverty and recklessness, by a long series of misgovernment, beginning as early as the decline of the great Mahomedan dynasty of Baber, but terribly aggravated by the habitual rapine and lawlessness of the Mahrattas. When the province fell into our hands, no one, however humble, dared to live in a detached house or hamlet, or otherwise than behind wall and ditch. The state of things described in the song of Deborah had long been the normal condition of the land. 'The high ways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through bye-ways:—the inhabitants of the villages ceased.' Lord Metcalfe used to tell in after years, that when as assistant to Mr. Seton, then the Resident, he went to assess the revenue, for the first time, on behalf of the British Government, he took with him a regiment, as an indispensable escort. 'But when I went to make the collections at the end of the year,' (he added), 'I was obliged to take two regiments and guns.' The whole country was infested by mounted robbers, called in that part of India, 'Cozâks.'* There was a numerous tribe, the richest and most respectable members of which 'could not help stealing buffaloes,' (as Colonel Skinner, who knew them well, was wont to say,) if the temptation beset them in a retired spot. It was a proverb of the time and place, — 'whose the club, his the cattle.' And the same lawlessness, coupled with the most contemptuous estimate of the value of human life, pervaded the whole warp and woof of society.

Mr. Metcalfe applied himself vigorously to amend this state of things, and laid the foundation of improvements which have resulted in restoring peace and prosperity to large districts devastated by war and anarchy, and fast lapsing into a heritage for the beasts of the field. Those districts, once such as we have described them, may now be called, with the strictest truth, 'the land of unwall'd villages,' where the people 'are at rest, all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither bars nor gates.' The Cozâks have disappeared. Lions, which, within the memory of man, prowled up to the very gates of Delhi, can now be rarely found, at a distance of several hundred miles, on the borders of the great desert. One of the effects of the efficient protection thus given to the agricultural and commercial classes, was that the revenue rose from 40,000*l*. in 1807-8, to 150,000*l*. in 1813-14. Mr. Metcalfe's Report, dated in 1815, from which this fact is taken, demonstrates at once how little he

* The word is Arabic, meaning originally 'butchers,' and then murderers for plunder. It is evidently the same as 'Cossack.'

was disposed to grasp at such results by means of short-sighted over-assessment, and how earnestly he desired that the Government should perform its proper part by assisting the people to develop the great natural resources of the devastated territory.

‘I cannot refrain,’ he says, ‘from taking advantage of this opportunity to bring again to the notice of the Governor-General the subject of the Delhi Canal. . . . It is supposed that the produce of the canal would, in a very short time, repay the expense of bringing it into order; and it is certain that the restoration of this beneficial work would be productive of a great increase of revenue to Government, and a great increase of comfort, wealth, and health to the inhabitants of the city of Delhi.’

He then proceeds to urge the claims of the village Zemindars to consideration, as having the best title to enter into direct engagements with the Government for the land revenue, and continues:—‘Settlements should be made for periods of ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or one hundred years,—the longer, perhaps, the better. At all events the periods should be sufficiently long to admit of considerable profit being made by the cultivators from their own labour and enterprise. This is the very essence of the system.’

‘On the good effects of such a system as this’ (we now quote the commentary of Mr. Kaye), ‘Metcalfé descanted with no common earnestness. He wrote as one whose whole soul was in the cause. He showed how wealth would be accumulated—how security would engender providence, and how a spirit of independence would be acquired—how commerce and education would be promoted—how the people would be elevated in the social scale, and rise to a height of moral and intellectual grandeur, never attained by them before. It was nothing, he argued, that by so raising them, we might teach them, in time, to emancipate themselves from our yoke. In spite of all such considerations as this, our duty, he said, was clear.’

Upon this latter point it is due to Lord Metcalfé’s memory to quote his own language. He said:—

‘There may be those who would argue that it is injudicious to establish a system which, by exciting a free and independent character, may possibly lead, at a future period, to dangerous consequences. . . . But, supposing the remote possibility of these evil consequences, that would not be a sufficient reason for withholding any advantage from our subjects. Similar objections have been made against our attempting to promote the education of our native subjects; but how unworthy it would be of a liberal government to give weight to such objections. The world is governed by an irresistible Power,—which giveth and taketh away dominion, and vain would be the impotent prudence of men against the operations of its Almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the hap-

piness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India and the admiration of the world will accompany our name throughout all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects, from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, the hisses and execrations, of mankind.'

'If this had been written yesterday' (remarks Mr. Kaye), 'there would have been nothing noticeable in it; but forty years ago such language was not often to be found in the despatches of our Indian functionaries.' This is well deserved and discriminating commendation. It is equally true and honourable to Lord Metcalfe that twenty succeeding years of uninterrupted success and advancement, terminating in the attainment of the highest station in the Government of India,—perhaps the proudest elevation to which a British subject can be raised,—had failed to debauch the simple integrity of his understanding, or to abate the earnestness with which he paid homage to the great principles which ought to govern the administration of our empire in the East.

'If,' he said in 1835, 'their argument be that the spread of knowledge may eventually be fatal to our rule in India, I close with them on that point, and maintain that, whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could only be preserved as a part of the British Empire, by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our domination would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease.

'But I see more ground for just apprehension in ignorance itself. I look to the increase of knowledge, with a hope that it may strengthen our empire; that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our Government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy; and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened, and ultimately annihilated. Whatever, however, be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future government of India, it is clearly our duty, as long as the charge be confided to our hands, to execute the trust to the best of our ability, for the good of the people. The promotion of knowledge (of which the liberty of the Press is one of the most efficient instruments), is manifestly an essential part of that duty. It cannot be that we are permitted by Divine Authority to be here merely to collect the revenues of the country, pay the establishments necessary to keep possession, and get into debt to supply the deficiency. We are, doubtless, here for higher purposes; one of which is to pour the enlightened knowledge and civilisation, the arts and sciences of Europe, over the land, and thereby improve the condition of the people. Nothing, surely, is more likely to conduce to these ends than the liberty of the Press.'

In the same spirit, and with the same superiority to the narrow prejudices which at that day governed too many of the rulers of British India, Mr. Metcalfe wrote in 1815, —

‘I am aware that nothing that I can say on this subject would have any weight. I am also sensible that in expressing such opinions, I may be deemed guilty of presumption; but on an occasion like the present, I conceive myself bound to recommend whatever promises to be beneficial, with reference to the subject of this Report; and, therefore, I recommend the free admission of British subjects to settle in India under laws and regulations suited to the state of the country, and unlimited liberty to acquire property by lawful means, as the surest mode of adding to the resources, and increasing the strength of our Asiatic Empire.’

Our limits constrain us, very unwillingly, to pass over, with the most cursory notice, many years of varied and highly-distinguished service rendered by Mr. Metcalfe to the Government of India. Whilst still Resident at Delhi, his energetic counsels influenced to a large extent the policy of the Marquis of Hastings in those wars which, after scattering the lawless hordes of the Pindarrees, resulted in the prostration of the great Mahratta confederacy, and the complete establishment of British ascendancy throughout the Peninsula. In consequence, no doubt, of what he had observed during that critical period — which included also the trying contest with Nepal — of Mr. Metcalfe’s abilities, as well as of his intimate acquaintance with all the interests of the British Government, as involved in their relations with the Native Powers, the Governor-General invited him to fill the united offices of Secretary to the Supreme Government in the Political (Diplomatic) Department, and of Private Secretary to his lordship. Mr. Metcalfe appears to have accepted these honourable and lucrative appointments with great hesitation and misgiving, apprehending that their ministerial functions were less suited to his character and habits than the comparatively independent action which he had so long exercised as Resident at Delhi. The event fully bore out his anticipations. He was soon weary of his new position, and those who had known him longest, and who loved him best, were most earnest in pressing him to return to his own line of the public service. He followed their advice and his own inclination, and, in the autumn of 1820, was appointed Resident at Hyderabad. Had he known, however, what he was to find there, he would have clung by preference to the duties of the Secretariat, however unpalatable. He found not merely the normal state of affairs in the Nizam’s court and country — corruption, extortion, the most atrocious mis-

government, and consequent anarchy, — for all which, of course, he was more or less prepared: he found — what was far worse — British subjects, and those not solely persons unconnected with the public service, engaged in the illicit and unrighteous trade of Hyderabad money-lenders, exacting from a miserable people interest at the rate of 25 per cent., and backed, to a lamentable extent, by the highest authority in India. Mr. Metcalfe had never before been placed in so grievous a dilemma. The circumstances of the case ranged his principles and his feelings at direct variance with each other. He could not have injured a stranger, even by the performance of the plainest act of duty, without suffering extreme pain; and the principal partner in the offending firm was the brother of one of his oldest and most valued friends. He was the most loyal of public servants, and had received, besides, much kindness and distinction at the hands of the Governor-General; and Lord Hastings had been misled by partiality for favourites into feelings and conduct so hostile to the Resident, and to the cause of honesty and truth for which he was contending, that he scarcely refrained from recalling him. Mr. Metcalfe's letters to the Governor-General, public and private, are models at once of the unflinching discharge of duty and of deference and grateful respect. The whole correspondence shows how unwillingly; and with how much forbearance — even when most goaded — he took any step injuriously affecting the pecuniary interests of the banking firm in question. But to see clearly the course of duty, and to follow it at whatever cost or risk, was to Mr. Metcalfe, on that occasion, as throughout his life, the most certain sequence of cause and effect. He took his line accordingly; and in spite of the vilification of a few interested individuals, his courageous uprightness was rewarded by the highly approving verdict of all the authorities in England, as well as of public opinion.

Mr. Metcalfe remained at Hyderabad long enough to outlive the painful struggle to which we have briefly alluded (the story is a long, and, to almost all but him, a discreditable one), and to become attached to the place and its duties. But in April, 1825, he was earnestly requested by Lord Amherst, then the Governor-General, to resume his former office at Delhi, with the large additional labour and responsibility of the management of our relations with the states of Rajpootana. 'Much,' wrote Lord Amherst, 'as your services are still demanded at Hyderabad, a nobler field opens for them in the scene of your former residence and employment; and I flatter myself that unless there should be some impediment, of which I am not

‘aware, to your proceeding to Delhi, you will readily afford your services in a quarter where they are now most urgently required, and where, I hesitate not to say, you can, of all men in India, most benefit your Government and your country.’

It was not in the nature of Sir Charles Metcalfe (he had now succeeded to the Baronetcy by the death of his elder brother), to turn a deaf ear to such an appeal as this. The British Government, engaged in a tedious and expensive contest with the Burmese far beyond its south-eastern frontier, had been braved in the north-west by the usurping uncle of the infant Rajah of Bhurtpore. That fortress, which had successfully repelled the repeated assaults of Lord Lake in 1805, was regarded by the more warlike tribes of India as the rock from which the tide of British fortune was destined to be hurled back in defeat and disgrace; and those who were politicians enough to know that a large proportion of our best troops were far away from Hindostan on the banks of the Irrawaddy, were not without hope that a second discomfiture might be the signal for a general insurrection against our dominion. Bishop Heber relates that the approaching end of the British rule was, at that period, openly talked of in the streets of Delhi. Sir Charles Metcalfe was sent to the North-west with the powers of peace or war. The commander-in-chief (Lord Combermere) was requested ‘to take measures for holding in readiness a force adequate to the prompt reduction of the principal fortresses in the Bhurtpore country, and for carrying on military operations in that quarter, on the requisition of Sir Charles Metcalfe.’ This resolution was taken on the 16th of September. On the 21st of October, he reached Delhi. On the 25th of November, after a vain attempt to induce the usurper to submit, he ‘issued a proclamation, declaring that the British Government had determined to support the claims of the infant Prince.’ And on the 18th of January, 1826, after battering had entirely failed, the earthen ramparts of Bhurtpore were blown into the air by mines, the largest of which was charged with no less than ten thousand pounds of gunpowder; and the place was instantly carried by an assault over the still glowing ruins. The result of this eminent success was that North-western India enjoyed uninterrupted quiet for twenty years.

In August, 1827, Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded to a seat in the Supreme Council of India. In this situation—one of comparative irresponsibility—he worked hard and well; winning for himself the entire confidence of that eminently honest and benevolent statesman, Lord William Bentinck, whose opinion of

his character and value as a public servant may be estimated by the following extract from a letter which the Governor-General wrote to Mr. Charles Grant, then President of the India Board, on the 16th of September, 1833:—‘ Sir Charles Metcalfe will be a great loss to me. His service in Council expires in August. He quite ranks with Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and Mr. Elphinstone. If it be intended—and the necessity cannot admit of a doubt—to form a second local government in Bengal (that is, under the Bengal Presidency), he undoubtedly ought to be at the head. I strongly recommend him. Whilst he has always maintained the most perfect independence of character and conduct, he has been to me a most zealous supporter and friendly colleague.’ In 1836, long after he had left India, Lord William bore still stronger testimony to his merits in a letter to Lord Melbourne, then the Prime Minister. ‘ We served together,’ he said, ‘ nearly seven years. His behaviour to me was of the noblest kind. He never cavilled upon a trifle, and never yielded to me on a point of importance.’

Under the Charter Act of 1833, Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed Governor of Agra,—the new Presidency in the North-west. Shortly afterwards, he was nominated ‘ Provisional Governor-General of India, on the death, resignation, or coming away of Lord William Bentinck.’ After a very brief tenure of the former, he succeeded to the higher office; and in consequence of the nomination of Lord Heytesbury during the short administration of Sir Robert Peel, and the revocation of the appointment when the Whigs returned to power, he remained in that distinguished position very nearly a year. It was not the fault of the Court of Directors, indeed, that he was not allowed to retain the office for a still longer period. They had passed a resolution, by a majority of fifteen to two, that, referring to the provisional appointment already made, ‘ and advert[ing] also to the public character and services of Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose knowledge, experience, and talent eminently qualify him to prosecute successfully the various important measures consequent on the new Charter-Act, this Court are of opinion that it would be inexpedient at present to make any other arrangement for supplying the office of Governor-General.’ ‘ But the Crown Ministers,’ says Mr. Kaye, ‘ were not inclined to ratify the choice of the Court of Directors. They raked up an old dictum of Mr. Canning, to the effect that it was more expedient to appoint an English statesman, than one trained in either of the Indian services, to the office of Governor-General; and it was decreed, therefore,

‘that Metcalfe had too much knowledge and experience—in a word, was too well qualified for the performance of the duties of such an office—to be suffered to undertake them.’ To his honour be it recorded, Mr. Tucker was the Chairman of the Court who attempted to secure a worthy successor for Lord William Bentinck, first in Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone (who declined the offer on the ground of feeble health), and then in Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose early career he had watched and applauded, and whose courageous honesty in denouncing and correcting the abuses which had grown to so rank a height at Hyderabad, had won his special admiration.

But now the time was come when that same honesty and courage, which impelled Sir Charles Metcalfe to follow upon all occasions the convictions of his manly understanding, drew down upon him the grave displeasure of the Court of Directors, and led to the dissolution of the connexion which might otherwise have subsisted as long as life and health were spared to this most zealous and devoted of public servants. The new Governor-General took upon himself to repeal the laws which fettered the Press. Mr. Kaye has briefly traced the history of the Indian Press in the Seventh Chapter of his second volume. It was free from the days of Warren Hastings to those of Lord Wellesley. Under that nobleman and Lord Minto, it was jealously shackled. Lord Hastings showed himself more enlightened than his Indian advisers, and left it almost entirely alone. He resigned the government into the hands of Mr. John Adam, and that gentleman—unhappily for a high public character earned by long and valuable services—entered upon a contest which ended in the deportation of Mr. Buckingham, the proprietor and editor of the ‘*Calcutta Journal*,’ for offences which now-a-days would hardly ruffle the temper of the most thin-skinned of public functionaries, and in the enactment of stringent laws for the better subjugation of the Press. Lord Amherst gradually relaxed the severity of these laws, and Lord William Bentinck purposely permitted them to fall into entire desuetude; so that they became like giants Pope and Pagan in *Pilgrim’s Progress*, who, however formidable they had been in days gone by, could, when John Bunyan saw his marvellous vision, only sit and grin at the passing pilgrims with impotent malice. That stout-hearted statesman, Mr. Kaye tells us—and we can well believe it—‘was wont to say, ‘snapping his fingers as he spoke, that he did not care a straw for the vituperations of the Press. He esteemed it, however,’ our author proceeds, ‘as a friend, and appreciated it as an auxiliary to good government. He did not scruple, indeed, to

‘say, after he had been some years in India, that he had learnt more from it than from all the other sources of information which had been open to him since he had assumed the government of the country.’ Under such a ruler — whatever the letter of the law, — the Press was, of course, practically free. Once only, during his long administration, there seemed to him to be a case calling for exceptional interference with that liberty. In 1830, under the special orders of the Home Government, certain allowances long enjoyed by military officers had been curtailed. This reduction had excited the most lively indignation, and had called forth not only earnest appeals to the Court of Directors, but, pending their reply, the most bitter invectives in the columns of the local newspapers against each and all of the authorities concerned in so odious a measure. When, therefore, Lord William Bentinck received the despatch in which the Government reiterated and enforced their former orders, he hesitated to publish it, without, at the same time, reviving the rules — long fallen into desuetude — which would enable him to curb at his discretion the anticipated violence of the Press. Sir Charles Metcalfe objected to this course in a Minute, published *in extenso* by Mr. Kaye (vol. ii. p. 254—6.) which — did our limits permit it — we should greatly desire to transfer entire to these pages: — a paper pregnant with true political wisdom, urged upon the Governor-General and his colleagues in the simplest language, and with unanswerable force: —

‘Hitherto,’ he said, ‘the utmost freedom of discussion has been permitted upon this subject, and generally on all subjects, for years past; and I cannot see any difference between the present order of the Court and their former order, that should make it expedient to allow the one to be censured, and to prohibit all comment on the other. The former order was meant to be final as much as the present one.’

‘I am persuaded that the freedom of discussion allowed in the Half-Batta question has been attended with good effects. It has afforded a vent for the expression of the feelings which a most unpopular measure excited; and it gave an assurance to those who conceived themselves injured that their complaints were at least made known, and must attract attention.’

‘I have, for my own part, always advocated the liberty of the Press, believing its benefits to outweigh its mischiefs; and I continue of the same opinion.’

‘If I could think it sound policy to shackle the Press, I should prefer the steady operation of the censorship, or any fixed rule, to the occasional interference of the Government by its arbitrary will. Every letter addressed by the Government to the editor of a news-

paper, has always appeared to me to be derogatory to the Government : and the Bengal Government has been exposed to more ridicule from this sort of correspondence than from any other cause. It is true that the power now exists of converting ridicule into terror, by the destruction of property ; but who can desire to see a newspaper impertinence brought to such an end ? Even punishment has sometimes proved a farce, the real offender soon re-appearing in the field with new honour, as a pretended martyr.

‘For all these reasons I object to the measure proposed, considering it preferable, on every account, to leave to the Press the uninterrupted enjoyment of its supposed freedom, and to the Public the means which it now practically possesses of expressing its sentiments on all subjects, without any other restriction than those of law and discretion.’

This Minute was recorded in September, 1830. In May, 1832, he wrote in the same spirit to Lord Clare, then the Governor of Bombay, whose sensitive feelings had been wounded by the strictures upon his lordship’s exercise of his patronage, which one ‘Cleophas’ of Madras had given to the public through the medium of a Calcutta newspaper, and who accordingly called upon the Supreme Government to ‘force the editor to make a public and ample apology, retracting every word he had stated to the prejudice of Lord Clare, or to withdraw his license.’ We regret that we have not room to quote Sir Charles Metcalfe’s letter. It is the vigorous expostulation of a wise statesman, in reply to the pettish demand of a spoilt child of rank and station. It is, indeed, an accidental paraphrase, adapted to very different times and circumstances, of Cardinal Granville’s celebrated apostrophe :—‘Don’t talk to me of libels. Look at all those written in Flanders against me, in Germany, on the confinement of the Landgrave, on account of the Marquis Albert, and other causes. I swallowed all that as if it were milk. Paper is easily scribbled ; and, after all, a pen is not a poniard.’

We have been thus particular in showing what were the opinions which Sir Charles Metcalfe entertained in respect to the Press before he became Governor-General, or had the smallest prospect of ever having the power to carry those opinions into effect, because it has been charged against him, that the step which he took was altogether uncalled for and gratuitous, and that mere vanity and a vulgar thirst for popular applause were the motives which led him to take it. Never were there charges more unfounded and unjust. As regards the second point, no statesman ever lived less likely to be seduced into doing what he knew to be wrong, or to be deterred from doing what he knew to be right, by the love of popularity or by the fear

of blame. There is not a line that he ever wrote, there is not a single action of his life, which does not demonstrate that he was absolutely governed by his own calm judgment, and by his conscientious sense of right. As to the measure being uncalled for, there is happily the most conclusive evidence to refute the charge. At the latter end of 1834, the community of Calcutta petitioned Lord William Bentinck to repeal the regulations shackling the Press, which had been passed, as we have stated, by Mr. Adam, but which had long been a dead letter. The petitioners received an official answer: the 'unsatisfactory state of the laws relating to the Press had already attracted the notice of his Lordship in Council; and he trusted that in no long time a system would be established, which, while it gave security to every person engaged in the fair discussion of public measures, would effectually secure the Government against sedition, and individuals against calumny.' With this answer Sir Charles Metcalfe could have had nothing to do, for he had already vacated his seat in the Supreme Council, on his appointment as Governor of Agra. But there is still clearer proof. In 1836, Lord William Bentinck (who honoured Sir Charles Metcalfe, as much as Sir Charles Metcalfe, who described him after his death, as 'one of the most virtuous and admirable of mankind,' honoured him,) wrote with great earnestness to Lord Melbourne, then the Prime Minister, deprecating the ban which had been laid upon his friend, and urging his appointment as Governor of Madras. In that letter, which Sir Charles Metcalfe never heard of till Lord William had been three years in his grave, the following passage occurs:—

'It seems to have been imagined that he need not have passed any law upon this subject, and that it might have been left to his successor. But this is a mistake. The measure could not be delayed. Before I left India, a resolution passed the Council that the Law Commission, when assembled, should propose a law, having general application throughout India. Sir Charles did not think it necessary to wait for this report. I have heard that in the despatch to Bengal an opinion of mine is given as to the provisions which this law should contain. This is a mistake: I never recorded any precise opinion upon this point, for the simple reason that I had not formed any. Sir Charles had always the same opinion upon the Press. We in some respects differed, but upon the necessity of an immediate enactment, we should not have disagreed. I should not have waited for my successor, any more than he has done, if I had been prepared, as he was, to come at once to a conclusion. The power of legislating is in the Council of India—the necessity of exercising it existed—the right of cancelling the acts of the Local Government rests with the Home authorities.

‘From the applause that has been bestowed in India upon this Act, it may be imagined that Sir Charles was influenced by the love of popularity ; but in his public career I think no man has shown greater rectitude of conduct or more independence of mind.’

After Mr. Kaye’s publication of this testimony, spontaneously given by the highest authority on the subject, we trust that it will never again be said that the measure was uncalled for, and that we shall hear no more the unconstitutional dogma, that Sir Charles Metcalfe ought not to have meddled with the matter at all, because he was only a *locum tenens* as Governor-General. The law recognises no such being. While he held the office, he was as absolutely Governor-General as Warren Hastings or Lord Wellesley. And as to the Act itself, it is marvellous that so recently as 1835, any living creature should have been found to attach value to regulations for controlling the Press which no one—as far as we are aware,—ever pretended to consider available for actual use ; or to regard the safety of our Indian Empire as compromised, because people were permitted to do that which they had been habitually doing for many years, without permission. The result has abundantly justified Sir Charles Metcalfe’s expectations, and demonstrated, at the same time, the utter groundlessness of the fears of those who trembled at the alleged rashness of the measure. No ingenuity can get up a case to show that even a shadow of danger to the State has flowed from the change in the law. On the other hand, it is undeniable that, by the instrumentality of the Free Press, many abuses have been exposed, many reforms and improvements suggested, and many useful warnings given. And we believe that all the advantages of this great agent of knowledge and civilisation have been reaped with quite as small an alloy of evil as has been found inseparable from a like good in other lands.

But to the Directors of 1835, the striking off the rusty fetters appeared to be fraught with nothing but disaster and ruin to the empire which they administered. Therefore they consigned to oblivion the long years during which Sir Charles had served the Company with perhaps unequalled devotion and distinction ; and fixing their unforgiving eyes upon what even in their anger they were compelled to admit was the one single spot in an otherwise stainless career, they treated with marked slight his unquestionable claim to the appointment of Governor of Madras. Sir Charles Metcalfe was not the man to brook a slur which it may be said was ostentatiously cast upon him. He went, as was his wont, straight to the point. In August, 1836, he wrote a manly and touching letter to the Court, begging them

to tell him frankly whether he still enjoyed or had lost the confidence with which he had so long been honoured, in order that he might shape his course according to their reply. To this earnest appeal he received, after what must have been an intentional delay of several months, the following reply :—

‘East India House, April, 1837.

‘SIR,—I have had the honour to receive and lay before the Court of Directors of the East India Company, your letter dated at Agra, the 22nd of August last ; and I am commanded to express to you the Court’s regret that you should have made a communication which appears to them to have been altogether unnecessary, as the continuance in you provisionally of the highest office which it is in the power of the Court to confer, might have satisfied you that their confidence had not been withdrawn.

‘I have, &c. &c.,

‘JAMES C. MELVILL, Secretary.’

This very shabby answer to the gentle and respectful appeal of a servant — and such a servant — of thirty-seven years’ standing, produced the effect ‘ which,’ as Sir Charles Metcalfe observed in his rejoinder, ‘ the Court must have expected, as the natural ‘ consequence of their letter.’ He resigned his appointment and the service of the Company, carrying with him in his retirement the affectionate and heartfelt good wishes of every class of the community, both within and without the pale of English society — of fellow servants, of British subjects unconnected with the Government, of the native community, and of independent princes. In the words of Mr. Kaye :— ‘ Soldiers and civilians, ‘ merchants and tradesmen, Europeans, natives, and Eurasians, ‘ united to do him honour.’ His old adversary in the diplomatic arena thirty years before — Runjeet Singh — designating him as ‘ the founder of the union and attachment between the two high ‘ States according to the firmly established treaty,’ entreated Sir Charles not to leave India until he had been present at the Maharajah’s approaching interview with Lord Auckland. His brother civilians, of every age and rank, clubbed their purses to present him with a magnificent diamond star, to be worn with the ribbon of the Grand Cross of the Bath, with which he had been recently decorated by his Sovereign ; and his biographer records with perfect truth that his last brief residence in Calcutta was, from first to last, a grand ‘ ovation.’ Thus the great public servant whom his masters alone did not value according to his deserts, left, with a heavy heart, the scene of a lifetime of labour and of honour. Within a few brief years, a just Nemesis revenged upon those whom he had served so well the ingratitude with which they had requited him. The dark defiles

of Afghanistan saw the waste of the treasures accumulated during the peaceful administration of Lord William Bentinck, the blood of India's bravest soldiers poured out like water, and the character of the British Government grievously tarnished. It may safely be pronounced, from the opinions which he had so frequently and so strongly expressed, that none of these disasters would have befallen the rulers or the people of India, if Sir Charles Metcalfe had remained in that country to restrain by his wisdom and experience the rash counsels which led Lord Auckland to plunge into that unhappy war.

Sir Charles Metcalfe landed in England in May, 1838. But he was not permitted to enjoy either the peaceful retirement or the seat in the House of Commons which he had proposed to himself as alternatives, either of which might be thankfully embraced. In less than thirteen months he was asked to undertake the government of Jamaica, then reeling under the shock of the recent emancipation of the negro population. The spirit in which he accepted this offer cannot be better exhibited than it is in the following extract from a letter of the 21st July, 1839, written in reply to the congratulations of an Indian friend, who now fills with great ability one of the highest posts in the civil service of the Government at home.

‘The possibility of service in the West Indies never entered into my imagination, neither had I any desire to quit England. The mode of which I was ambitious of devoting my humble services to the country was as an independent member of Parliament, and it, was my intention to embrace any good opportunity of seating myself there. In every other respect I longed for retirement, and was bent on arrangements for securing it in a greater degree than I had previously found practicable. While in this mind, and with these views, I was surprised by a proposal to undertake the government of Jamaica, and assented without a moment's hesitation; for there was a public duty of importance to be performed, and we are bound, I conceive, to make ourselves useful to our country, whenever a prospect of being so presents itself. If I succeed in reconciling that valuable colony to the mother country, and promoting the welfare of both, I shall be highly gratified. The attempt will be a labour of love. If I fail, I shall have the consolation of having devoted myself heartily to the task; and can again seek the retirement, which, with reference exclusively to my own ease and comfort, I prefer to everything else.’

From this point, Sir Charles Metcalfe's career is so well known to his countrymen, that we need not trace it as minutely as we have followed the steps by which he rose to the head of the government in India. The objects that he proposed to himself at Jamaica are well stated in a despatch which he ad-

dressed to Lord John Russell, then the Colonial Minister, immediately after his return from a tour of the island, undertaken in order to ascertain, as far as possible, with his own eyes and ears, the social condition of the people. He said, 'I regard my administration as an experiment, which will show whether justice can be faithfully administered, and the emancipated population be duly protected in the full enjoyment of their freedom and their rights, on a system of conciliation and confidence towards the local legislature, the island magistracy, and all classes of the community. My opinion at present is, that this system, and those results, are not incompatible.' To these noble ends, he devoted himself with characteristic energy and singleness of purpose. He found the legislature, the classes from which its members were chosen, and the landed proprietors in general, deeply offended by the recent hostile measures of the Imperial Parliament; still more sorely irritated by the offensive proceedings and scarcely concealed bias of the stipendiary magistrates; and engaged in open war, carried on at public meetings, and through the medium of a violent and scurrilous Press, with the Baptist missionaries, who, in communication with the Anti-Slavery Society in England, appear to have occupied themselves most mischievously in exciting the suspicions and inflaming the passions of the emancipated population. All Sir Charles Metcalfe's natural leanings — as those who either knew him, or have studied his character, need scarcely be told — were in favour of those who had so recently been slaves. But he found that they had already got the upper hand; that the ordinary relations of capital and labour were completely inverted; and that — except as regarded comparatively petty vexations — the allegations that the recent freemen were either suffering from injustice, or were in any danger of being again even virtually enthralled, were untrue in the first instance, and the veriest bugbear in the second. So the Governor made it his business to hold the balance scrupulously even. He devoted himself to the duties of his office. He proposed and carried wise measures; — the reform of the judicial establishments, the improvement of prison discipline, the accommodation of the laws to the great social change which had just taken place, and their general assimilation to those of England. He held out the right hand of fellowship to men of all classes and of every religious denomination, not excepting even the Baptist missionaries, whose hearts appear to have been melted at last by his unwearied benignity. He exercised unbounded hospitality. He literally went about doing good, giving so liberally to every deserving object and to every benevolent institution, that he spent in this manner more than the whole of the largely in-

creased salary which the local legislature spontaneously voted him. By these means,—by his wisdom, by his gentleness, by his forbearance, by his cordial demeanour, by his hospitality, by his bounty, by his catholic charity, Sir Charles Metcalfe won all hearts, reconciled all differences, and exercised an influence for good upon all social relations between class and class throughout the noble island intrusted to his administration, such as, we believe, no ruler ever gained in so short a space of time, and by mere moral suasion, in any part of the world. The consequence was, that on tendering his resignation to Secretary Lord Stanley on the 1st of November, 1841, he was able to recapitulate with honourable pride the successful measures by which he had worked out the results which he had set before him at the outset, as the great objects of his undertaking; and to add, that ‘as the peculiar state of Jamaica at the time was my sole inducement for coming here, and as I have never wished to remain longer than might seem to be necessary for the accomplishment of the important objects which presented themselves, I trust that the expression of my wish to be relieved will not be deemed inconsistent with the sense of duty which brought me to this post.’

Amidst blessings and regrets, and demonstrations of gratitude and affection, for which history can hardly afford a parallel, and which did equal honour to those who paid the debt, and to him who had laid a whole people under obligations so cordially acknowledged, Sir Charles Metcalfe left Jamaica, and returned once more to his native land. He reached home in July, 1842, hoping either to enjoy the blessings of retirement with the relations and friends he so dearly loved, or to find an opportunity of making himself useful in Parliament, but bringing with him, unhappily, the already distressing symptoms of that fearful disease with which it pleased God to afflict him so grievously during the few remaining years of his life, and which eventually destroyed him. It was a malignant sore on his face. But though troublesome and even painful, it does not appear to have caused him any alarm at that time, to have depressed his spirits, or to have led him to abandon the long-cherished desire of a seat in the House of Commons. Six months after his return to England, in a letter to an Indian friend, he speaks of ‘enjoying the comforts of tranquillity and retirement in the affectionate society of his sister;’ and adds,—‘the only thing that I have the least inclination for is a seat in Parliament, of which, in the present predominance of Toryism among the constituencies, there is no chance for a man who is for the abolition of the Corn Laws, Vote by Ballot, extension of the Suffrage, amelioration of

‘ the Poor Laws for the benefit of the Poor, equal rights to all sects of Christians in matters of religion, and equal rights to all men in civil matters; and every thing else that to his understanding seems just and right; and, at the same time, is totally disqualified to be a demagogue; shrinks like a sensitive plant from public meetings, and cannot bear to be drawn from close retirement, except by what comes in the shape of real or fancied duty to his country.’

On the very day after this letter was written by Sir Charles Metcalfe, Lord Stanley addressed to him the inquiry whether he were able (from the state of his health), or ‘ whether, if able, he would be disposed, again to take upon himself most honourable, but at the same time very arduous, duties in the public service.’ To Sir Charles Metcalfe such a call as this,—whatever the state of his health, whatever his desire for repose, or for employment at home of a different nature,—gave no uncertain sound. He was offered, and instantly accepted,—finding that his services were really needed,—the office of Governor-General of Canada; and after taking such measures as the case permitted for the cure or alleviation of his afflicting disease, he hurried off (for Sir Charles Bagot was dying), with scarcely a day’s delay, to take charge of his appointment, travelling chiefly by sleigh over the frozen snow, and reaching Kingston on the 29th of March. He went with a heavy heart, writing to the friend above referred to :—‘ You must be as much surprised as I am to find that I am going to Canada. I never undertook any thing with so much reluctance, or so little hope of doing good; but I could not bring myself to say “No,” when the proposal was made. All my plans and expectations of happiness are knocked on the head; and I fear that the little reputation that I have acquired is more likely to be damaged than improved in the troubled waters of Canada.” He went nevertheless, suffering and sad as he was, with the same undaunted spirit with which a gallant soldier obeys the order to mount a breach, though he knows it to be enfiladed by batteries from above, and that the train is laid to fire the deadly mine under his feet. Thank God! there is yet enough of public virtue left to lead even strangers to look with admiration upon such noble self-devotion. ‘ There may be rare cases,’—said Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons in August last,—‘ such as that of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who being one of the most heroic and disinterested spirits that ever existed, disregarded all considerations of personal advantage, and at once proceeded to the post which he was invited to fill,—in which we have the good fortune to obtain well-known men for colonial governors; but in the majority of instances the

‘reverse is the case.’ And during the present Session, in the debate on the Indian Army, he was spoken of as ‘the Wellington ‘of the Civil Service, governed solely by a sense of duty.’ Yet the statesman so virtuous and so wise was never permitted to take the smallest part in the government of his native land, in which men of mere fluency of speech and adroitness in debate, with but small abilities and still more scanty principles,—Tadpoles and Tapers, trained as Treasury hacks, and never rising above their original level,—too often hold high place. ‘If the ‘people of England knew their own interests,’ said the late Mr. Charles Buller at the moment when the announcement of Sir Robert Peel’s conversion to Free Trade exploded like a shell amongst the rank of the Conservatives, and broke up his Administration and his party, ‘they would take Sir Charles Metcalfe by force, and make him Prime Minister.’

In Canada, Sir Charles Metcalfe had a part of extreme difficulty to play. He played it with his wonted courage, and with that highest of all wisdom which springs from entire purity and singleness of motive, and which leads to perfectly corresponding action. But it is doubtful whether the result can justly be called success; and if it were so, it seems certain that it depended solely upon the force and beauty of his personal character, and that no ordinary successor could have hoped to maintain such a line of policy. On the other hand, he cannot be said to have failed, because he obtained a working, though small, majority in the new Parliament which he called on the resignation of the Ministers whom he found in office; the leading members of which appear to have entirely misunderstood both his character and his political principles, to have treated him but with scant courtesy in the discussions which preceded the open rupture, and to have grossly misrepresented and reviled him afterwards. And at the two last elections which took place, upon accidental vacancies, during his stay in Canada, supporters of the new Administration were returned. Indeed, so marvellous was his power of gaining respect and affection, and of disarming hostility by the sheer force of the transparent truthfulness and benevolence of his character and conduct, that we cannot doubt that if it had pleased God to spare his health, he would, at least, have gradually drawn away the French-Canadian party (the strongest and most self-reliant section) from the ranks of the opposition; if he had not been able to win over into generous co-operation for the public good, such of the English supporters of the late Administration as were not completely blinded by prejudice and faction, or were not pursuing, under the mask of patriotism

their own selfish ends. But it was otherwise determined; and Sir Charles Metcalfe was compelled to leave Canada, an agonized and dying man, whilst the struggle between the contending parties was still pending.

The nature of the difference between the Governor-General and the Ministerial organs of the majority in the Parliament which he found sitting, may be told in a few words. They insisted that he should occupy precisely the position of the monarch in this country. About measures there does not seem to have been any difference. Reformers as they called themselves, they could not, as long as they retained their allegiance to the British Crown, have gone beyond Sir Charles Metcalfe in their determination to do whatever was right, and to amend whatever was amiss. In these respects, however, they do not appear to have attempted to dictate to him. But patronage was a very different matter. They demanded that it should be absolutely and solely at their disposal, for the purposes of rewarding their supporters, and of buying off their opponents. To such an extreme length did they carry this claim, that the point upon which the difference came finally to an issue, was the appointment by Sir Charles Metcalfe to his personal staff, of a French Canadian officer who was distasteful to Mr. Lafontaine, the leader of that party in the Council. 'The appointment was intended to conciliate the French-Canadian community, but it offended their chief.' The Governor-General, on the other hand, thought that his relations to the Council were of a different character; that he had not been sent across the Atlantic solely to do their bidding; and that the patronage of the Provinces under his rule might be much better employed to promote efficiency in the general administration, to stimulate exertion, to reward merit, and to conciliate the affections of the best of all classes and shades of political opinion to the connexion with the mother country, than to subserve the narrow interests of a party. It appeared to him, that the surrender of the whole real power of the Governor-General into the hands of the Council was treason to the British Crown. And his determination to resist the demand was strengthened by the circumstances that the party which he found in possession of office was largely composed of those who had been either hostile to the British Government and connexion, or had stood neutral in the then recent insurrection; and that many of those whom they sought to compel him to proscribe, were not only the staunchest friends of that connexion, having ranged themselves decidedly with the Executive in resolute resistance to the outbreak, but, although they had no fancy for a republic, were heartily disposed

to uphold Responsible Government, and just as good Reformers in respect to all actual or possible abuses, as those who ostentatiously clothed themselves with that designation. Upon these grounds of difference, as we have said, issue was joined; but the broken health of Lord Metcalfe, whose great services had been tardily rewarded with a peerage, and his consequent compulsory resignation of the government, prevented the dispute from being brought to a decisive conclusion.

It appears to us, calmly reviewing the affair after the lapse of twelve years, that if the constitution of Canada were intended to be an exact counterpart in miniature of that of England, there was no fitting place for such a man as Lord Metcalfe at the nominal head of it. One with much less of backbone would have suited the office better. But if, on the other hand, it were desired that he should occupy a sort of middle position between a constitutional Sovereign and a British Prime Minister, Lord Metcalfe's demands upon the acquiescence and co-operation of his Council do not appear to us to have been in the smallest degree unreasonable. Indeed, but for the rude and overbearing spirit evinced by Mr. Baldwin, and, perhaps, one or two other members of the Council, more tact on the part of the Governor-General, — meaning thereby a better acquaintance with the practical working of the Parliamentary system in this country, and a willingness to make the same sort of use of it that Lord Sydenham had done, — might have enabled him to maintain his ground, and to carry his principles into practice, without a positive rupture with his Council. But the leaders of that body had been spoilt, on the one hand, by the domination which they had gained during the long illness of Sir Charles Bagot; and, on the other, the only things that Lord Metcalfe could not do were to trim and truckle, to pit one section of a party against another, or to rule by fostering dissensions in the Council, and by practical corruption and electioneering manoeuvres out of doors.

We do not envy the man who can read without emotion the letters quoted by Mr. Kaye, in which Lord Metcalfe announced to Lord Stanley that his disease was making fearful progress, and begged permission to make over the post, in which he was anxious to serve his country to the last, as soon as he might find that he could hold out no longer. The determination of this point cannot be better told than in the touching language of Mr. Kaye.

‘He was dying,—dying no less surely for the strong will that sustained him, and the vigorous intellect which glowed in his shattered frame. A little while, and he might die at his post. The winter was

setting in; the navigation was closing. It was necessary at once to decide whether Metcalfe should now prepare to betake the suffering remnant of himself to England, or to abide at Montreak, if spared, till the coming spring. But he would not trust himself to form the decision. He invited the leading members of his Council to attend at Moncklands; and there he told them that he left the issue in their hands. It was a scene never to be forgotten by any who were present in the Governor General's sheltered room on this memorable occasion. Some were dissolved in tears. All were agitated by a strong emotion of sorrow and sympathy, mingled with a sort of wondering admiration of the heroic constancy of their chief. He told them, that if they desired his continuance at the head of the Government,—if they believed that the cause for which they had fought together so manfully would suffer by his departure, and that they, therefore, counselled him to remain at his post,—he would willingly abide by their decision; but that the Queen had graciously signified her willingness that he should be relieved; and that he doubted much whether the adequate performance of his duties, as chief ruler of so extensive and important a province, had not almost ceased to be a physical possibility. It need not be said what was their decision. They besought him to depart, and he consented. A nobler spectacle than that of this agonized man resolutely offering to die at his post, the world has seen only once before.'

Thus closed the public career of Lord Metcalfe. His life, happily,—for his sufferings must have been intense,—was but little prolonged. He reached England in December, 1845, and on the 5th of September, 1846, 'with a calm sweet smile on 'his long-tortured face,' passed from time into eternity. It was well said by a man of wild genius, that if he had been sceptical in regard to a future state of reward and punishment, the agonies endured in this world by such a man as Lord Metcalfe would have been sufficient to convince him of the truth of that doctrine.

We have made such free use, in the course of our narrative, of the opportunities which presented themselves for noticing the more salient points of Lord Metcalfe's character, that we need not now depict it at any length. So transparent, indeed, was that character, so completely did he wear his heart upon his sleeve, that those who watched or have since followed his noble career, will want no clues from us to lead them to right conclusions regarding his feelings and principles. Next to his absolute devotion to duty, the distinguishing peculiarity of his character was the remarkable combinations which it presented of sagacity with simplicity, and of undaunted courage with a degree of gentleness almost feminine. So largely, indeed, were the more amiable qualities displayed in his conduct, that when he had to deal in public affairs with

those who did not know him, they not unfrequently outwitted themselves, by indulging the notion that they were contending with a weak and timid opponent. Thus, at the outset of his career, Runjeet Singh tried the effect of bullying, till he was compelled to succumb to the calm resolution of the young Envoy, who finally succeeded in attaching him to the British alliance, by bonds which bore the strain of a troubled period of thirty years; and who left India, at the close of that term, with the sincere respect of the old 'lion of the Punjâb.' Thus, too, in the closing scene of his public life, his Canadian Council thought him too simple to be wise, too gentle to be resolute; ridiculed his unwearied courtesy; nicknamed him 'old Square-toes;' and did not awake from the delusion that they had both over-reached and intimidated him, till Lord Metcalfe accepted their resignation with the same calm politeness with which he had listened to their objurgations, and confronted their opposition. And in all this there was no trickery,—nothing done for stage effect. He would have been acting a part foreign to his nature, if he had behaved otherwise.

If almost uniform and signal success in great and difficult affairs be any proof of eminent ability, the career of Lord Metcalfe abundantly satisfies that test. He verged most nearly upon failure in Canada; but there, it must be remembered, he had not only to work an entirely new problem, (for Lord Durham and Lord Sydenham had done no more than chalk out a rough sketch of a system,) but the state of his health both crippled him in the struggle, and prevented the issue from being determinate. His labour in public business was incessant and lifelong. In this respect he has had few equals. He went to India in 1801, and served there, without being absent for a day, till the beginning of 1838. In September, 1839, he assumed charge of the Government of Jamaica, which he resigned in May, 1842, and he sailed for Canada,—which he quitted, as we have seen, but to die,—in March, 1843; so that striking out the time spent in his voyages to and from his posts of duty, and the months of his last agony, he enjoyed barely two years of relaxation out of a public life of forty-five years. And with him work was earnest and unrelaxing. He literally toiled every day and all day long.

His opinions respecting our Indian Empire were tinged with one remarkable peculiarity. As far as we are aware, no man of equal or of nearly equal eminence, entertained such strong convictions in regard to the extreme precariousness of our tenure of dominion in that country. For this reason, he was sensitively anxious that the British Government should never for a

moment relax in its watchfulness, nor suffer the number or efficiency of its military forces to be reduced. If he ever appeared to be a rigid exactor of the public dues, or a stern economist in the disbursement of public money, (often giving from his private means what he had refused to grant from the Exchequer,) it was because he was determined that as long as he held the purse-strings, our power in India should not be placed in any jeopardy by a want of the sinews of war.

For the rest, as respects India, Lord Metcalfe's peculiar claims to public admiration and respect cannot, perhaps, be better explained than has been done in a letter now lying before us, from one who knew and loved him well, and who, being much junior in the public service to the great statesman, to whom he looked up with such deep respect,—signalised his own brief career in that country by his zealous and fruitful devotion to the cause of progress and improvement. He writes :—

‘ Metcalfe closed the list of Indian statesmen to whom we owe the establishment of our Eastern Empire,—Clive, Hastings, Wellesley, Metcalfe. His mind was eminently constructive. He was “the wise master builder,” who “laid the foundation,” and “another class “of statesmen buildeth thereon.” He was the last of the *founders* of our Indian Empire, as Lord William Bentinck was the first of the new order of statesmen, whose special principle it is to build on that foundation a structure which will be to the everlasting benefit and honour of India and England. This was his peculiar claim to public gratitude; but it was also a great merit in him, that when the new era of improvement commenced, towards the close of his career, he cordially recognised and adopted native education, freedom of discussion, and other movements in advance of that description. I well recollect that when we commenced our efforts, for instructing the natives in the literature and science of Europe, on a comprehensive plan, I awaited the announcement of Metcalfe's opinion with considerable trepidation; and was not less surprised than gratified at finding him take a decided line in our favour. The impression I received at the time was, that if it had belonged to his age and position to take the initiative, he would have been as active as any of us; and I admired the liberal disinterested feeling which induced him to countenance and protect an undertaking, of which he could only see the commencement. He had another claim upon our admiration, to which I must allude, because I myself have been comforted and supported by it in a time of danger and perplexity. “*Incorrupta fides*” is truly said to be “*justitiæ soror*,” and *justice* is the tenure by which we hold our Indian Empire. Now, what man set the example of spotless integrity from an earlier period, more eminently or more consistently than Metcalfe? I feel this so strongly, (and I have had more than usual opportunities of judging,) that I should set this above all his other excellent qualities.’

With regard to Jamaica, we are satisfied that no man whose mind is competent to gauge that of Lord Metcalfe can read the Dispatches which Mr. Kaye has published in his volume of Selections without feeling a lively admiration both of his wisdom and of his benevolence. In Canada, his conduct was narrowly watched by one of the shrewdest of mankind,—one assuredly not addicted to ‘hero-worship,’ and with all his sympathies enlisted on the side of the party which picked a quarrel with Lord Metcalfe. Yet Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield,—then a member of the Provincial Parliament,—published to the world a verdict in respect to those differences, entirely in favour of the Governor-General, whose cool sagacity and simple single-hearted honesty appear to have made a profound impression upon an observer, second to no man in his knowledge of human nature.*

Upon the most important of all points in relation to the character of this virtuous and sagacious statesman, too soon lost to his country, Mr. Kaye has furnished us with materials for coming to a satisfactory conclusion. It is impossible to read these records without being convinced that the more beautiful features of Lord Metcalfe’s character, but especially his catholic charity, and the more than patience—the absolute submission and meek thankfulness—with which he bore the long months of fearful suffering preceding his death, could have sprung but from one source,—from a humble but most earnest effort to tread in the steps of Him, who, when He was upon earth, ‘went about doing good,’ who, ‘when He was reviled, reviled not again,’ and who endured without a murmur the most painful death that the malice of His enemies could inflict. Lord Metcalfe was not demonstrative upon the most solemn of all subjects; but if there be truth in the maxim that *summa religionis est, imitari quem colis*, there never lived a man who more clearly showed ‘forth his faith by his works.’ The closing scenes—equally affecting and consoling—show, that as the lamp of life began to flicker, the habitual reserve of the great and good man melted away; and the language of one who never paltered with truth demonstrates that his was no death-bed conversion, but that his faith in the Saviour was the result of deep and long-cherished conviction, and that that faith had been for years the ruling principle of his conduct.

It remains only that we should bear a well-deserved testimony to the ability and judgment with which Mr. Kaye has performed his tasks. By the publication of the two biographies before us,

* See ‘View of Sir Charles Metcalfe’s Government of Canada, by a Member of the Provincial Parliament,’ published in 1844.

which his full and accurate knowledge of Anglo-Indian history has enabled him to illustrate most agreeably, he has essentially furthered the cause of good government in our Eastern Empire; and has especially set bright examples of zealous, devoted, and high-minded public service before the eyes of those who have entered of late years, or are about to pursue, the honourable course which Mr. Tucker and Lord Metcalfe severally ran with so much usefulness and distinction. It may be, that, with the natural partiality of a biographer, he has placed the memory of Mr. Tucker upon a somewhat higher pedestal than he really occupied in life. But that gentleman was a most efficient, honest, and high-spirited public officer; and if Mr. Kaye has estimated his talents and judgment a little too favourably, he could not easily over-rate his other sterling qualities. Of Lord Metcalfe's services, character, and deserts we believe that he has drawn a perfectly faithful picture. If any doubt could be entertained, after reading the memoir, in regard to the justice of that eminent statesman's claim to the admiration and gratitude both of his fellow-countrymen, and (in the words of Mr. Macaulay's beautiful epitaph) 'of the nations which he ruled,' it will, we are satisfied, be entirely removed by the perusal of the 'papers and correspondence' which Mr. Kaye has more recently published. We may well desire—as we hope and believe will be the case—that these memorials of Lord Metcalfe's deeds and virtues may survive as long, at least, as the great trust involved in our Indian and Colonial Empires shall be continued to England, in order that our children's children may learn from them how such a dominion ought to be maintained and improved,—how the affections of subject peoples should be won and kept,—how the highest honour is to be gained by the earnest performance of duty,—and how the fearful sufferings which were mysteriously ordered to bring to a close a life of so much usefulness and true glory, may be borne with a degree of gentle fortitude and resignation, never exceeded by martyr at the stake.

ART. VII. — *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Management and Government of the College of Maynooth.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. Dublin: 1855.

WE are not going to inflict on the public an article on threadbare questions connected with the Maynooth Grant. Suffice it to say that our opinion remains what it always has been — that Great Britain is in the condition of a Protestant husband who has married a Roman Catholic wife. Having taken this irrevocable step, with his eyes open, it is vain for the husband to say that his conscience forbids him to encourage Popery, and that therefore, if his wife will be a Papist, she shall at least not be so at his expense. He must, if he is an earnest man, wish that his wife were of the same religion as himself, and he will be quite right to endeavour to convince her of her errors; but so long as she remains obstinate, he must treat her as what she is. She has a right to have arrangements made which may enable her to worship God according to her own conscientious views, however mistaken. And the husband must make up his mind to pay her share of the Roman Catholic priest's fees, however much he may dislike both the priest and his whole system. The case is much stronger when the common stock, on which the Protestant husband and Roman Catholic wife live, is made up in part of the wife's own private fortune. It seems preposterous to say that a Protestant conscience is aggrieved by allowing a portion of the taxes raised from Roman Catholics and Protestants alike, to be applied to Roman Catholic purposes, in a part of the United Kingdom where there are millions of Roman Catholic tax-payers.

We grant, indeed, that a man's conclusions on this question must be a good deal modified by the view he takes of the degree of error to be found in the Roman Catholic system. If he regards it as a system purely diabolical, his liberality and regard for the rights of conscience will be sorely tried. We are not prepared to say that if a man has been mad enough to marry a Hindoo woman, who thinks it right to worship the idol of Juggernaut, he is therefore bound to assist her in making a pilgrimage to the sacred spot, to allow his family free access to heathen priests and fakirs, and to pay his share in maintaining all their abominations.

There are, of course, in the world atrocious forms of debased error, calling themselves religion, which teach men to worship the Devil instead of God, encourage gross immorality, and con-

found all the distinctions of right and wrong. The system of the Thugs may be called a religion; but it is one, the votaries of which are rightly tolerated only till we can get the halter round their necks. And if any man classes Romanism with such religions as these, there is nothing left for him but to use all his influence to have it extirpated. It may be very difficult to draw the line which separates endurable from unendurable forms of error. If the opponents of the Maynooth Grant could make good their assertion, that Romish priests are engaged in one great conspiracy to confound men's notions of morality, and to upset all civil government, they would carry with them all good Protestants, and indeed all good citizens. But their opinion is not shared by the great majority of thinking men, however determined and zealous in their Protestantism. A thoughtful Protestant generally acknowledges that Roman Catholics are his brother Christians, however mistaken; that they worship the same Saviour with himself, and profess to make His divine teaching the guide of their lives. He will deplore that they should have added a baseless system of human mediators to the simple Gospel; and that wicked men amongst them should have often, with a show of public authority, taught rules of conduct which he believes to be quite irreconcilable with the pure precepts of Christ. But, mistaken or bad as he holds them to be, he still looks upon them as partakers of the same hopes with himself, and he believes that very many of his Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen every year, through the teaching of their priests, mixed as it is with gross errors, still learn how to live and die steadfast in the love of Christ. Nor is it enough to show that Roman Catholic teaching, in some very important matters, is of dangerous moral tendency. There may be forms of Protestantism, inculcating theoretical views as to liberty and necessity, which, stated nakedly, we believe to be opposed to all sound notions of morality; yet in the persons holding these views Christian principle is powerful to counteract in practice the evil leaven which has been mingled with it. The only reason why a Protestant community need hesitate to treat Romanists as they treat all other Christians would be, if they were proved to occupy such a position in their allegiance to a foreign Power as would make it impossible for them to be good subjects and citizens. Yet even here a reasonable man would be disposed to test the degree of their offence not by their abstract doctrines stated logically, but by their practice. And it will require no argument to show that Roman Catholics are practically good and loyal subjects. Witness the brave soldiers of our Irish regiments, and the spotless honour of our Roman

Catholic nobility and gentry. To the true British loyalty shown by high and low amongst them, the English people will never be induced to refuse the meed of praise by dislike of the Italian craft of Cullen, or the florid blustering of his Eminence of Westminster, or the noisy phrenzy of the Brass Band. We trust that the day of Inkermann will prove to be the last 5th of November on which the intemperate and obsolete service for the Gunpowder Treason will ever be heard stirring up angry feelings in our churches.

Quite irrespectively of the two massive folios which lie before us, the British public is, we believe, willing to allow that our Roman Catholic fellow countrymen are, in the main, sound-hearted loyal citizens. Certainly, for ourselves, no Royal Commission was needed to establish this point; and we believe our opinion is shared by the great majority of serious and intelligent Protestants. Yet, for those who feel strongly on the opposite side from ourselves in this matter, we fear the Report of this Commission will not have much weight. It is indeed written in what appears to us to be a calm impartial spirit. The names of Lord Harrowby and Dr. Twiss were sufficient to secure this: we see no symptom in it of a desire to whitewash the accused. The Commissioners have applied themselves conscientiously to the work which Lord Aberdeen wisely committed to them; and their Report certainly does not prove, as their enemies said could be proved, that the teaching of the Maynooth Professors spreads immorality and sedition. Now, of course, if a man is put on his trial, and you fail to prove anything against him, according to all maxims of fair dealing you must pronounce a verdict of not guilty. But we confess we are hopeless of obtaining such a verdict in this instance from the strong Anti-Maynooth party. The real usefulness of the document before us will be found not in its bearing on this subject, but in the general view it gives us of the intellectual training of the Roman Catholic priesthood of this age in Ireland, and indeed throughout Europe. In this respect men of all parties will probably allow that the document is valuable.

In reference to the other point—the charges we have spoken of—it is certain that these charges are not substantiated by the Report; but to this the strong opponents of the college only answer, that it would be strange if they were, considering some of the names which appear in the Commission, and seeing also that some portion at least of the published document was deliberately perused by the Pope before it was presented to the British public. Certainly, this story of the journey of the

proof-sheets to Rome, notwithstanding all the explanations which have been given of it, is sure, justly or unjustly, to destroy all authority with the public, which the Report might otherwise have possessed in its vindication of Roman Catholics. The common sense of common men will certainly decide that this proceeding argues an unparalleled height of impudence in the ecclesiastic who made so bad a return for the confidence reposed in him, and of folly in the Commissioner who trusted him. And we would take leave to remind the Roman Catholic body generally, that if ever their Protestant fellow countrymen are likely to be led to refuse them that kind consideration in addition to even-handed justice, which the great liberal party has for years striven to secure for them, it will be in consequence of such acts as this. The opinion is growing very strong in the country that they are too much inclined to give themselves over to a set of leaders who are both overbearing in their silly pretensions and unscrupulous in the course by which they seek to establish them. It is not going too far to say, that the Pastoral of 1850 did more injury to Cardinal Wiseman's co-religionists in the eyes of liberal Protestants than fifty years of unostentatious quietness will be able to remove. Whatever else this Report and its history proves, or fails to prove, it certainly shows that the training of a Romish ecclesiastic is not likely to fit a man for dealing effectually with the common sense and good feeling of the great mass of Englishmen. And we strongly advise the Roman Catholic body of the United Kingdom to seek henceforward for other than ecclesiastical leaders, if they wish to retain the respect of their Protestant fellow countrymen and secure the ungrudged enjoyment of those just privileges which have been conceded to them.

Judging from what has fallen under our own notice, we should say* that the result of the Maynooth Commission has been, on the whole, unfavourable to Roman Catholics. This has probably arisen, not so much from anything the Report contains, as from this story of Archbishop Cullen's cool audacity in sending the proof-sheets to Rome, and from the childish folly of treating Parliament with disrespect by inserting, stealthily or otherwise, the forbidden titles in the Return of Bishops educated at the College.

Besides the conscientious alarm excited by the number and importance of some of the recent converts to Romanism, there are two causes which have of late strengthened the Anti-Maynooth ranks. The first is that now noted—a growing disgust at a certain amount of tricky impudence in the conduct of Romish ecclesiastics; the second, a much more formidable cause,—the

growing influence of that party which is opposed to all State endowments of religious bodies. We should advise Mr. Spooner and his Church-of-England friends to read attentively the speech of his seconder in the debate of the 1st of May—an unpromising champion of the Scottish Free Kirk—and to consider whether his arguments do not tell with great force against all established churches. Nonconformists wish to sweep away the Maynooth Grant because they would have no man taxed for the maintenance of a form of religion of which he does not approve. And certainly, if any members of the Church of England think to gain a victory with such allies, they ought to reflect that it will be a victory fatal to themselves.

And now we have done with what is commonly called the Maynooth Question. This Report interests us from that information contained in it, which the strong Anti-Maynooth party regard as utterly useless. There was certainly something not unnaturally irritating to the members of that party when they found that the Maynooth Commissioners, professedly appointed to try a culprit accused of high crimes and misdemeanors, seemed quietly to ignore this office, and that they set themselves to work to inquire by what steps he could be made a better educated man and more of a gentleman. The Commissioners have conducted the examination of the denounced Papist Seminary very much as the University Commissions proceeded in reference to Oxford, Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin. They quietly took it for granted that the College is one of our acknowledged institutions, and inquired how they could make it best perform its work. This may be irritating to those who have convinced themselves that its work is a high crime against God and the State. But to those who, like ourselves, had arrived beforehand at the opinion thus attributed to the Commissioners, and had settled with themselves that Maynooth, or something equivalent to it, ought to be upheld, it is very interesting to have the distinct picture, which we find in these volumes, of the mode of life and teaching in the College, to learn what are its intellectual and social defects—how its system bears comparison with that of other Roman Catholic seminaries, and how far it ought to be altered to enable it to perform well the work which it takes in hand.

The College of Maynooth must obviously exercise a very important influence on the religious, social, and intellectual condition of the Irish people. From the analysis laid before us in this Report (p. 54.) we learn that, of 2291 Roman Catholic priests in Ireland in the year 1853, 1222 had been educated at Maynooth, and we are told that the proportion is on the increase. It is cal-

culated that, ten years ago, there were about as many students educated for the Irish parochial ministry in other Irish colleges and on the Continent as there were in Maynooth, but that at present the number educated at Maynooth is twice the number of Irish ecclesiastical students in all other colleges together. Maynooth, therefore, is the centre of Irish ecclesiastical life, and it is most important that we should have a clear conception of its working and of its power in the formation of character. Such a conception cannot be gained either from the speeches at Exeter Hall or the speeches in Parliament. These, while they expatiate on Romish errors, are generally taken up in showing us, first, that Maynooth is essentially a Roman Catholic seminary,—a point quite unnecessary to be proved, since the nation supports it distinctly as Roman Catholic; and, secondly, that Romanism is a very bad system,—which no sound Protestant denies. What we want to know—taking it as a Romish seminary, and granting that it must have in it many things of which Protestants very strongly disapprove—is this—how does it perform the work which it professes to accomplish? This is a grave question, on which the public demand to be informed, and on which they have had no distinct information before the publication of this Report.

The total number of students in April, 1853, was 515. There are 500 free places distributed amongst the Roman Catholic dioceses of Ireland, and the students who enjoy them are entirely supported by public funds. There are, besides these, the Dumboynestudents, a small body of advanced students in theology who have finished their regular course, who receive 40*l.* a year each from the Government grant, and 23*l.* from the Dumboyne Estate. The average age for entering the college is eighteen or nineteen. Each bishop appoints the youth who, as a vacancy occurs, is to be sent from his diocese, and who, as a general rule, is to return to it when his college course is ended. The selection is made either according to merit shown in the diocesan seminary if there be one, or according to the result of an open public examination. There is moreover an entrance examination at the college; and those who do not pass it satisfactorily are either placed in a lower class than that to which they aspire, or, if not fit for the Humanity class as it is called, rejected altogether.

All this sounds well. The reader is inclined to ejaculate a wish that Oxford had 500 free places to be given away by merit, or took as much pains as the preliminary examination at Maynooth seems to imply to secure that all her students were well prepared before entrance. But it is rash to judge of systems by rules laid down on paper. On the authority of Lord French, Archbishop Dixon, and others, the Commissioners complain

that young men enter the college very ignorant of English ; that is, as they explain their meaning, unable to spell or write correctly. The fault in this matter is attributed to the early preparatory education (Part II. p. 119.). We learn that the same difficulty is found in other Irish Roman Catholic colleges besides Maynooth. Dr. Moriarty, speaking of his own Missionary College, says:—

‘The state of preparatory education is most discouraging and embarrassing in the management of collegiate studies, as we are obliged to devote considerable attention to elementary branches which should have been acquired before entering college, but which unfortunately are generally neglected. Thus the students are generally very deficient in primary education,—that is, in correct reading and writing of the English language.’

He explains that in writing he includes spelling—declares that if the young men attended the national schools they would be much better instructed, but that having had what is called a classical education, they have been taught nothing but Latin and Greek, and these very badly—and consequently he pronounces, having had much experience of ecclesiastical society in France, that French and English ecclesiastics are superior to those of Ireland in all matters which depend on early preparatory training. It is true that a change is reported to be going on in this respect. Here, as elsewhere, the famine has been a regenerator.

‘There is an improvement in the method of preparatory education, and that improvement is progressive in the country, but the means and opportunities of procuring preparatory education are less than they were some years ago. The famine nearly exterminated classical education ; and the better class of farmers, who used to procure such education for their children, has been broken down or has emigrated. The smaller classical schools are nearly all gone : the masters were in many instances obliged to take refuge in the poor-house or on the public works, and very few can now support their children in the diocesan or provincial seminaries ; but the few schools that now are found in the country pursue a better method of preparatory instruction than was pursued in the classical schools formerly.’

There is hope, therefore, that, on the whole, in time a student entering Maynooth may be better prepared than he usually is at present. The Commissioners also have determined not to leave this evil to the slow operation of voluntary improvement in the preparatory schools. They recommend that every student henceforth admitted, in addition to the private classical examination, and questions in some other matters, shall be re-

quired to write a short composition or translation to test his acquaintance with the rules of orthography and syntax.*

The picture, then, set before us of the common Maynooth student, when he enters the college in his nineteenth year, is not very encouraging. We are constrained to believe that the 500 open places given by merit and the examination at entrance, cannot make well-informed freshmen out of wild Irish boys, whose whole previous intellectual training has consisted in learning to construe indifferently a book or two of Virgil and some of Lucian's Dialogues, or some chapters of Xenophon.

But now the youth has entered the first stage of manhood; and there is surely every prospect before him that he will turn out at last a well-educated man. Surely no English youth ever had such advantages offered him. He is to be maintained at the expense of the State, while he follows out an academical course of nine months during every year for eight years. He has not indeed, and we do not expect for him, the noble buildings of Christ Church or Trinity, Cambridge, or their genial atmosphere of learned leisure, brightened by the historical associations of centuries: he does not tread quadrangles that seem to re-echo with the names of Bacon, of Newton, or of Locke, nor does he wander under the shadow of the trees of Addison; but with these goodly helps to generous study, he has lost also various temptations to make shipwreck of his youth. He is in no danger, from the aristocratical tone around him, to degenerate into a low tuft-hunter; he is not solicited at every turn by unscrupulous tradesmen to plunge into expenses ruinous to himself and his whole family. If he will work steadily, surely, we think, he has before him the prospect of an honourable student's life, which may, indeed, be hard, but must be full of interest; and his country has been very kind to him in taking him from his father's cabin and giving him food and raiment and zealous instructors, with all appliances of study for the eight most valuable years of opening manhood. Certainly the State is entitled to demand that these eight years of free education shall be well spent, and shall leave an influence on the man which shall make him a useful citizen for the rest of his three score years and ten. And to judge how far this object is attained, we must examine carefully the picture of Maynooth life which the Report sets before us. The youth has passed his preliminary examination; his class is assigned according to his degree of acquirement, and

* Even according to the present system, if a young man enters above the lowest or Humanity Class, he must pass some examination in mathematics.

he finds himself, with some 500 fellow-students, a denizen of the great Romish College.

As was to be expected, the life on which he has thus entered is somewhat hard. Though it is the rule that each student shall have a room to himself, which is to serve as bedroom, and also during the summer as study, still about fifty of the junior students sleep in double-bedded rooms. The students are absolutely prohibited from visiting each other's rooms on any pretext whatever. All the rooms are inspected by the College authorities once or twice in the fortnight. In winter all rise at six, in summer at five. Two hours in the day are assigned to religious exercises, nine hours to study and lecture, four and a half to meals and recreation. During the winter the studies are carried on in the study halls, owing to the want of fire in the bedrooms; and during the hours of study one of the Deans walks through the hall, observing the application of the students and the books on which they are engaged. The students take their meals in the common hall. One of the Deans is always present, but neither he nor any other of the Superiors shares in the meal. It is thought to assist the maintenance of the Superiors' authority that they shall live quite apart from the students. No conversation is allowed at meals; during dinner one of the students reads aloud, first a chapter of the Bible, next from some common literary work, and afterwards a passage from the Roman Martyrology. Once a week, on Wednesday, if the weather is fine, the whole body of students is marched into the country under the superintendence of one of the Deans. It is a serious offence for a student to withdraw himself from the main body during the walk; and no student may ever pass the College boundaries without leave. On days when there is no public walk, the only relaxation is playing at ball, bowls, or prisoner's bars within the College walls, or simply walking up and down the recreation ground and corridors.

A strange life this to Protestant ideas for a young man from nineteen to twenty-seven. No one complains that the life is hard. Hardness makes good soldiers. But why should it be so jealously secluded? If the men were all their days to be monks, we might deem it wise to treat them like the girls of a small boarding school; but they are to mix, as soon as they leave College, with men and women of all ranks and ages: if they do their duty, they are to try to be the intellectual and moral leaders of their countrymen,—to be, each in an independent district, the social reformers of their age. It seems strange to shut them up in a nursery till they are several years older than William Pitt was when he became Prime Minister. But, perhaps, though

they mix little with the external world; there is life and energy in the little world within the walls. We have seen that the Superiors take their meals quite apart from the students. The Commissioners assure us that there is no intercourse whatever between these two orders of a social kind, no association even at their prayers. Hence we are told there is a complete absence of affectionate relations between the young men and the heads of the College, and we are not surprised to find that the latter exercise no paternal influence over their pupils. One half, therefore, of whatever humanising power of society we might expect to find at work within the walls, is at once cut off. If there is to be any kindly freedom of intercourse, we must look for it solely amongst the young men themselves. But hear the following strange account of the limits placed on such intercourse. Students from the same diocese associate exclusively with one another during the after dinner recreation. Whatever may be the origin of this practice, it has become so much a rule, that the wilful violation of it would be visited with reprimand,—possibly, says Professor Neville, with the penalty of the refusal of orders. The rules as to associating with fellow students are more explicitly laid down in the evidence of the President (p. 37.). Men of the same diocese associate together after dinner; those of the same class after first lecture. After supper and after breakfast they are more free.

Akin with these vexatious restrictions on the freedom of social intercourse are other foolish attempts to treat the young men as mere children. The Dean has authority to inspect all open papers and letters in their desks, though we are assured this authority is not used: the Dean exercises an inspection over their books for private reading; and there is an absolute prohibition against the introduction of newspapers, which is as strictly enforced as possible; but we are happy to learn that with every exertion it is found impracticable to effect their complete exclusion. Happy youths of Oxford and Cambridge, well may you feel satisfied with your liberty when you compare it with such bondage as this: great cause have you to thank those who for centuries have treated the minute rules of your old statutes as a dead letter; for in the picture of Maynooth here given us we have almost a reproduction of that system which William of Waynflete or William of Wykham thought desirable and sought to perpetuate in their colleges for all generations. But however it may have suited their age, what shall we say of those who deem this the advisable mode of training men who aspire to be the guides of their fellow citizens in a land of freedom to this day. No wonder that all who admire this system look with great sus-

picion on the freedom of the Queen's Colleges — no wonder that some of the Maynooth professors (p. 37.), should have recorded their strong opinion that the life of the students is too monotonous, that more relaxation should be given them. We cannot, for our part, imagine a system better devised than that described in the Report for dwarfing all manliness of character; and when we consider the number of years for which it is continued, we cannot wonder that Irish Roman Catholic ecclesiastics should not conciliate a great deal of respect from their Protestant fellow countrymen.

But it is time to consider the more directly religious and intellectual influences brought to bear on the students during these eight years. Devotional exercises are performed in each house by the students assembled in the prayer hall. In the morning there is meditation and morning prayer for half an hour: in the evening examination of conscience and night prayer. Prayers are read aloud by one of the Deans. There is mass daily in the chapel, and all students receive the holy communion once a fortnight. There are two retreats in the year: the first for four days on the reassembling of the students at the beginning of the academical year: the other at Pentecost, immediately before the conferring of Holy Orders. During the whole of these periods absolute silence is enjoined even during the hours allotted for exercise. In all this there is only what we should expect. Protestants have no right to cavil at an appearance of marshalling young men even to their more private devotions, such as the freedom of our own religious system disapproves; for Romanists, however erroneously, consider such combined and carefully enforced arrangements the best discipline and security for a devout frame. Here we have only the difference which we should naturally expect to mark the divergence of the two systems; but the following is more important. We are informed that the religious instruction is but meagre. The evidence of Professor Crolly on this point is quoted in the Report, p. 43.

‘The system of religious instruction is most imperfect. This instruction might almost be said to be confined to the spiritual retreats, which take place at the beginning and end of the academical year. One of these retreats is conducted by the senior Dean, and the other by some stranger, who is not in any way connected with the college. The Deans also give an occasional lecture during the course of the academical year; but, so far as my knowledge goes, neither the President, Vice-President, nor any of the Professors, either give religious instructions or are ever present whilst they are given by the Deans. It is manifest that the system is most absurd and defective. All the

heads of the college, who are capable of giving religious instruction, should be obliged to assist in this most essential duty.'

'It would seem to have been devised for the purpose of carrying out the perfect estrangement which exists between Professors and students, that not one of those whose duty obliges him to teach the students has ever been invited to conduct a retreat. This irrational system should be totally abolished. The heads of the college should dine with the students, mingle with them in their hours of prayer and of relaxation, and affectionately impart to them religious instruction, not only at the times of spiritual retreat, but for one hour at least during each week of the academical year. Masters, professors, and students should all be obliged to be present at these instructions. The time for religious instruction, and the persons to impart it, during the ensuing term, should be appointed at the end of the academical year.'

This extract certainly presents a very different picture from that which the admirers of Rome amongst ourselves are in the habit of holding up to excite the shame or envy of Protestants. We proceed to the Commissioners' account of the students' intellectual progress.

A young man of nineteen will probably enter in the Humanity (the lowest) or in the Rhetoric Class. The system of teaching under which he finds himself is conducted entirely by professors. His studies embrace the higher classics, Algebra, Geometry, and English; but the Commissioners, recommending no addition to these studies, except that of History, and rightly deciding that they are the best which can occupy his time for the two first years, express a strong opinion of the insufficiency of the means provided for his instruction. It is not that the professors are not sufficiently able. Their salaries, and the great advantages of their position, are such as to secure men fully equal to their post. But the young man, with very imperfect previous instruction in the elements either of scholarship or mathematics, finds himself plunged at once in the more advanced portions of these studies, in the midst of a class of from thirty-five to forty. He has no tutor to whom to refer if he meets with difficulties: he is called up in his class not above once in a fortnight (Report, p. 49.); and though he is required to write a weekly theme in Latin, Greek, or English, it is granted that very few of these compositions are ever corrected, or even read. The Commissioners strongly advise that steps should be taken to introduce more accurate and personal instructions by the adoption of some tutorial system.

The third year is devoted to Logic, the fourth to Physics, and the four last to Theology. The Commissioners consider

the instruction in physical science as too limited; but it is only fair to point out that it seems to exceed anything hitherto required at Oxford: and we think that our English public schools, if not our universities, might derive some valuable hints as to instruction in English composition from the details given us of the work required of all junior students under the professor of English. At present no modern language but French is taught, and the professor of English is the French teacher.

The Divinity course, we have said, extends over four years. Each year is divided into a course of Dogmatic Theology before, and of Moral Theology after Christmas. There are on an average sixty students in each class, and each class hears eight lectures in the week. The students are called up for examination in the class; but as each of such examinations, or 'calls' as they are named, occupies half an hour, the turn of each of the sixty students comes round very rarely. Both in the lectures and ordinarily in the 'calls,' the Latin language is used,—a practice conducive, in our opinion, neither to clearness in treating the subject in hand nor to sound scholarship. At the end of each half year there is a public examination on the work accomplished. Each student is called up in his turn; his examination in Latin occupies ten minutes; it is conducted *vivâ voce* by the professors, nominally assisted by the Superiors of the college, and is voted a farce by the students. At the close of the summer half-year, each professor draws up a first-class list of those who have done best in the 'calls' of the half-year and in the examinations; and then by a somewhat round-about process, partly through a further written examination and partly by drawing lots, certain young men are selected from this first-class to receive some prizes of trifling value. In all these arrangements there seems a great want of any such stimulus to private exertion in study as can alone remedy the defects of a system purely professorial.

Besides the regular Divinity classes, there are distinct classes of Ecclesiastical History, of Scripture, and of Hebrew. The cycle of the Scripture class extends over three years, during which the Gospels and most of the Epistles are carefully read. The Hebrew class is open to members of the second, third, and fourth Divinity years, and to the Dumboync students who have completed the regular course; very few, however, attend, and this study, we are led to suppose, goes little beyond the rudiments. Greek is much neglected. There is no inducement to the students to keep up their knowledge of the language. To learn Irish is compulsory on those students who come from dioceses where that language is spoken by the common people.

Some profession is made of care being taken to instruct the students in the art of preaching. Instructions in pulpit eloquence (ill-omened name) are given by the Professor of Rhetoric in his rhetoric course, and till lately by a teacher of elocution. The students are required to preach in turn in the hall in the presence of the Superiors, who are expected to criticise the discourse. But it appears in the evidence that very little of such instruction is really given. We feel strongly ourselves that little good can arise from the composition of sermons of this epideictic kind; but whether the practice be good or bad, it can have little effect at Maynooth. We learn that each student is scarcely called upon to preach twice in his whole course, and the criticisms which he hears are not spoken of as usually very valuable.

We have then now before us a brief sketch of the course of instruction to which each student is subjected. Lord Rosse suggests that it is most important that some acquaintance with Political Economy should be insisted on, and the Commissioners add that there ought to be some instruction given in Municipal Law. We have endeavoured to lay before our readers a faithful picture of the training as it is delineated in the Report. Considering the length of time which the college course occupies, the results ought to be great.

Arrangements are certainly provided by the State to enable the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland to secure the services of thoroughly well instructed pastors. Besides the regular course above described, we must not omit to mention the Dumboyne establishment, which exists for the very purpose of adding to the ordinary clergy a succession of learned divines. Six students from the ecclesiastical province of Armagh, six from Cashel, four from Dublin, and four from Tuam, are, on the conclusion of their regular course, chosen according to the intellectual distinctions they have attained, and the excellence of their general conduct, to be maintained for three additional years as Dumboyne students, prosecuting higher studies in theology, and reading Ecclesiastical History and Canon Law. They have a Prefect of their own at the head of the establishment, and are subjected to half-yearly examinations. The Commissioners tell us that the efficiency of the institution is impeded by the restriction as to the provinces from which the students must be selected, and by the want of a preliminary examination to supply the test for selection. Hence there is a complaint that no security is taken to prevent the young men placed on the establishment from forgetting what they had learned in their

earlier course, and we are particularly told that they are deficient in their knowledge of the Greek Testament.

On the whole, then, we are not led by this Report to form any very high opinion of the intellectual training of the Maynooth students. This is a matter on which it is difficult to form an accurate opinion, from the mere enumeration of the lectures and the time which they occupy, or from any lists of the books and subjects studied. All depends not on the amount of time spent on work, but on the way in which the work is done. Able professors are required if we are to have successful students; and the professorships of Maynooth are, as we have said, sufficiently valuable to secure able men*; but the presence of able professors will not secure that the system of instruction is good. The theological professors have represented to the Commissioners, 'with great earnestness,' that 'excessive and 'unnecessary labour is imposed on them,' and this, apparently, without any corresponding benefit to the students. We certainly rise from the perusal of the Report with an impression that, intellectually, very little is effected considering the length of time during which the students are under training, and the great expense incurred.

'We cannot refrain,' say the Commissioners (Report, p. 67.), 'from expressing our regret that at the time of the increased 'grant more consideration was not given to the improvement and 'enlargement of the studies of the College, and that the new supplies were poured almost exclusively into the old channels. 'Upon this subject,' they continue, 'we would call special attention to the returns from foreign colleges, which have in view 'the same end for their several countries which the College of 'Maynooth has in relation to Ireland. In those colleges provision appears to be made, on the one hand, for a more enlarged 'and more complete system of theological and general instruction, 'and on the other, for a practical training in pastoral duties, for 'which there appears to be no equivalent in the existing arrangement of Maynooth.'

In fact, there seems to be a good deal in the whole tone of the Report which suggests, that, after all, the Protestant public

* From Appendix, p. 73., it appears that the annual salary of the President is 494*l.* 12*s.*; that of the Vice-president, 326*l.* 12*s.*; those of the Professors are, on an average, 250*l.* If, as we presume, these payments are in addition to rooms and living, they must be considered as very ample for gentlemen whose profession precludes the possibility of their marriage. Dr. Moriarty, in his account of his own missionary college of All Hallows, tells us that he and his coadjutors receive only food and raiment, and are therewith content.

have not been much mistaken in supposing the ordinary Maynooth priest to be somewhat of a boor, who, after eight years of herding with 500 youths of his own calibre, in society that can do little to raise him above the narrow views in which he was reared in his father's cabin, returns unsoftened and untamed to domineer in mature age over the peasantry of his native mountains, like the old priest he succeeds, beneath whose lash he himself trembled in his boyhood. It is highly probable that many of the worst defects of Maynooth will never be remedied. Its rulers are not likely ever to introduce either into its social or intellectual training that freedom and manliness which Protestants so highly prize, but which Roman Catholics have a shrewd presentiment can never assort amicably with the system through which their Church strives to keep the human mind in bondage. But whatever is merely rude in the mode of life, and whatever fails to turn the course of studies actually pursued to the best account in refining and elevating the mind, the Report shows, by its reference to foreign colleges, might easily be removed. How far the Roman Catholic authorities are likely to approve of the advice to follow the example of these foreign colleges, considering the peculiar work which they propose to themselves among the peasantry of Ireland, we have no means of deciding. Neither shall we pronounce an opinion as to how far it would prove really beneficial to Ireland if, as the Commissioners seem to recommend, we could substitute the more accomplished subtle priest formed after the foreign model, for the rude home-bred specimens whom the wilder Irish peasantry are said at once to fear and adore. Our object throughout this article is not to give any advice, but simply to reproduce in miniature the pictures contained in the two ponderous volumes of the Report; and certainly one of the most interesting portions of this document is that which treats of foreign Roman Catholic Colleges for training priests. We shall now conclude with a brief analysis of the account given us of these establishments, not entering on the list of the studies they encourage, which, nominally at least, seems the same as that of Maynooth, but noting rather what peculiarities we find in the mode of their administration.

The first country that presents itself is France. The evidence of Dr. Moriarty, already referred to, the President of the College of All Hallows at Drumcondra, cannot be passed over in this connexion. Fully awake to the necessity of raising and refining the manners and habits of the Irish priests, he urges, both by precept and reference to the success of his own practice, the advantages of a free and familiar intercourse between the students and their superiors; and he appeals to the College

of St. Sulpice, the Diocesan College of Paris, as illustrating how valuable a more humanising and paternal system is, and how easily it may be established and carried on. (Report, p. 41.; Evidence, p. 122.) To the same witness we are indebted for an account of the preparatory education for the priesthood, which the Roman Catholic Church aims at establishing when it has the means, and which has been adopted in France. The Council of Trent laid it down that there ought to be in each diocese a college attached to the cathedral church, in which young candidates for the priesthood are to be educated from their twelfth year onwards. The youths are to be trained in ecclesiastical discipline, and are always to wear the tonsure and the ecclesiastical dress; and besides their other religious teaching and their general education, they are to be instructed in the manner of administering the sacraments, and especially in those things which shall seem adapted to enable them to hear confessions, and in the forms of rites and ceremonies. We are not told how far in practice these provisions of the Council of Trent are applied to the early education of mere boys in schools, and how far certain parts of the instruction are reserved for the higher college, for the decree, we are informed (Evidence, p. 124.), is understood as applying to both. The idea of a boy beginning the priestly life at twelve is certainly very abhorrent to our notions of what is right. No wonder that the Romish priesthood form a caste so entirely peculiar. The Petits Seminaires of France were instituted in obedience to this decree. Under the governments of Charles X. and Louis Philippe the State allowed 20,000 students to be exempted from the University law and from the law of conscription. These were distributed amongst the different dioceses of France in proportion to their wants and population. Previous to the Revolution of 1830, the State allowed 8000 exhibitions to these students. Boys enter the Petit Seminaire at twelve and leave it at eighteen, by which age they are supposed to have concluded their rhetoric and to be ready to enter on their course of philosophy in the higher Diocesan College. These Petits Seminaires in France, it appears, are now in no way supported by the State. The British Ambassador in Paris was able to procure very little information for the Commissioners with regard either to these preparatory schools or the higher colleges for the priesthood. The whole of clerical education in France is so completely under ecclesiastical authority, that the Minister of Public Instruction and Worship professed to be unable to answer the questions which the Commissioners proposed as to the discipline and teaching. Probably this is the only department in France into

which the power of the State is unable or unwilling to penetrate ; and notwithstanding the statement of the ministerial dispatch, that other religious bodies are equally independent, we are almost tempted to conclude that under the present *régime* the Bishops are the only subjects who enjoy liberty in France. What we are able to learn from the correspondence between Lord Cowley and the Minister of Public Instruction as to priestly education, amounts merely to this : that the education of the secular clergy in France is conducted in Seminaries exclusively ; that these are of three kinds, 'Petits Séminaires,' 'Grands Séminaires,' and 'Facultés de Théologie.' There is a 'Grand Séminaire' in each diocese, of which the buildings are supplied and kept up by the State. But the whole system is under the exclusive management of the Bishops. As a general rule it appears that young ecclesiastics are educated apart from their lay fellow countrymen from the earliest age.

It is remarkable that, in some important respects, the Austrian system of clerical education would seem to be, or at least to have been till lately, more liberal than the French. Boys intended for the priesthood in Austria, seem usually not to be separated into an exclusive school in early youth, but receive their preparatory education along with other boys of their age in the ordinary under and upper gymnasias. (Part. II. p. 218.) Hitherto there have been in the Austrian dominions no institutions answering to the Petits Séminaires of France, though it is granted that a few such are now springing up, and that in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom there have been institutions uniting within themselves the Gymnase, Lycée, and Diocesan Seminary. In the Diocesan Seminaries the Bishops have each indeed the direction of his own seminary, yet the regulations according to which theological studies are conducted have 'in the principal parts of the empire,' been issued by the Government since the time of the Emperor Joseph II. In 1849 they were determined anew by an assembly of Bishops. The State, we are told, had cognisance of the proceedings of this assembly, and being satisfied with the new regulations, has left the seminaries ever since to be governed 'wholly by the Bishops, according to the resolutions taken by them in common.' The power of the Bishop is great in each diocese. He has the exclusive direction of his own diocesan seminary, subject to the necessity of making a report to Government in matters of finance, since the institution is wholly or in part supported out of the public funds. He receives the pupils or dismisses them without being accountable to any one. He appoints the masters, and defines their duties.

Even in the theological faculties of the universities no Professor can lecture in theology without authority from the Bishop of the diocese in which the university is situated. There are in the Austrian dominions, in addition to the Diocesan Seminaries, general seminaries in some provinces for imparting a superior education to certain ecclesiastics, *e. g.* at Vienna the superior establishment for the education of secular priests at St. Augustine's. The arrangements for the election of Professors in the Diocesan Colleges, as explained in the evidence (Appendix, p. 217), seem well calculated to secure the choice of fit persons, and some encouragement is given to connect the priesthood with the great universities, where the State exercises control. These certainly are marks of a superior liberality in such matters in Austria, which might surprise us if we did not know how differently the Roman Catholic Church acts where it has to defend itself against the opposition of a powerful public opinion, and in countries where the nation is very decidedly Roman Catholic, and where very little diversity of religious sentiment is allowed. It is not unnatural that ecclesiastical authorities in France should show a jealousy of allowing their young priests to mix unreservedly with the studies of the laity which need not be felt where their church is unquestionably supreme.

Thus in Portugal, previously to the year 1833, the education of the secular clergy was conducted in seminaries in which the students resided, but the halls not destined for theological studies alone were open to lay students, who joined there with the ecclesiastics in their course of philosophy and general literature. There was a seminary in each diocese, subject to the exclusive direction of the Bishop; and every priest was ultimately required to produce a certificate of having studied either in such a seminary or in a convent of the regular clergy; but before receiving the tonsure (the sign of their having been admitted to the earliest step in ecclesiastical orders), students might study where they pleased (Appendix, p. 231.); and, in most of the convents, there were gratuitous schools of philosophy, open; it would appear, to clerical and lay students alike. Moreover, great inducements were held out to students to complete their education by graduating at the university.

‘Those who attained university honours were selected *cateris paribus* for ecclesiastical benefices. Two classes of ecclesiastical students, graduated at Coimbra—the secular and regular clergy. Each congregation of the regular clergy had a representative house or hospiti-um in Coimbra. The most talented students of each congregation were sent thither from every part of the kingdom, and supported at

the expense of their respective hospitiiums. The students of the secular clergy had to pay out of their own means for their support and lodgings and university fees. But if they were poor they had only to solicit support, lodging, books, and fees, and as a general rule they received all from either of the two colleges of St. Peter and St. Paul in Coimbra.' (*Appendix*, p. 232.)

All this was in the palmy days of the Roman Catholic Church in Portugal. As to present times, we are told:—

'There has been scarcely anything in the shape of ecclesiastical education in this country; that is, this country has been during twenty years without diocesan seminaries or without any system or place of education for the clergy. The only exceptions to this statement are the existence of a few students in the university of Coimbra, and the struggling existence of the remote seminaries of Braga and Oporto for their respective dioceses. In latter years, the patriarch of Lisbon has succeeded, out of his scanty means, in maintaining daily lessons for a few external students in theology and canon law. The students reside where they please.' (*Idem.*)

An attempt, we are told, is now making to revive the seminaries.

'The Court of Rome has induced the Government to consent that these institutions should be supported by the income that would spring from what is called a Papal Bull of the Crusade: this is a leave granted by the Holy See for the eating of meat in Lent, on condition that those who use the leave will give an alms, according to their means, towards the support of the diocesan seminaries. That of Santarem, for the diocese of Lisbon, was solemnly opened last November by the patriarch in person. According to its statutes, lay students can attend the halls that are not destined exclusively for theology.'

And it is stated, in an account of the present state of things in this kingdom, that 'Students destined for the clerical order may study letters and philosophy and other liberal arts in schools or colleges open to the laity, on condition that they prove authentically, previous to ordination, their good and religious character and a sufficient knowledge in ecclesiastical matters.'

In Roman Catholic Prussia (*Appendix*, p. 220.), as a general rule there are seminaries, one for each diocese, for the education of the young clergy. These seminaries are institutions partly theoretical, partly practical. 'In the Theoretical institutions, the pupils of the seminary at the end of their gymnasial studies receive literary, philosophical, and theological instruction. In the Practical institutions, on the other hand, follows their immediate preparation for entering holy orders, and

‘the practice of those official duties and functions connected with ‘the calling of the cure of souls.’ All these seminaries of both kinds are under the exclusive direction of the bishop of the diocese. In the dioceses, however, of Cologne, Munster, Breslau, and Ermland, there is only the Practical department, ‘whilst the Faculties of Catholic Theology in the universities ‘of Bonn, Munster, Breslau, and Braunsberg hold the place of ‘the Theoretical seminary.’ These faculties are under the direction of the Government, but the professors are appointed in agreement with the Bishop, and remain subjected to his inspection and discipline. Moreover the half-yearly list of lectures is submitted to his perusal and requires his sanction. Youths intended for holy orders are not usually kept separate from lay students in their early education. All study together in the public gymnasia, though within the last ten years some bishops have established ‘convictoria,’ or colleges for boarding clerical students who are in attendance on the gymnasia of the town. All young men in Prussia, it is well known, wherever educated, must, before they can enter a university, undergo an examination in the gymnasium before a committee of examiners composed of teachers of that establishment under the presidency of a royal commissioner, and on passing this examination they receive what is called their ‘testimonium maturitatis.’ This testimonium is generally required by the bishops from young men entering their seminaries. Young men, after completing their gymnasial course, generally enter on their distinctly theological studies between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two. They complete their theoretical study of theology in three years, and generally spend a year in the Practical seminary, from which they are dismissed as priests. The students of Catholic theology in the universities do not necessarily live in ‘convictoria.’ Indeed it is only in Bonn and Breslau that such institutions exist in connexion with a university, and the Roman Catholic clerical students are not obliged to live in them. They may live in the town like the other students. Munster is the only diocese in which there is an institution answering to the Petits Seminaires of France. The Munster institution is a school for young aspirants to holy orders. The State has nothing to do with it, and considers it a private establishment. On the whole, the arrangements of Prussia are certainly liberal as compared with those of France, though here also we are distinctly told (Appendix, p. 221.), with respect to the seminaries :—‘The arrangement of studies, exhibitions, ‘appointment of professors, regulations concerning the manner of ‘living, the discipline in the seminary, belong to the bishop without any influence being exercised by the State, and consequently

‘no information respecting questions touching the discipline can be furnished by the Government.’

Lastly, the account of clerical education in the constitutional kingdom of Belgium (Appendix, p. 225.) is well worthy of note. The whole information presented to us seems to speak of a successful struggle for complete independence on the part of the ecclesiastics. There is much talk in the evidence of constitutional liberty, which seems to have been effectually used to increase ecclesiastical power. Belgium is divided into six dioceses, and has a seminary in each. There are also Petits Seminaires for each diocese, as many as three of them in the diocese of Malines, and two in that of Namur. Independently of these establishments, which existed before the separation from Holland, others, we are told, ‘have been erected in virtue of constitutional liberty, and which are sometimes under the direction of the diocesan chiefs, sometimes under that of religious corporations, independent of the secular clergy, as, for instance, the College of the Jesuits’ (P. 227.) ‘Availing themselves of the same liberty, the bishops, by an order of the 10th of June, 1834, have decreed the erection of the Catholic University at Louvain, after the suppression of the Government University in that town.’ For this purpose they obtained from the local authorities of the town the buildings which belonged to the former university.

This account of Belgium is full of lessons for ourselves. Obviously the facilities offered by our own constitutional liberty are used with the same object in Ireland—and the British Government requires to be on its guard. We have all heard much of the scheme of an exclusive Catholic University for Ireland, like that of Louvain, before which the Queen’s Colleges are expected to fall. Maynooth is well enough as a priestly seminary, but the Catholic University is the favourite scheme for extending priestly dominion. We learn from the experience of other countries that it requires a clear head and a steady hand to give the Roman Catholic priesthood full liberty and all their rights without allowing them to trample on the rights of others, or resist the progress of a free and enlightend education.

And now we have finished our analysis of this Report. How far the present system of Maynooth is favourable to the growth of exclusive ecclesiastical influence—how far the college is at present harmless in this respect from the glaring defects in its system—and how far it would be safe to give it a better system without placing it under the more direct control of the

State—are questions which we must leave to those who are better informed than ourselves. What we insist on is merely this: that the existence of the college and its condition, its capabilities of improvement, and its tendencies for good or evil, with the part which it occupies in the general policy of the Roman Catholic Church as illustrated by a comparison between our own and other countries—are points which no wise rulers of Ireland will hereafter venture to overlook, and the Commissioners have done good service by the information they have collected.

Before closing this article it may not be out of place to note one or two reflections not unnaturally suggested to Protestants as to their own academical system from this account of their antagonists'. When we read of the Decree of the Council of Trent as to seminaries and 'Petits Seminaires,' and think of the eight years' course of Maynooth, the contrast is somewhat strange between such requirements and the twelve lectures of the Regius Professor of Divinity, occupying one fortnight in their delivery, which open the gate to Anglican orders. A great change in this respect is indeed commencing. Members of the Church of England now allow that something besides the light of nature, and mixing in the pleasant three years' intercourse of undergraduate life, or even than a good general education, is required to enable a young man to enter at once successfully on the laborious and responsible charge of a great parish. Men are beginning to find that a little pause is desirable between the emulation of the Oxford schools or the Oxford boat-races, and the solemn step of ordination; and that this pause may profitably be employed in gaining some acquaintance, under an experienced clergyman, as to the best way of stirring the conscience by public and private admonition, or by ministering at the beds of the dying, consoling the bereaved, and moulding by serious instruction the minds both of old and young in Christ's flock. When men look on our teeming cities, they acknowledge that the work of Christianising them is not to be undertaken lightly, and that a young clergyman will do well to seek all help of advice and study and self-discipline before he goes forth to his sacred and arduous task. In this respect it would be presumptuous to deny that we have much to learn from the laborious training and careful systematic instruction of the Roman Catholic clergy.

But while they teach us what to aim at, they teach us also what to avoid. The Church of England will descend from her high vantage-ground, if, while she appoints professors of pastoral theo-

logy, and founds theological colleges, she ceases to maintain that sound general training of her future clergy in close intercourse with their lay contemporaries, which has hitherto been the great safeguard against the narrowing tendencies of a profession the more likely to become exclusive, as it must be engrossing, from its sacred character. Who shall say how much of the real strength of the clergy of the Church of England consists in that general liberal education, which, except in certain remote districts, has hitherto been required of them all as indispensable for an English gentleman, and in their familiar acquaintance with the duties and trials, and even the innocent pleasures, of the laity? Diocesan colleges, both for our clergy and our schoolmasters, may learn much as to what they are to avoid from the history of Romish seminaries. No change will be advantageous for the Church of England or the nation, however it may improve the theological knowledge and professional training of our clergy, which in any degree either lowers the standard of their preliminary general education, or gives them a more exclusively priestly character, by withdrawing them in any way from that salutary influence which is exercised over them by their union with their lay fellow-citizens, under the control of the State.

ART. VIII.—1. *Aide Memoire to the Military Sciences*. Framed from Contributions of Officers of the different Services, and edited by a Committee of the Corps of Royal Engineers. London: 1846–52.

2. *A Treatise on Naval Gunnery*. By General Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS, Bart. Fourth Edition. London: 1855.

3. *An Essay on a Proposed New System of Fortification*. By JAMES FERGUSSON, M.R.I.B.A. London: 1849.

4. *Topographical Sketches of the Ground before Sebastopol, with a Description and Remarks*. By M. A. S. BIDDULPH, Captain Royal Artillery and Brevet Major. Woolwich: 1855.

IN ordinary times it would be almost hopeless to attempt to enlist the attention of the general reader in favour of a subject so strictly professional as the art of Fortification has hitherto been considered. Even among military men a knowledge of this art is generally confined to the small branch of the service especially charged with its study; while scarcely any civilian feels sufficient interest to devote to it the attention

necessary to master its technicalities, or to penetrate the mystery in which it seems involved. This apathy is now fast giving way in presence of the stirring events of the present war. For the first time, perhaps, in the history of the world, all the terrible incidents of a deadly struggle are daily recorded for the information of those who take no part in the actual fight, and every one is more or less interested to know why it is that certain events have occurred. More than this, an impression very generally prevails, that the sieges of the present war are not like those we read of in former times, and that either they must have been badly conducted on the part of the attacking party, or that some new element has crept into the science of defence which has altered the former conditions of the contest. It can, therefore, hardly be considered ill-timed or devoid of interest, to attempt to inquire how far the unexpected incidents of the sieges of Silistria, Bomarsund, and Sebastopol have arisen from accident or mismanagement, and how far they are the result of modern discoveries.

Even without the excitement of the present hour the narrative of a siege ought always to be the most interesting incident in a campaign. Few persons have access to maps or plans sufficiently detailed to enable them to comprehend all the marches and countermarches which precede a pitched battle, and fewer still have patience to master all its details. Even those who take part in the action learn only afterwards, and imperfectly, what has taken place. The whole action is too hurried; there is so little time to take advantage of the situation, to correct mistakes, or to fight a battle as it ought to be fought, that the interest is lost in the mode of execution, and centred only in the result.

With a siege the case is widely different. The troops and stores arrive at the determined spot, and take up their positions by slow degrees. The first parallel is deliberately formed. The approaches slowly pushed forward. The artillery, in the meanwhile, performs its predestined part. The whole process is methodical to the last degree, and can easily be followed day by day. Everything in a siege presents the characteristics of a drama played out on the most majestic scale, except in one important item of dramatic interest,—that, in modern times at least, there is no uncertainty as to the result. We watch the toils slowly, but surely, spreading themselves around the devoted band whose task it is to defend the place, well knowing all the time that after a certain number of days, and the fulfilment of certain formalities, they must yield themselves prisoners of war; no glorious uncertainty, no hope of victory,

cheers them in their task. The somewhat ambiguous compliments of their conquerors on the gallantry of their defence is the one consolation they can hope for when their work is done.

If you ask a military engineer why this should be the inevitable result of every siege, he will answer at once, 'that since 'the invention of gunpowder a successful defence is impossible,' and 'that every place must yield after a certain number of days' 'resistance.' If you object to this, that the besieged may avail themselves of the invention as well as their opponents, the stereotyped answer is, that the besiegers, acting in a larger circle, can concentrate on any one part of a fort such an amount of power as shall overwhelm any resistance which can be accumulated in so confined a space; and, secondly, that the resources of a fort in men and *matériel* are limited, while those of the besiegers are practically inexhaustible.

This last objection is easily answered: it is by no means impossible to accumulate in a fortified place in time of peace three or four times the number of guns that could ever be brought against it, together with a practically unlimited amount of ammunition; while, on the other hand, there is scarcely an instance in modern times when a fortress has surrendered either because its garrison was killed out, or because its stores were exhausted. Few, indeed, are aware how little deadly these operations generally are. In one of the last examples, the siege of Antwerp, in 1833, though the place was singularly deficient in bomb-proof cover, the garrison had only 90 killed, and 349 wounded, out of a force of 4937 men. With nine-tenths of his garrison untouched, the commandant could easily have held out; but the scientific conditions of a siege had been fulfilled—his walls were breached, his ditches bridged, and he stood, with a slight advantage of ground, with an army of 5000 men, to resist a force ten times as numerous. In fact, the twenty-one days such a fortress could resist had expired, and surrender was inevitable.

While the former objection remains in force it must ever be thus. But the question still remains, is this an inherent condition in the problem? must it always be possible to concentrate an overwhelming force on a single point which nothing can resist? May it not in fact be, that some undetected error lurks in the system, which, if corrected, may restore to the art of defence that preeminence it has enjoyed in all previous ages of the world? The experience of Silistria and Sebastopol would seem to answer these questions in favour of the defence. But before we can ascertain whether this is the effect of accident and of personal incapacity on the part of the besiegers, or

whether it is a valuable scientific result, it will be necessary to go back a little, and try to describe briefly how the present system of fortification arose, and what are its more important characteristics.

Before the invention of gunpowder, the art of fortification was so simple that any one could understand it. If the place to be fortified were situated in a plain, all that was required was a high and strong wall and a deep and broad ditch, and the strength of the place was in the direct ratio to the strength of the one and the impassability of the other; but it was still stronger if the wall were placed on the edge of a high cliff, or on ground so steep that no battering ram or ordinary engine of war could reach it. Towers were used partly to strengthen the wall, and partly to give a flanking defence to the curtains between them. This last expedient, however, was little thought of. The advantage of height was so great where weapons were projected by the strength of men's arms, and the security of the upper position was so obvious, as to give immense advantages to the art of defence over that of attack.

The employment of artillery altered all these conditions. It put into the hands of the besiegers a battering ram which reached across the widest ditch and scaled the loftiest heights, and was at the same time of such power that no masonry ever put together by man's hands could long resist its repeated blows.

After a little while, it was perceived that a much lower wall might be so efficiently flanked by the newly invented power of artillery as to be virtually more inaccessible than a much taller wall without it, and if the wall were built up from the bottom of the ditch instead of on its inner edge as formerly, and made so broad that guns could be mounted upon it, it was found that the masonry could not be injured by the fire of the besiegers, and that the artillery of the fort was more than a match for that in the field. For a short time the art of defence regained its original superiority.

The next move was on the part of the attack, and it was fatal to the art of defence. It consisted in the invention of the mode of approaching fortresses by sap, as it is technically called. As it is this which gives to the modern mode of attack its undisputed superiority over the art of defence, its principles must be explained in order to render the sequel intelligible. When first introduced, as now, it consisted in drawing a line round the front to be attacked; this the besiegers dug out to a depth of about four feet, and throwing up the earth gained from this excavation on the side towards the fort, they obtained a covered road in which they could move about unseen by the

garrison of the fort. From this they advanced by similar roads, not of course in direct lines, but by zigzags tacking up towards the fort, only taking care that the prolongation of every piece of road so constructed should fall outside of any of the works of the fort, so that it could not be seen into or enfiladed by the besieged. By this means they approached the fort steadily and surely; invulnerable by its artillery or musketry till they arrived at the opposite side of the ditch. Once arrived at this spot they constructed their masked batteries, generally in front of one of the bastions which from its triangular form could not reply by a direct fire, and when these were opened the victory was nearly assured.

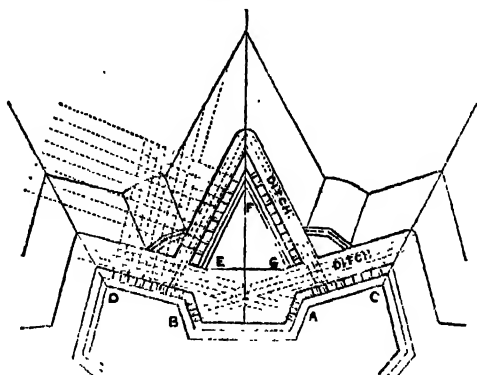
This was the case partly because the masonry of the fort being once damaged could not be repaired, and if it were breached it laid the place open and brought down the parapet and guns with it,—partly, also, because the form of the works enabled the besiegers to choose positions where their fire was greater than the direct fire which could be brought to bear on them,—and also because, as is always the case, the besiegers were more numerous than the besieged, and generally in early times had a more numerous and powerful artillery, so that in a fight across a ditch the advantage was on their side.

The first expedient introduced to remedy these defects was to place a work outside the ditch, originally called a demilune, now known as a ravelin, which was to take the besieger's trenches in reverse before he had settled himself before the bastion. The effect has been that the ravelin must be taken before the bastion, but as operations are carried on almost simultaneously against both, it hardly delays the fall of the place. The resistance was further increased by augmenting the power of the flanks of the bastions, by flanking their faces, and, in short, by procuring an overwhelming cross fire along every ditch and in front of every work.

For two centuries some of the best intellects of Europe have worked steadily towards perfecting this system, — colleges have been founded in every country for the express purpose of teaching and investigating its principles, — millions on millions have been spent in carrying them into effect, and the fate of nations has often depended on the result. With all this it will be easily understood how perfect the system has become. Indeed, no work of human hands or of human intellect is more complete in all its details; and one can readily forgive the enthusiasm with which its votaries gloat over its intricate but well-designed contrivances.

Its perfection, however, consists only in this, that were an

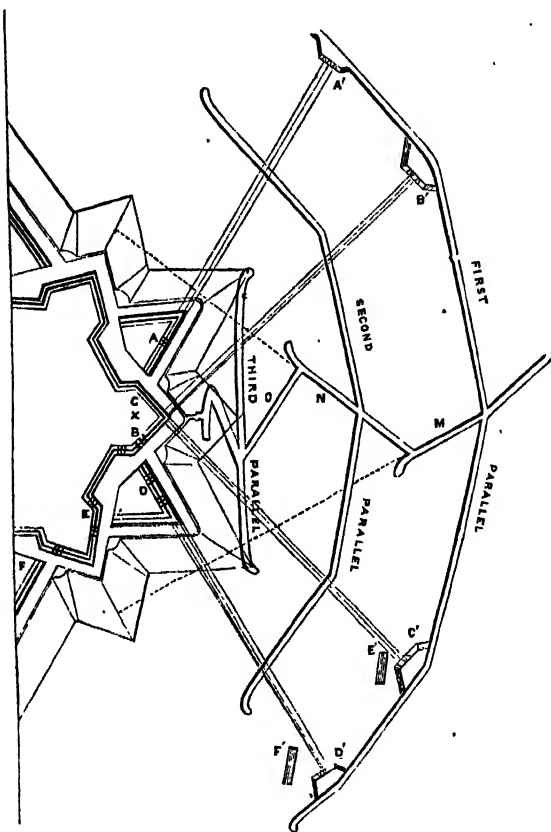
army, however numerous and well appointed, to attempt to take a regularly fortified place by assault, they would certainly be defeated and destroyed by a very small body of troops as a garrison. In the annexed diagram, for instance, the guns in the



flank A completely sweep the ditch in front of it, and those in B in like manner sweep the ditch in front of the bastion AC, and render the approach to its face impossible till they are silenced. At the same time the guns on the faces of the bastions AC, and BD sweep the ditches of the ravelin and bring such a fire to bear on its parapets, and the ground in front of the works, that approach to it is likewise impossible while they remain intact; and further still, the guns mounted in the faces EF and FG of the ravelin command the ground in front of the bastions, and crossfire with them over the whole of the ground in their front, so that there is no spot, within a certain range of the ramparts, which is not protected by such a fire as to render all approach impossible except by the covered ways procured by sapping. But engineers have overlooked the fact that it is not by assault, but by sap, that places are attacked; and while wasting all their ingenuity in providing against a danger that never occurs, they have not provided against the peril which is always present.

By a reference to a second diagram it will be easy to understand why this should be always the case. As soon as the enemy has established his first parallel in front of the bastion x, by which he proposes entering the fort, he establishes four batteries A', B', C', D', on the prolongation of the faces A and D of the ravelins that defend the approach to it, and the faces CB of the bastion itself. These consist of three or four guns each, and if aided by two or three mortars, they are always able in twenty-four, or at the utmost in forty-eight, hours after they are opened, to cripple, if they do not entirely silence, the fire of

these fronts. If the besieger has any reason to dread the fire of the collateral fronts $E F$, he either must place batteries on their prolongations, or he may content himself by simply protecting his



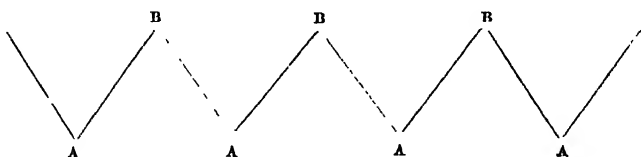
batteries by mounds of earth as at $E' F'$. While this is going on the sap steadily advances between the lines of fire as at M, N, O , and long before it can reach the foot of the glacis the fire of the fort is entirely annihilated.

It is not because a fort cannot mount a sufficiency of guns to reply to this fire that this so invariably happens. A modern front of fortification can mount 200 guns, and with the collateral faces 400 guns could be mounted on the lines attacked. But it is because these guns are so placed that, to use the words of Sir John Jones, 'Three guns firing *à ricochet* from any convenient point on the prolongation of a face or other line, without traverses, will dismount any number of guns, say ten or twelve, that may be mounted upon it; or if the line be

‘traversed, it will only require the aid of shells from two or three mortars to ensure the same effect.’* The inevitable result is, that when the besieger reaches the edge of the ditch, the position of affairs is simply this:—on one side we have a large body of troops, with a powerful untouched artillery, on the other a small body of men without a single serviceable gun, and who can only fight with muskets from behind parapets, which are swept by the enfilading fire of the besiegers. The result cannot be for one moment doubtful.

This power of a small number of guns in the field to destroy a large number in the fort is so much the key to the whole mystery, that it may be worth while trying to explain it a little more clearly.

Supposing a general commanding 10,000 men drew them up in battle-array in the following form:—



He might argue that if the enemy attempted to penetrate to AA he would overwhelm him by his cross fire, and even if he attacked BB he could bring nearly twice as heavy a cross fire to bear on him as he could if drawn up in a straight line. It would not require, however, that the opposing general should be a genius to perceive that there was a point where this diagonal fire would not reach him, but where his direct fire would tell with fatal effect, and if he halted there with a small body of troops he might shoot down the large body and then advance in safety. Or if he had artillery, and placed it in the prolongation of the lines, he might mow down whole ranks at a single discharge, while the enemy's fire would either pass through his line or could kill only one man at a time.

This may appear a ridiculous illustration, but it is precisely what happens in every siege. Enormous expense is incurred to place guns so that they shall sweep a certain portion of ground with an overwhelming cross fire, but long before the enemy comes there he knocks all these guns over and then advances in perfect safety.

It might be supposed that any man not educated under an exclusive theoretical system, would perceive at once that the

* Sieges in Spain, vol. ii. p. 311.

same inventions which are so successful for attack might be made equally useful for defence; and that it only requires that the engineer who designs a fort should take a leaf out of the book of those who are to attack it, in order to turn the tables against them.

Having admitted that three guns in the field are equal to twelve in the fort, and that this superiority of fire is the principal cause of the success of all sieges, the problem is to place three guns somewhere about the works, where they may fight on equal terms with those in the field. The engineer of the fort knows beforehand exactly where the besieger must place his battery, and may guess its form and dimensions; all he has to do therefore is to construct one precisely similar, either at the foot of the glacis or somewhere upon his own works; in either case the enemy must double his armament or he will be beaten.

But even this is not all the truth. For turning again to Sir John Jones, we find that 'In those cases where the ordnance of the place must be silenced by direct fire from the besieger's trenches, such fire, to be effectual, ought to be at least equal in weight and quantity to that it is intended to silence;' and, further, 'when ordnance can be procured, double the amount of that to be silenced by direct fire should be brought into the trenches.'*

In other words, if the guns of a fort are placed so as to meet those of the attack face to face, and on equal terms, they are at least equal, and practically are superior to those in the field, so that instead of 50 guns being able to silence 400, as they can on the bastion system, with this slight alteration it would require at least an equal number to accomplish the object, and practically it could hardly be effected with less than 600 or 800 guns in the siege train.

Simple as this solution of the problem may appear, it never has been acted upon till the siege of Sebastopol; and though the facts have been known and admitted for more than a century, such are the effects of education and system that it never occurred to any engineer officer to try the experiment.

At the end of the last century, a cavalry officer, the Marquis De Montalembert, saw where the difficulty lay, and with all the brilliancy of genius grasped at the remedy. His proposal was to erect immense casemated batteries in two or three stories facing the front whence he knew the attack must proceed, and he

thus expected to obtain such a superiority of fire as, he boasted, 'would pulverise the first parallel.'

In theory his system was perfect, but in carrying it practically into effect he overlooked one of the first lessons which engineers had been taught on the first introduction of artillery, which was, that no masonry can withstand its effects. His opponents were not long in pointing out that it was not necessary to place the guns of the attack in embrasures, so as to be seen from the fort; it sufficed to place them behind a mound of earth, over which they could fire at a low angle, the shot still retained sufficient force to destroy the masonry, while the garrison could not even know where the guns were placed.

This objection was considered so fatal, that his system has never been adopted in his own country. The Germans, however, are so fully aware of the defects of the bastion system, that they generally have tried to adapt that of Montalembert to these purposes; and have produced a style, better, perhaps, than that of Vauban, but still far from perfection.

It would be tedious and out of place to attempt any detailed description of the various systems of fortification which have been proposed. But the following short table gives, with great clearness, the relative value of the principal systems. It is extracted from the *Aide Mémoire*, published in 1850, by a committee of the principal engineer officers in the British service, and is entitled 'Table of the Comparative Value of Systems for a Front of Fortification of 400 yards:—'

Probable Expenses.	Description of Fortification.	Assumed Comparative Value.	Duration of Resistance.
£			
100,000	Imaginary perfect system -	1000	36 days
50,000	Cochon's system -	142	21
80,000	Do. improved by Merkes -	625	31
40,000	Vauban's 1st system -	72	19
80,000	Do. 2nd and 3rd systems -	125	29
60,000	Cormontaigne's system -	166	30
200,000	Bousnard and Chasseloup's system -	500	34
300,000	Montalembert's system -	105	30
100,000	Carnot's system, with bomb proof -	316	18
60,000	German system, single line -	250	24
100,000	Do. double line -	474	34

Such is the most flattering picture engineers can themselves

draw of their art, and it amounts to this—that the utmost stretch to which their imagination can rise is, that a fort costing 100,000*l.* for fronts of 400 yards, may resist an attack for thirty-six days, while they admit that, in practice, they have never reached this imaginary perfection.*

Since the peace but little has been done to alter this state of matters; but recently a civilian, Mr. James Fergusson, has stepped into the arena with certain propositions, by which he claims the merit of restoring to the art of defence its ancient superiority over the art of attack. In principle Mr. Fergusson adopts almost literally the ideas of Montalembert, but in putting them into practice he avoids entirely the use of masonry, and proposes instead, to throw up an immense mound of earth, and to place on this his guns in terraces, each rising in steps above and behind the other. The form of the rampart in plan he considers immaterial; the one point being that the fort shall be able to bring to bear, on every point, a greater amount of fire than can be directed from that point upon the fort. This would enable equal armies to contend on equal terms; but to enable a small garrison to resist a large force, it is indispensable that some obstacle should be placed between the fort and the attacking party, which cannot be knocked down or passed over till the fire of the fort is subdued. This, it is contended, can be easily accomplished in this system either by the introduction of wet ditches where water can be obtained, or when this expedient is not available, the immense

* It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, as illustrative of the state into which this art has fallen, that the great Napoleon, though educated as an engineer and artillery officer, did not throughout his whole career offer even a suggestion for its improvement: he who revolutionised the art of war in almost every other respect, has left the art of fortification where he found it.

When almost all the strong places of Europe were in the hands of the French, he instructed the celebrated Carnot to write his well-known treatise '*Sur la Défense des Places Fortes*,' the object of which was to persuade the French commandants of those places that they might defend successfully what they had taken so easily. Although the existence of the empire depended upon it, he had nothing but abstract reasonings to offer, and the common sense of the soldiers told them that it was useless; the consequence was, that the possession of all those places, on the fortification of which so much thought and money had been spent, did not retard the advance of the Allies for a single day in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815, nor delay the catastrophe for a single hour, and the war ended with an impression of the worthlessness of all fortifications which has only diminished within the last few years.

mass of earth required for the great mound renders a ditch necessarily so deep and wide, that it is easy to place in it revêments higher than those ordinarily used, and more perfectly flanked; so that the system is safer from assault by a *coup de main*, than the older forms of forts; and, at the same time, these walls can neither be seen nor destroyed till the fire of the place is silenced. A last advantage which Mr. Fergusson claims for his proposals is, that they would never cost half so much as the old system, and, generally, not one-tenth.

As might be expected from the quarter from which they proceed, these proposals have met with very little favour among engineer officers. But the present war having turned the attention of all men towards this important art, it will soon cease to be the exclusive property of a class, and every proposal, from whatever quarter it may proceed, must receive that amount of consideration to which, on examination of its merits, it is fairly entitled.

Were it a mere question of abstract reasoning, civilians might be long before they would be able to pass a competent opinion on such a subject; but actual experience is now daily forcing such startling facts on our attention, that it only requires a slight commentary to render their interpretation palpable to even the most unscientific. Let us therefore now turn from these theoretical deductions, and see what light the actual incidents of this war throw on the mooted questions involved in the art of Fortification.

Hitherto the war has been singularly deficient in those great strategical operations which have usually characterised the campaigns of modern times. Only one battle—that on the Alma—can be said to have been deliberately fought in the open field, for that at Inkermann was a surprise, and Balaklava a mistake. But, though so little is consequently to be learnt in this respect, the sieges of Silistria, of Bomarsund, and of Sebastopol are nearly as important as any that ever characterised a single campaign, and more instructive in a scientific point of view, than any siege in recent wars. Even the battle of Oltenitza, which was the first fight that took place on the Danube, was fought as much with the spade as with the musket, and showed how important to raw troops even the slightest breastwork is, when they are called upon to resist the disciplined masses of a regular army. On the 3rd of November, 1853, Omar Pacha unexpectedly threw a small body of troops across the Danube, opposite Turketai, where they commenced immediately entrenching themselves, and before the Russians could attack them in force, they had secured their position, and being supported by guns judi-

ciously placed on an island and on the right bank of the river, they supported the attacks of the Russians on three successive days, and finally drove them back with immense loss, both in men and reputation. For the first time the Turks convinced themselves and Europe that they could face their dreaded foes; though, had they neglected to fortify themselves, it is almost needless to add that the result must have been different.

During the winter which succeeded this battle, a large body of Turks were actively engaged in fortifying themselves at Kalafat on their extreme left; and although the place never was seriously attacked by the Russians, all the strategical advantages were gained which could be looked for from such an operation. The place was made so strong and so important that the Russians did not dare to cross the Danube leaving it in their rear, and it afforded a safe and convenient *point d'appui*, from which the Turks could sally, and from which they did advance and fought the battle of Citate with their rear perfectly secured, and with further means of offence in store, had not the retreat of the Russians rendered them unnecessary.

These were mere strategical operations. The first really important siege which was undertaken was that of Silistria, and this was so important, not only in a scientific point of view, but from its bearing on the results of the campaign, that it will be necessary to describe it somewhat in detail.

The town itself stands on a low piece of land, projecting into the river on its right bank, at a spot where it is between 500 and 600 yards in width. It is surrounded by a bastioned enceinte, forming a semicircle towards the country of about 1300 yards diameter; beyond this the country begins to rise at a distance of from 500 to 800 yards from the walls, and the town is completely commanded by the heights at a distance of about 1000 yards from the place. The inconvenience of these heights being in the possession of the enemy was severely felt in the former siege in 1829, when the place most gallantly resisted for thirty-five days, after the first parallel was opened. To avoid this danger in future these heights have all been crowned by detached earth-works, against which the whole force of the enemy was in this instance directed; the enceinte, which remained nearly as it was in the former siege, never having been seriously attacked.

Three of these works were arranged parallel to the river below the town. The first, or Jermen Tabia, was close to the suburbs; the next, or Yelandi Tabia, about 1000 yards in advance; and still further down the river on the same ridge as the last, stood the celebrated Arab Tabia, 1300 yards from the Yelandi,

and about the same distance from the Ordou Tabia, which was its nearest support inland. A trench or covered way connected it with the Yelandi in its rear, and behind the trench was a ravine, in which the principal part of the garrison found shelter during the siege. The Arab Tabia itself may be described as a field-work, consisting of three sides of a square, the front and left side being about 100 yards each; the right side towards the ravine stretched about 50 yards towards the rear, when it was broken by a flank at right angles to its face. The parapet was of about the ordinary dimensions, and the ditch ten feet wide and as many in depth; but owing to the soil being a hard tenacious clay, the slope of the face was steeper than can be usually constructed, rendering the work more difficult to carry by assault than field-works of the ordinary construction. This work was armed with seven small guns, and at the commencement of the siege possessed a garrison of 3170 men.

The Russians advanced against these works on the 15th of May, and opened their first parallel from the river to the Arab Tabia on the 19th. From this time they continued to establish batteries against the Arab and Yelandi Tabias, and to push forward their approaches parallel with the river towards the town, till the 24th, when they attempted to carry the Arab Tabia by assault, but as the work had hardly been injured by their fire, and the garrison was still fresh, this attack was easily defeated.

The next, and by far the most serious attack, was made at midnight on the 28th, when the garrison being taken by surprise, the enemy were almost within the works before they were perceived, and it was only by the most extraordinary exertions on the part of the Turks that they were ultimately repulsed.

From this time the Russians, finding they could not carry the place by assault, and that the fire of their artillery could make but little impression on its defences, had recourse to mining as the only feasible means of effecting a practicable breach. Four separate mines were driven under the parapets, and successively exploded; and after each explosion an assault, more or less vigorous, was attempted, but without success; for though the besiegers succeeded in destroying entirely the original line of works at the angle at which the attack was made, this did not enable them to enter the place. The Turks did not attempt countermining, but they listened attentively to the progress of the Russian miners, and long before a lodgment below the rampart had been effected by them, the garrison had cut off the point attacked by a second and a third retrenchment, and had withdrawn their guns and mounted them on this new rampart

in such a manner as to command the breach when it should be made by the explosion of the mine.

After the visit of Colonel Simmons, on the 8th of June, the besieged commenced the construction of a formidable redoubt on the gorge of the works, which, had it been completed, would have commanded all the works already constructed, so as to render a lodgment in them almost impossible, and would have been in itself as difficult to take as the original work. So that the means of defence possessed by the garrison were far from being exhausted when the siege was raised on the 22nd of June.

It cannot be denied that the success of this extraordinary defence was in a great measure to be attributed to the wonderful pertinacity with which the Turks, when properly handled, fight behind breastworks of any sort; and to the heroism and skill of the two Englishmen who so nobly assisted them. But as the Russians never fairly penetrated into the work, nor effected a lodgment within its lines, other troops might have held out as long, and we must look to some other circumstance to account for the duration of the defence. It will probably be found to lie in the fact that from the first it was an affair of parallels, the besieged working backwards as the enemy advanced; and with a sufficient number of men they might have continued to work backwards along the ridge over the whole 1300 yards which separated them from their support. Had no interior retrenchments been made, the Russians might easily have carried the lines on several occasions; but nothing renders such an operation so difficult as a second line, behind which the garrison can retreat under the fire of fresh troops posted there; and nothing is so disheartening to the attacking party as to find they have to begin their work again against fresh defences they have never seen before, and whose nature they have no time to examine.

The principles on which this defence was conducted are, in fact, those hitherto consecrated to the attack; and it will be ever memorable in the history of modern sieges as the first instance in which they were fairly applied to the opposite purpose.

Though this defeat must have been most mortifying to the Russians, they had sagacity enough to perceive the full significance of the lesson so rudely taught them; and when the same troops who were defeated here, were called upon shortly afterwards to defend Sebastopol, they used the same expedient of earth-work parallels, and throwing aside all the antiquated prejudices of the schools, they have made a resistance quite as extraordinary as that of the Arab Tabia.

Before proceeding to speak of the siege of Sebastopol it will be indispensable to describe briefly that of Bomarsund, which

forms so singular a contrast to the other two, and affords as conclusive an argument against the use of masonry as these two cases furnish in favour of earth-works.

The principal work at Bomarsund was a great casemated battery, of semicircular form, placed close to the water's edge, and carrying about eighty guns in two tiers, the one above the other, so as to sweep the roadstead. Its rear was also casemated, and defended by a large tower, or projection, in the centre. It was intended to surround this fort by a circle of smaller works, placed at a distance of about 1000 yards from it. Three of these were complete, and consisted each of a circular tower of masonry about 140 feet in diameter, and two stories in height, and having fourteen casemates for large guns in each story. A fourth tower, which would have completed the circle, was only commenced, and two strong barracks, which would have flanked this last tower, were only raised a few feet above the ground when the siege commenced. The whole of these forts were executed almost literally from designs to be found in the works of Montalembert, and the whole place was fortified more exactly according to his principles than, perhaps, any other place in Europe, so that a better opportunity could not be afforded for testing the value of his principles.

On the 21st of June an attack was made on the place by three English frigates; and although they are reported to have done considerable damage to the works, and to have sustained none themselves besides having only three men wounded, they did not persevere in the attack. They hauled off, and reported—as far, at least, as we can judge from the result—that the place was impregnable by ships. The consequence of this was, that 10,000 men were sent for from France, with artillery, and all the appliances requisite for an important siege, and the attack delayed till August. On the 8th of that month the main body of troops was landed a short distance south of the fort, and immediately proceeded to take up the position required for their batteries. On the 13th the French were enabled to open their fire against the western round tower from a battery of four field pieces—sixteen pounders—and four small brass mortars. By the evening the place was untenable, and the Governor hung out the white flag, but being unable to arrange terms satisfactory to both parties, it remained in possession of the Russians that night, but was occupied the next morning by the French, who made prisoners of a small part of the garrison remaining in the place.

On the morning of the 14th the English opened their fire against the northern round tower, at a distance of about 800

yards, from a battery of three 32-pounder ship guns, and before evening, made such a breach in the place as to render it utterly untenable; in a few hours more it might have been levelled to the ground. In the meanwhile Captain Pelham and twenty sailors of his crew were besieging the large fort with a large 10-inch gun he had landed from his ship, the *Blenheim*; and if he had continued for a short time longer, would have effected a practicable breach in it, and probably without a single man being hurt. But by this time the French and English had completed the reduction of the outworks which commanded the approaches to the place, and their batteries were nearly ready to open on the principal work, when the Governor, seeing that all resistance was hopeless, surrendered at discretion, and 2200 men who remained of the garrison were made prisoners of war.

The men actually employed in these operations were 100 artillerymen and 500 riflemen by the French, and 180 sailors to work the guns, and 200 marines by the English,—altogether under 1000 men. The English had 2 killed and 6 wounded, the French about twice that number, leaving out of account those killed by mistake by their own comrades. The whole experience of the siege proves, that had a land attack been determined on in June, the marines of the fleet, who were not less than 6000 in number, were more than sufficient for the purpose. With a garrison of less than 2500 men dispersed in four works, not more than 1000 could possibly have been detached at any time to interrupt a landing, or to attempt a sortie; and with a guard to cover them, half-a-dozen guns, and a few blue-jackets to work them, would have laid the whole of the masonry in ruins in a very short time; while the immense fleet present on the occasion would have prevented any succours reaching the island, and kept in check the sparse and peaceful inhabitants, supposing they had been inclined to assist the Russians, which was the last thing they thought of.

In the discussion which took place at the end of the last, and the beginning of the present century, regarding the propositions of Montalembert, it was proved to demonstration that masonry was the most unfit material that could be chosen for fortifications; that casemates must soon become untenable, and that the whole system was a mistake. Yet, half a century afterwards, we find Russia spending immense sums in erecting model forts *à la Montalembert*. We find the most powerful fleet England ever equipped declining a contest with this imposing sham, and even the French sending 10,000 men and all the appliances of a great siege, merely to knock down some walls which fell before them as if they had been of pasteboard.

After the place had surrendered, the *Edinburgh*, commanded by Admiral Chads, went in to try the effect of her guns on the masonry of the principal fort. The details of this experiment have not yet been published in an official form, but as far as can be gathered from what has appeared in print, they present no greater novelty than the other results of this siege. Within the distance of 500 yards the effect of her fire seems to have been most formidable; beyond that distance, to have decreased in effect in something like an inverse ratio to the square of distance. This result seems due to two elements being combined to produce it; first, the diminished velocity and force of impact in the ball; the other, the difficulty of hitting the mark at the greater distance.

On comparing this siege with that of Silistria, we find the results so widely different as to shake our faith entirely in a science which could produce effects so strangely opposite. In the one instance, we find a miserable earth-work, which, with all its material and the ground it stood upon, could not have cost 1000*l.*, resisting for thirty-two days an army ten times more numerous than its garrison, and from before which they were ultimately beaten off with great slaughter. In the other case, a great fortress, which could not have cost less than 200,000*l.*, falls ingloriously before a body of men only half as numerous as its garrison, in about the same number of hours! and this, not because there was anything new or unexpected in the mode of carrying on these sieges—for everything happened as it had always happened before—but simply because the art was at a dead lock, and no one knew what was right and what was wrong. If any service was prepared for these results, it ought to have been our own, for they knew well that the Castle of Burgos, which was a mere earth-work like the Arab Tabia, with a garrison of only 2000 men, defeated as fine an English army as ever took the field; while the regular fortifications of Ciudad Rodrigo, of Badajoz, and San Sebastian fell inevitably before the attack of the same men.

The result of all this experience on our engineers has been, that after the siege of Silistria was raised, and Bomarsund had fallen, they came to Parliament for increased estimates to erect masonry towers *à la Bomarsund* along our coasts, choosing especially places where the water was deepest close in shore, and where they were most completely commanded from the high lands behind; and, as is usually the case, the House of Commons passed these estimates without asking a single question.

So rapid has been the course of events, that the importance of these sieges is overlooked, and their memory lost in the all-

absorbing interest which now attaches to the siege of Sebastopol. Nor is this to be wondered at; for whether we regard it in a political point of view, or merely for the scientific results that have already been obtained, it is unsurpassed in interest by any siege in modern times.

The two technical questions which immediately present themselves, are not even now easy of solution. Should the attack have been made on the north or on the south side of the town? or should an assault have been attempted when the Allies first appeared before the place?

Before attempting to answer either of these it will be necessary to look at the position of the place a little more in detail, and to study the defences of the place from the Russian point of view. For this, ample materials existed in the surveys published before the war broke out; and as the Russians had been studying the question of the defence of Sebastopol for more than half a century, and had lavished enormous sums of money in its solution, besides consulting engineers of all countries, and employing all the talent their own armies afforded, they had probably arrived at an approximate solution of the true mode of conducting its defence. Very little reliance can be placed on the numerous ephemeral plans and publications brought out in this country, with the exception of Major Biddulph's excellent *Topographical Sketches*, which we strongly recommend to the notice of our readers for their great clearness and accuracy.

It is evident that the Russians considered the entrance of the harbour by far the most vulnerable point, though it is by nature as easily defensible as almost any harbour in Europe. There are a number of small promontories projecting into it at convenient distances for batteries, and not further than a thousand yards distant from one another across the harbour from north to south. On these promontories the Russians had erected a series of immense casemated forts, mounting guns in two or three tiers, and with others in barbette on their roofs, so that not less than 700 guns could be brought to bear on a fleet attempting the passage, which is a greater number than ever were brought together for such a purpose in any other place in the whole world. But owing to all the guns being in masonry casemates, the Russians seem to have feared that the fleets of the Allies might prove more than a match for even these formidable-looking defences. The lesson taught them at Bomarsund was not thrown away, and they avoided a repetition of the experiment by sinking a portion of their fleet, so as to bar the mouth of the harbour, and booms and other material obstacles have since been added.

Turning from the harbour to the land defences of the place, it does not require to be a great engineer to perceive that the most vulnerable point of the whole place is the high land on the north side of the harbour. An enemy in possession of these heights commands not only the harbour itself but also the town, which is spread before him like the seats of a Greek theatre, as seen from the stage, and he could destroy every building in it with ease. By occupying this position the besieger, virtually cuts off the communication between the town and the country, and interposes himself between the garrison and the base from which alone relief can be expected. It is, in fact, the key of the whole position, and if the place were to be fortified at all, this was the spot which was first to be attended to.

A fort was in consequence erected here, which, as far as can be judged from the plans published, gives a very high idea of the skill of the engineer who designed it. All traditions of the Vauban school are abandoned in its design, and it is also considerably in advance of the so-called Prussian trace. It is, in fact, as nearly a circular fort as any building can be, where the parapets are placed directly upon the revêtements; and parallel to them, and where all the masonry is flanked by a grazing fire. The designer evidently aimed at getting a direct fire in every direction, and avoiding enfilade as much as possible; and although these objects can only be obtained by circular or curvilinear forms, he went as near it as can be done with straight lines: still he felt that he could not escape a slight dead angle in front of each of his four bastions; and he sought to remedy this by placing a large casemated barrack in the rear of each, so as to have a direct fire over the salient angle in that direction, in which it was otherwise deficient. Throwing back the earthen parapet, and rendering it independent of the masonry, would have effected this object far more easily as well as more effectually.

The town, properly so called, lies entirely on the south side of the harbour. The general form is that of a semicircle described with a radius of a mile in extent. This is, however, divided into two quadrants by the Dockyard Creek, running north and south at right angles to the harbour. The dockyard, the arsenal, the hospitals, and all the principal military establishments, are situated on the eastern quadrant, against which the English attack is directed. The western division includes the Tartar town at Akhtiar, which has since been extended into the Russian city of Sebastopol.

When we appeared before the place, the only finished fortification which existed on this side was the Malakoff, or, as it

was then called, the White Tower (a building very much resembling the outlying towers at Bomarsund) which occupied the central and most important position on the eastern quadrant. As it was knocked to pieces by the first day's fire, its name only now remains to designate the earth-works which have grown up around its base.

The only fortification on the western side was a loop-holed wall extending from the harbour to a place behind the cemetery. It does not, however, seem to have been designed so much as a defence for the town, but rather as a retrenchment to prevent a lodgment being made in the Quarantine Fort, in the event of that work being destroyed from the sea, and a landing effected there.

The chance of a serious attack by land on the side of the town was evidently considered as an extremely remote contingency by the Russian engineers. When, however, the one combination took place which could render such an attempt feasible, the allied generals were probably not far mistaken when they thought they had discovered the weak point—the *défaut de la cuirasse*,—and determined to attempt the place from the southern side. Had they assaulted it when they first arrived, there is little doubt but that they could have penetrated into the town and made prisoners of as many of the garrison as could not escape to the north side; but it is very questionable indeed if they could have held it. We had nothing but a few field-guns to oppose to the fire of a fleet which still mounted not less than 500 or 600 heavy guns, and occupied such a position as to bring every portion of the town under their fire, and with the northern shore still in the possession of the enemy, they probably could have pounded us out of the place, and with immense slaughter. Any disaster at that moment might have been fatal to the whole expedition,—any misunderstanding between the two armies; which hardly yet knew each other,—any dispute about plunder,—any panic caused by an unexpected explosion,—might have thrown everything into confusion. We had no *point d'appui* on shore; no commissariat landed; no hospital arrangements; nothing to rally round, and Menschikoff was close at hand with an army still powerful enough to take advantage of any disaster that might occur. The assault might have succeeded, but it was a fearful risk to run, and one for which there did not, at that time, seem to be any justification; for, according to all precedent, an open town ought to have fallen an easy prey to the besiegers, as soon as a first parallel could be armed with a few guns, and a flying sap pushed up to the edge of the houses.

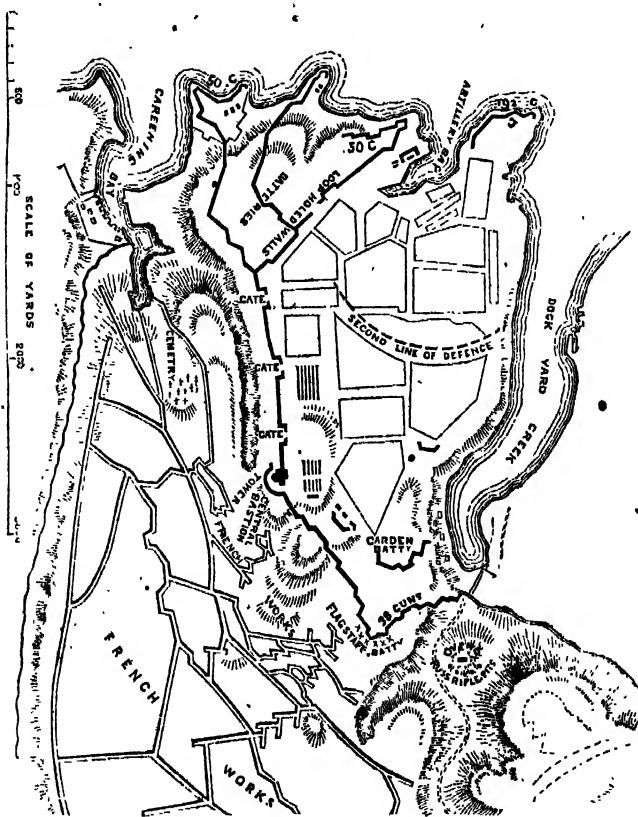
There can be little doubt that this would have been the result if the Russians had entrusted the defence of the place to some venerable General of Engineers, who had passed the prime of his life in the wars of Napoleon I., and had greatly distinguished himself in the construction of redoubts at the Borodino or at Bautsen. In the Russian service, however, a good digestion and consequent length of days is not the only passport to high command and the honours of the service; and they chose for this purpose a very young officer, who had raised himself to distinction entirely by his own merits and the superiority of his genius. Instead of defending the place *selon les règles*, and surrendering it after the prescribed number of days, he at once set to work to put into practice the lessons learnt at Silistria and Bomarsund, of which he had grasped the significance; and determined to try if a little boldness and originality might not enable the place to make a better defence than at first sight seemed possible.

In the middle ages it was the fashion to arm warriors *cap-à-pie* in suits of plate armour of the most elaborate construction. Nothing could be more ingenious than the device—nothing apparently more invulnerable than the man so defended. In process of time, however, it was discovered that this steel-clad warrior was utterly useless for purposes of offence, though tolerably safe so long as he remained wholly on the defensive, or fought only with others encumbered like himself. And it became evident that even a weaker and inferior soldier, if more lightly equipped, could work round him, and, keeping out of his reach, wear him out, and eventually, as it were, sting him to death. Men, in short, learned that the true secret of defence lay in the power of offence; defensive armour was abandoned, and the soldier taught to rely wholly on the bullet and the bayonet for his means of safety. Fortification alone still retained its clumsy plate armour; and from its unwieldy character it was easily worked round and destroyed from a distance by the lightly armed attack, which relied on its power of offence as its only means of victory. Sebastopol is the first town in modern times which has been fortified so as to rely on its means of offence only, with very slight attention being paid to mere defensive armour. It is by applying to fortification the principles universally adopted for the last 200 years in every other department of every army in Europe, that General Todleben has turned the tables on the attack, and opened a new era in the art of war. The Russians seem now to be fully alive to the importance of the discovery that has been made; but so far as can be judged from the pro-

gress of the siege, the Allies do not appear at all aware of its significance.

The battle of the Alma was fought on the 20th of September. On the 28th the Allies took up their position on the heights commanding the south side of the city, and immediately commenced their first parallel. The Russians commenced their defensive works at the same time, and, working on the inner and smaller circle, were ready as soon as the invaders, though their works were necessarily of a more important character than those of the attack.

As before explained, a parallel of attack is a ditch about four

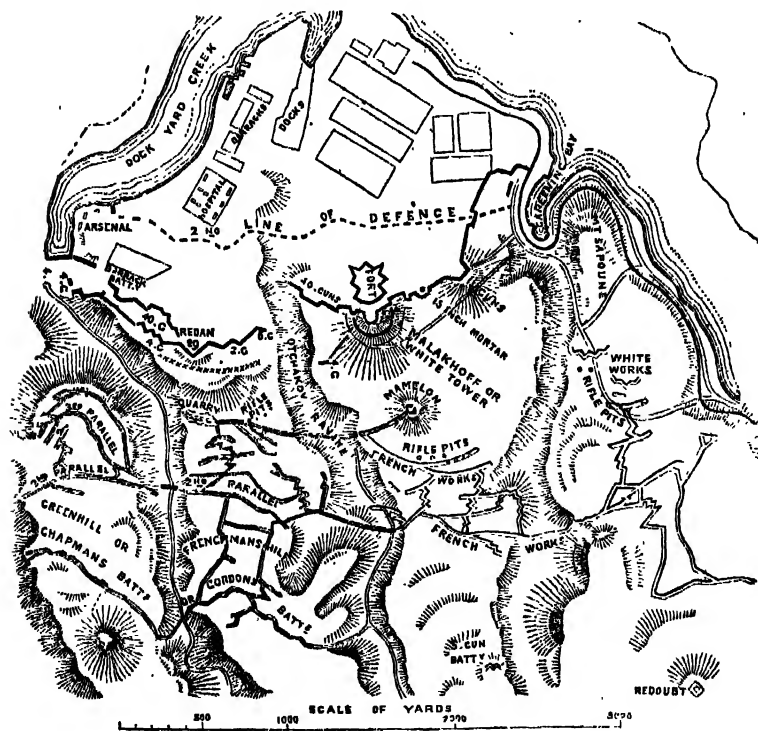


MAP OF WESTERN HALF OF SEBASTOPOL.

feet deep, with the earth thrown up on the side towards the city. In a parallel of defence, on the contrary, the ditch is placed outside and the earth thrown up inwards. To obtain the same amount

of cover, the ditch in this case should not be less than eight feet deep, and the rampart as high. It should also be provided with flanks, which are never employed in aggressive parallels. If the place is small, these flanks are a great drawback to the power of a fort, as limiting the amount of direct fire; in a place the size of Sebastopol, it is of less consequence, as there then is sufficient space independent of them to mount almost any number of guns which may be required. If there is leisure, and the town is fortified in time of peace, it would of course be better that the ditch should be deeper, and that a loop-holed wall, or some such defensive expedient, should be placed in it, and the flanking expedients hidden there also; but in the present instance this was out of the question. The engineer could not act otherwise than he did.

On the western or French side the vulnerable point was



MAP OF EASTERN HALF OF SEBASTOPOL.

just above the Harbour Creek. It was sought to secure this by the Flagstaff Battery, — a work of more faulty trace than

the Redan; but before the works were complete, it was indispensable to secure a flanking defence on this side; and the defects of its form were remedied by the Garden Battery in its rear, possessing a very powerful direct fire over its salient—which has since been further increased by a third line of batteries in its rear. From this front down to the Quarantine Harbour the line is nearly straight, and without much flanking defence; a ravine in front and the houses in its rear rendering this part comparatively secure from assault.

The key of the position of the eastern half of the town was the Malakhoff; and General Todleben's first care was to strengthen this with a great circular earth-work in front of it. All flanking expedients were here abandoned, as a direct fire on the Mamelon was indispensable if we had attempted to seize that point, as we ought to have done, and the tower in the rear was thought to be a sufficient retrenchment to prevent an assault being attempted there. When that was destroyed by our fire, a fort was commenced in its rear which answers the purpose far better; and with a range of rifle-pits in front and another line of defence in its rear, an assault on the town could not be attempted without encountering the obstacles which stopped the armies on the 18th June.

On the other side of the ravine, towards the Dockyard Creek, is the Redan, a work of more questionable design, and more like an inspiration of the bastion school. It is not, however, so bad as at first sight appears, as the prolongations of its faces fall into ravines, where batteries cannot be established; and before the whole system was completed it was desirable to have a flanking fire over the ground in front. Its defects in trace are now amply made up for by the batteries established on either flank. These now mount from fifty to sixty guns in positions which cannot be enfiladed, and where they look directly towards the attack.

There was nothing very original either in the plan or principle of these works—nothing that distinguished them from those of Burgos and other places where they were equally successful. Their design was characterised by singular skill in adapting them to the ground on which they were to be placed, and by most consummate judgment as to the time in which they were erected, and at which they were indispensable to save the place. The originality consisted in the way they were armed,—being made to carry a heavier amount of artillery than had ever before been employed for such a purpose.

For this the situation of Sebastopol was eminently favourable. The guns were probably taken out of the ships which were

sunk at the mouth of the harbour. If it were so, this would have supplied 1000 guns. Their shot and powder almost certainly were saved. The arsenal cannot itself have contained less than 2000 or 3000 guns. We never keep less than from 4000 or 5000 at Portsmouth or Devonport, and generally about 24,000 at Woolwich. So that we may safely calculate on Russia having some 3000 or 4000 in her great southern arsenal. Even in the last bombardment we could not put more than 300 or 400 guns into position; so that Russia could have fought us on equal terms and renewed the fight ten times over. Shot is easily manufactured, and powder was constantly brought up from the rear, so that the supply of *matériel* was practically unlimited.

Our engineers seem to have believed that they understood the defensive properties of such works, though even in this they were probably mistaken; but they were totally unprepared for such an application of them. The consequence was that the French opened their first parallel precisely as they did at Antwerp, in 1833, or would have done against any bastioned fort. The distance was the prescribed 600 metres, the profile that which is found in books. The armament exactly what we are taught it should be, and placed on the prolongations of the Flagstaff Bastion. When all was complete, they opened their fire on the 17th of October; and great was their astonishment at the result. For the first time in modern warfare, the boast of Montalembert was realised,—the first parallel was pulverised. Their embrasures were torn to pieces, their guns dismounted, their parapets pierced, and their magazines blown up. To use an expressive, though vulgar phrase, they were snuffed out, and forced to withdraw from the combat.

The English fared better on this eventful day; for having placed their batteries at the safe distance of from 1200 to 1300 yards from the works, the enemy could do them very little damage; but, on the other hand, they did as little to the Russians. As far as can be judged from the result, it does not seem that the English attack was meant to be more than a diversion to prevent the Russians from accumulating all their power on the French. No one could have expected to do much damage to earth-works or even to masonry at such a distance. As it was, the besieged easily replaced at night the earth that had been disturbed during the day, repaired their embrasures, and replaced any guns that had been damaged, so as to renew the fight again with undiminished vigour in the morning, and the numbers of killed and wounded on either side were insignificant. Had the French succeeded in their attack, this feint of

the English might have been all that was desired. Their failure disconcerted the whole plan, and it would have been well if the commanders had seen this, and *rearranged* their plans accordingly, instead of persevering in what they must have seen could not succeed.

While this was going on on shore the allied fleet stood in, about noon on the memorable 17th of October, to attack the seaward defences of the place. This measure, however, does not appear to have been undertaken with the serious intention or even the hope of destroying them, but more as a feint to take off the attention of the besieged from the land attack, and, like most half measures, it failed and was not worth the loss of men and material that it cost.

Had two or three of the line-of-battle ships gone straight up to the barrier across the harbour, and boldly attacked Fort Constantine, or the Quarantine Battery, within 300 yards, they might possibly have destroyed both these works, and probably without suffering more than they did. As it was, they drew up in a long line across the harbour mouth, outside the reefs, at a distance of from 1200 to 2000 yards from the shore, and fired all the afternoon without doing or receiving much damage, and they were thus exposed to the coast batteries and the guns in earth-works along the cliffs, which they could not touch, though their fire told with dreadful effect on some of our ships that stood in nearer than the rest.

There was nothing in this sea-fight that tended much towards a solution of the long-mooted dispute of stone walls against wooden ones. The *Agamemnon's* experience bears perhaps most directly upon it. She stood in almost alone to within about 800 yards from Fort Constantine, and continued there firing broadsides for more than six hours, under the fire probably of a larger number of guns than she herself bore, and she came out of the contest neither crippled nor defeated, and most probably having done more damage to the fort than the fort had done to her.

While the useless bombardment of the town was going on, the course of the siege was diversified by the two important battles of Balaklava and Inkermann, neither of which, it appears, would have taken place but for the blunders of our engineering department. If one thing was from the first more evident than another it was, that the English army had undertaken a task which was beyond their strength numerically. It was almost physically impossible that they should carry on an important siege with only 25,000 men, and at the same time defend Balaklava and the long line of heights from that place to Inkermann, besides bringing up all their stores and supplies

from a place six or seven miles in their rear. All this was apparent to every one; but in the face of these facts the engineers commenced an immense entrenched camp in front of Balaklava, as if they had 20,000 or 30,000 men to spare to defend it. The town itself was already defended by a circle of lines described with a mile radius, and therefore as extensive as those of Sebastopol itself; but they commenced on a two and a half mile radius to construct a series of redoubts in front of the place, though for what purpose has never been explained. The ground offered no facilities for defence; the profile of the works was such, that cavalry could ride over them; no flanking expedients were resorted to; and they were too small to contain anything like an imposing garrison. With 1000 men in each, and 10,000 or 20,000 in the rear, they might have been of use. But all we could afford were 200 Turks, and a few sailors and artillerymen. The Turks were raw recruits, fighting in a foreign country under the orders of men who did not understand their language, and whose every act was an offence to their prejudices. The bait was too tempting to be resisted. Liprandi crossed the Tchernaya, and pounced on these devoted troops. They held their posts longer than they ought to have done, but at last fled, and were cut down by the Russian cavalry before they could reach their supports.

Immense was the obloquy heaped on these poor fellows for their conduct on this occasion, and the prestige of the Turks for a time was lost; but if blame were fairly appropriated, the whole of it should on this occasion be thrown on those officers who placed men in a position where their services were useless, and their destruction inevitable. The attempt to retake the captured guns by sending 700 light cavalry to charge 20,000 men in position was a less mistake than the first, and was redeemed by the heroic brilliancy with which it was executed. Had half the labour been spent in fortifying the gorges of Inkermann that had been thrown away on these redoubts at Balaklava, the battle of the 5th of November would probably never have been fought. The Russians, however, seem always to have been keenly alive to the deficiencies of our scientific departments, and they watched their opportunity on this occasion with consummate skill. They saw that the very key of our position was overlooked and neglected; and they planned their attack with such secrecy, that had it been executed as designed nothing could have saved us. As it was, we were completely surprised by their approach, and at nine o'clock on that eventful morning the fate of the allied armies hung on the slenderest thread; had the Russians been able to penetrate

a hundred yards further, and deploy their superior forces on the plateau, they could have marched over our thin and decimated ranks; and if defeated in front, with the town in our flank, nothing could have saved our being driven into the sea. The lines of Balaklava were not closed in the rear, not a sod had been turned in front of Kamiesch Bay, and there was not a rallying point in the whole plateau where even 1000 men could make a stand. We were saved, however, partly by the mistake of General Soimonoff, who mistook his orders, and lost his way, but far more by the indomitable heroism of our own troops, who, though surprised and surrounded, defended themselves with a constancy and courage which has seldom been equalled, and probably never surpassed, in the annals of war.* With the 5th of November ended the first act in this great drama. Hitherto we had nothing to regret. The mistakes were not greater than probably happen in all past wars, and they had been nobly redeemed.

When the battle of Inkermann was fought, the bombardment had continued for nearly three weeks without doing any damage to the enemy's works, which were, in fact, stronger than the day our fire commenced, and their armament becoming more and more formidable, and the inner defences of the town had so far been completed that it was evident that an assault was becoming daily less practicable. It was, in fact, certain that we had not

* One of the principal causes that rendered the issue of the struggle at Inkermann so long doubtful was the immense superiority of the Russian artillery, both in number of guns and the weight of the balls they threw; and it was only towards the end of the day that Colonel Dickson, by unheard-of exertion, was able to bring up two 18-pounders, which restored the fortunes of the day.

It might seem strange that the most mechanical nation in Europe should be so deficient in this respect; but it arises wholly from the obstructiveness of the scientific departments. It has been proved over and over again to demonstration by civilians, that there is no argument which applies to the use of wrought iron for muskets and fowling-pieces which does not apply to field guns; and it would be just as rational to substitute brass blunderbusses for the Minié rifle as to arm our artillery with the useless pieces they now have. With the same weight of draught we might have entered on the war with no pieces of less calibre than a 12-pounder, and with batteries of 18 and 24-pounders, if we chose.

It is a curious illustration of the system, that while at Woolwich they declare it impossible to forge a 9-pounder iron gun, the Minister-at-War orders 360-pounder guns to be forged at Manchester,—the one being probably as far below, as the other is at present above, the mechanical resources of the day,

the means of taking the town then, and there was no reasonable prospect of our being able to do so during the winter months. It was, indeed, admitted that we must winter on the spot, and wait the return of fine weather to resume active operations.

Under these circumstances the obvious policy was to remain on the defensive. The more advanced parallel of attack ought at once to have been turned into a defensive parallel by putting its ditch outside, and providing it with flanks; and shelter ought to have been constructed in its immediate rear for the guard of the trenches. The lines of Balaklava ought to have been closed in the rear, and Kamiesch Bay fortified. If these precautions had been taken, not an inch of ground would have been lost, and the army might have wintered in security, and guarded their position without fatigue or exposure. This would also have left leisure for the repair of roads, the construction of huts, the establishment of depôts, and all those indispensable measures which were necessarily neglected from the want of men; and more than this, it would have allowed time for the reorganisation of departments, and the reformation of details,—all of which were impossible while every man in the camp, from the chief of the staff to the drummer boys, were worked beyond the power of human endurance. A different policy was adopted, and one half the army was sacrificed to the obstinacy with which it was persevered in. The front of our trenches was always left open to the sorties of the garrison, and guards were required which it was far beyond the strength of our army to supply; while the works were pushed forward with a recklessness which was fatal to the men employed in them. Had it been that our engineers had discovered that the distance of 1200 yards, at which their first batteries were placed, was too far off to do any damage, there might be some excuse for seeking a more advanced position in which to place them before attempting further operations against the place. But when the fire opened again on the 6th of April, it was from the identical batteries from which it was thrown on the 17th of October. All we had gained at the expense of such suffering and misery, and by the loss of so many brave men, was, that on our left the saps had been pushed forward to within 600 yards of the enemies' works, but at the edge of a ravine, beyond which further progress in that direction was impossible. On our right very little progress had been made; and although in the centre we had advanced some 400 or 500 yards, we could not prevent the Russians from occupying the Mamelon, 650 yards in advance of their original lines, and within about 400 of our most advanced trenches.

During the winter the French had covered the whole ground in front of the lines they were attacking with a network of parallels, and advanced them to within about 200 yards of the Russian works. But it is still questionable whether it was worth their while to do this. If they could subdue the fire of the place, they could as easily have done this in three weeks as in six months; and if they cannot subdue the fire of the place, they are hardly more advanced towards taking the place than they were.

Such was nearly the position of matters, when, on the 6th of April, the second great bombardment of Sebastopol took place. On this occasion the armament of our batteries was, as nearly as can be ascertained, as follows:—

	Guns.				Mortars.	
	24-pdrs.	32-pdrs.	10-in.	8-in.	10-in.	13-in.
Left Attack -	23	24	2	9	7	10
Right Attack -	4	19	4	9	24	7
	27	43	6	18	31	17

or 94 guns and 48 mortars.

It is not known what the armament of the French batteries consisted of; but, assuming it to be about the same, we may assert that in round numbers the fire commenced from 200 guns and 100 mortars, throwing a heavier weight of metal than ever was thrown by a siege train since the invention of gunpowder. The batteries opened at daybreak, each gun firing about 120 or 140 rounds per day, and was continued without interruption for about ten days, though at the end of that time it was reduced to about 100 rounds per day; it afterwards fell off to 30, and at last ceased almost entirely.

The Russians were at first taken by surprise, but soon replied vigorously, and continued to fight us on at least equal terms during the whole time. Sometimes they did not fire a gun for hours together, and then again their fire flared up as if they had suddenly awakened from a trance; but they did us as little damage as we did them; and it is by no means clear that the better policy for them would not have been to close their embrasures, to withdraw all their guns, except those for defensive purposes, and let us waste our shot and shell on their invulnerable ramparts.

The result of this stupendous operation was absolutely nothing. It is true we occasionally gained a superiority of fire over the Redan, the Mamelon, and the Flagstaff batteries, for the simple and obvious reason that these works partook more or less of the bastion trace, and though they could not be exactly enfiladed, they were opposed to a cross raking fire which was very destructive. The truth is they ought never to have been armed for offence, but used merely for defensive purposes; still we never silenced even these, and at the end of the combat they were repaired and rearmed, and were as efficient as before. On the other hand, we never silenced nor gained any superiority of fire over those works which directly faced ours, and whose guns could only be attacked by direct fire.

It was an experiment on the largest scale, and proved beyond all cavil the proposition for which Mr. Fergusson contended so earnestly in his published works, and at the United Service Institution in 1853, — that when the guns of a fort are equal in number to those of the attack, and are placed behind earthen parapets facing the attack, they cannot be silenced by the besieger; and as he has further shown how every fort can easily be made to mount twice the number of guns that can be brought against it, this part of the problem may be considered as solved. It remains to be seen whether places can be taken without this hitherto indispensable preliminary. During the fire we were not able to seize a single position, to destroy a single work, nor to advance the sap beyond the snail's pace at which it had been creeping for months past; and it now remains to be seen what science can do to restore to the attack its vaunted superiority over the art of defence.

With this great bombardment ends the second, and let us hope the only tragic act, as far as we are concerned, in the siege of Sebastopol. The third opened more brilliantly, though it is somewhat hazardous to predicate on results while the action is still pending. The bombardment of April had so little effect, either in terrifying the Russians or in depriving them of their means of defence, that on the 20th of May they commenced a new work of counter-approach against the extreme left of the French, just above the Cemetery, at the head of the Quarantine Harbour. Had they been allowed to complete this *place d'armes* as the French despatches call it, they would have been able to take the more advanced parallels of the besiegers in reverse, and to prevent further approach on this side. This was perceived by General Pelissier, and an attack was ordered on the night of the 22nd of May, the intention, of course, being, not only to destroy

the Russian work, but to turn it into an advanced parallel against the town. The defence was, however, conducted with such obstinacy, and by so large a body of the garrison, that although the French remained masters of the field, they were obliged to retire before the day broke to prevent their being exposed to the fire from the ramparts, which they could not have withstood, as they had been able to do nothing during the night towards covering themselves. As soon as it was dark the attack was renewed on the following night, when the garrison, dismayed by the carnage of the preceding night, and finding it impossible to maintain themselves in an unfinished work, gave up the contest, after a very slight resistance, and the French established themselves securely on the contested ground.

From this time till the 6th of June nothing of importance was undertaken by the Allies against the works of the place, but on the afternoon of that day the bombardment recommenced for the third time, but on this occasion from even a more powerful artillery and with greater vigour than before. The English seem to have had 157 guns and mortars in position. The French not very much less than twice that number, and they seem to have fired for twenty-eight hours as rapidly as they could with safety. At six o'clock on the evening of the 7th, large bodies of the French advanced against the Mamelon, and rushing over its ruined parapets a hand-to-hand fight commenced, and was continued with varied success till the larger body of the assailants drove out the garrison, and the fight was transferred to the gorge in front of the Malakoff Tower, where it raged nearly all the night long. At times the French penetrated almost to the Malakoff, but were as often repulsed; by daybreak, however, they had fairly established themselves in the Mamelon and the adjoining works, and had captured sixty-two guns which were found in position there. While this was going on the English attacked the Quarries, which had been occupied by the Russians as an advanced parallel in front of the Redan, and after a most obstinate and sanguinary fight they too maintained their ground, and the morning found them in undisputed possession of the contested works. The redoubts on Mount Sapoune, on the other side of the Careening Bay, were also attacked by the French and evacuated during the night, being in fact untenable after the Mamelon had fallen.

By these two operations of the 23rd of May and 7th of June, the Allies obtained possession of all the works of counter-approach which the Russians had erected outside their original lines after our bombardment of the 17th of October. In front of the eastern quadrant of the town the Allies are now esta-

blished within 500 yards of the real defences of the place, and on the western side the French have completed their third parallel everywhere within 200 yards of the place, and on some points much nearer. The French are, in fact, now where they ought to have been within a fortnight or three weeks of opening trenches, and would have been had they been acting against a bastioned fortress. The English are now where they ought to have been on the 17th of October, and probably would have been had they dreamed of such a resistance as has taken place. In no instance, however, have the original works been attacked by our troops or seriously damaged by our fire; they are, on the contrary, far stronger and more perfect than they were when the first bombardment terminated in November last, and the town is no doubt full of defensive expedients which were not then thought of. Such was the state of the siege when the attack of the 18th June was directed against the Malakhoff Tower and the Redan, and the allied armies underwent the first serious check they have sustained. Our limits forbid us to enter into a detailed examination of the misfortunes and errors of that eventful day; but if any further proof were needed of the principles of fortification for which we are here contending, it will be found in the terrific fire and the unflinching defence of the Russian garrison on that occasion.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, there seems little reason to doubt of the successful termination of this great enterprise. Our forces are four times more numerous than they were when we undertook the siege. Our artillery has increased in even a greater proportion, and the experience of the winter campaign has added immensely to the efficiency of every department of our armies. On the other hand, the Russians must be dispirited by their recent continual defeats, and crippled by our successes in the Sea of Azoff; and mere field-works cannot for ever resist such an overwhelming power as is now brought against them. But whether the place fall to-morrow, or still resist some time longer, the scientific question as far as the art of fortification is concerned, may be considered as settled. For it has been proved beyond a doubt that an abundant supply of guns placed on earth-works may restore the superiority of the defence over the attack. It is true the siege has been conducted under somewhat anomalous circumstances, the town never having been invested; but that advantage was far more than counter-balanced by the fact of its fortifications having been commenced after we established ourselves before the place, and under every disadvantage that could almost have been conceived; had they been carefully prepared on the same principles in time of peace,

we should not even now be cheered by the hope of a successful termination of this great siege.

There is one other point connected with this subject on which it might be desirable to dwell at some length. Our space will not allow us to do more than allude to it. It is the question as to how far we are prepared to avail ourselves of all this knowledge, and to reap the benefits of the experience we have purchased at the expense of so much blood and treasure. Let us hope that something may be done to raise military engineering to the same level which the sister art of civil engineering occupies in this country. The improvement of the art of Fortification must not, however, be considered as a mere question of departmental or of administrative reform. It is, in fact, one of the greatest questions of the day; and, to smaller States at least, certainly the most important.

There does not appear to be any other science from the cultivation of which political results can be obtained either so important or so beneficial to mankind as from this; and if the experience of these sieges has rendered war more difficult and peace more secure, we shall have no cause to regret either the expense or the difficulties of the recent campaigns; but it can only be so if we are prepared to abandon the absurdities of routine, and to learn the wisdom of the age, regardless of the quarter from which the lesson may be forced upon us.

ART. IX. — *A Memoir of the Reverend Sydney Smith.* By his Daughter, LADY HOLLAND. With Selections from his Letters. Edited by Mrs. AUSTIN. In 2 vols. London: 1855.

THE publication of this book affords us the opportunity for which we have been anxiously watching, and which we must ere long have found or made for ourselves, had it not presented itself. We should be guilty of an unpardonable neglect of duty were we to allow Sydney Smith to be permanently placed amongst the illustrious band of English worthies in the Temple of Fame, at the risk of seeing too low a pedestal assigned to him, without urging on the attention of contemporaries, and recording for the instruction of posterity, his claims to rank as a great public benefactor, as well as his admitted superiority in what we must make bold to call his incidental and subordinate character of a 'wit.' It was in this Journal that he commenced his brilliant and eminently useful career as a social;

moral, and political reformer. He persevered in that career through good and evil report, with unabated vigour and vivacity, both in writing and conversation, until the greater part of his original objects had been attained; and the simplest recapitulation of these would be sufficient to show that his countrymen have durable benefits and solid services, as well as pleasant thoughts and lively images, to thank him for. With, perhaps, the single exception of Lord Brougham, no one man within living memory has done more to promote the improvement and well-being of mankind, by waging continual war, with pen and tongue, against ignorance and prejudice in all their modifications and varieties; nor should it be forgotten, that although he wielded weapons very like those which had been employed in the immediately preceding age to undermine law, order and religion, his exquisite humour was uniformly exerted on the side of justice, virtue, and rational freedom. Indeed, it would hardly have been possible to pervert or misapply so rare and distinctive a gift, being, as it notoriously was, the intense expression, the flower, the cream, the quintessence, of reason and good sense. We will not say that, like Goldsmith, he adorned everything he touched, but he compelled everything he touched to appear in its natural shape and genuine colours. In his hands the logical process called the *reductio ad absurdum* operated like the spear of Ithuriel. No form of sophistry or phase of bigotry could help throwing off its disguise at his approach; and the dogma which has been deemed questionable touching ridicule in general, may be confidently predicated of *his*, namely, that it was literally and emphatically the test of truth.

‘Sydney Smith’s Life: he who opens this book under the expectation of reading in it curious adventures, important transactions, or public events, had better close the volume, for none of these things will he find therein.’

So stands the first sentence of Lady Holland’s preface, and such an announcement at starting must be admitted to be the reverse of a temptation or a lure.

‘Nothing,’ she proceeds, ‘can be more thoroughly private and eventless than the narrative I am about to give; yet I feel myself, and I have reason to believe there are many who will feel with me, that this Life is not, therefore, uninteresting or unimportant; for, though circumstances over which my father had no control forbade his taking that active share in the affairs of his country, for which his talents and his character so eminently fitted him, yet neither circumstances nor power could suppress these talents, or subdue and enfeeble that character; and I believe I may assert, without danger of contradiction, that by them, and the use he has

made of them, he has earned for himself a place amongst the great men of his time and country.

‘Such being the case, however, his talents, and the employment of them, are alone before the world. This is but half the picture, and I believe few who have known so much do not wish to know more.’

‘The mode of life, the heart, the habits, the thoughts and feelings, the conversation, the home, the occupations of such a man,—all, in short, which can give life and reality to the picture,—are as yet wanting; and it is to endeavour to supply this want that I have ventured to undertake this task.’

The task was a labour of love, and, like almost all such labours, it has been efficiently as well as conscientiously performed. This monument erected by filial piety to our revered and lamented friend’s memory, will at once compel unhesitating and universal assent to what might otherwise be thought an exaggerated estimate of his genius and his worth. It was a theory of Lavater that we insensibly contract a certain degree of physical resemblance, especially as regards expression, to those with whom we live much in domestic intimacy. Be this as it may, there can be little doubt that a master mind exercises a powerful influence on the feelings, understandings, and modes of thought of those who are brought into hourly contact with it through a series of years. When the head of a family, besides bearing the indelible stamp of intellectual superiority, is of a genial, affectionate, and communicative disposition, the other members commonly contract a habit of looking at objects from the same point of view or through the same medium, adopt similar models of excellence, and square their conduct by analogous standards of propriety. It is upon this principle that we account for what, under the circumstances, may be termed the fortunate agreement of tone, taste, and turn of mind between Sydney Smith and his biographer. No one but an admiring, sympathising, and cordially co-operating daughter, or helpmate, could or would have supplied the most suggestive, illustrative, and consequently most valuable portions of the work; those, for example, descriptive of the Parsonage of Foston, his house, his furniture, his equipages, his establishment, and his way of life there. The earnestness and singleness of purpose with which these passages are written, actually impart some of the paternal force and colouring to the language, thereby compensating for the occasional negligence of the composition and a want of polish in the style.

Mrs. Austin, who has edited the second volume containing a selection from the Letters, was also well qualified by a friendship of many years, by reciprocated esteem, and by intellectual

accomplishments, to form a just and adequate conception of her undertaking. She has executed it, as might have been anticipated, with irreproachable discretion and discrimination; and altogether, although it may sound strange that the delineation of a character so essentially masculine as Sydney Smith's should have been reserved for female pens, we believe that any disappointment which may be felt after a patient perusal of these volumes, will be mainly attributable to incorrect and illusory notions of the scope and capabilities of such a biography. The life of a writer, or artist, is in his works. Their original charm and influence cannot be reproduced by any vividness of description or eloquence of narrative: the excitement of surprise or novelty is unattainable; and the utmost that can reasonably be expected from a Memoir like the one before us, is that it shall revive agreeable reminiscences, awaken elevating associations, stimulate honourable ambition, supply fresh beacons for our guidance, and enable us, for the edification of the living, to arrive at a just estimate of the merits and demerits of the dead.

The leading incidents of Sydney Smith's career are soon told, and a brief summary of these will form a natural and necessary introduction to the remarks which we propose to make upon them.

So long as mankind shall continue to attach importance to ancestral distinctions, it will be an idle affectation to depreciate them; and many enlightened men, famous for their superiority to popular weaknesses and vulgar errors, have endeavoured to defend the pride of birth on philosophical grounds. 'A lively desire of knowing and recording our ancestors,' says Gibbon, 'so generally prevails, that it must depend on some common principle in the minds of men.' In the same spirit of candour, Bishop Watson has observed, — 'Without entering into a disquisition concerning the rise of this general prejudice, I freely own that I am a slave to it myself.' Sydney Smith had none of it. He once laughingly declared, in reference to the somewhat laboured attempt of the author of 'Waverley' to establish a pedigree, 'when Lady L—— asked me about my grandfather, I told her he disappeared about the time of the Assizes, and we asked no questions.' This, we need hardly say, was a jocular fabrication; for his descent, without being noble, was respectable on the side of each parent, and Lady Holland, unappalled by Sir David Brewster's authority, still retains hopes of being able to claim Sir Isaac Newton for an ancestor. Her account of her paternal grandfather, Mr. Robert Smith, is that 'he was very clever, odd by nature, but still more odd by design;

‘ and that (having first married a beautiful girl, from whom he parted at the church door) he spent all the early part of his life partly in wandering over the world for many years, and partly in diminishing his fortune, by buying, altering, spoiling, and then selling about nineteen different places in England.’ The beautiful girl was Miss Ollier, or d’Olier, the youngest daughter of a Languedoc emigrant for conscience sake. She was the mother of the four Smiths, Robert (Bobus), Cecil, Courtenay, and Sydney, and we are requested to believe that all the finest qualities of their minds were derived from her. If the fact were so, it confirms a theory as to the descent of genius in the maternal line, which has been based on the examples of Schiller, Goethe, the Schlegers, Curran, Canning, and Lord Brougham.

The talents of the Smiths for controversy must have been singularly precocious, for the tradition goes that, before they were old enough for school, they might be seen ‘ neglecting games, and often lying on the floor, stretched over their books, and discussing with loud voice and most vehement gesticulation, every point that arose.’ Robert and Cecil were sent to Eton, Courtenay and Sydney to Winchester, where Sydney rose in due time to be captain of the school. Such was his own and his brother’s proficiency that their schoolfellows signed a round-robin refusing to compete for the college prizes, if the Smiths, who always gained them, were allowed to enter the lists. He used to say, ‘ I believe whilst a boy at school, I made above ten thousand Latin verses, and no man in his senses would dream in after-life of ever making another. So much for life and time wasted.’ There is another current remark attributed to him, that a false quantity at the commencement of the career of a young man intended for public life was rarely got over; and when a lady asked him what a false quantity was, he explained it to be in a man the same as a *faux pas* in a woman.

On leaving Winchester, he was placed for six months at Mont Villiers, in Normandy, to perfect his knowledge of French, and he then went to New College, Oxford, where nothing remarkable is recorded of him, except that he obtained, by virtue of his Winchester honours, first a scholarship, and then a fellowship, yielding about 100*l.* a year. No sooner was this limited provision secured, than his father abandoned him to his own resources, which were insufficient, he thought, to justify him in studying for the profession of his choice—the Bar. So, after being within an ace of going out as supercargo to China, he reluctantly made up his mind to enter the Church.

This determination is doubtless to be regretted for his own sake. Besides possessing the talents which are commonly

deemed sufficient to insure forensic success, such as acuteness, readiness, boldness, an intuitive knowledge of the springs of action, dialectic skill, and command of language, he was pre-eminently endowed with the no less indispensable requisites of patience and perseverance.* He would have bided his time. He would neither have been disheartened by neglect, nor have sunk under the sickness of hope deferred, nor have been turped aside by political, social, or literary aspirations, nor have dropped out of the race because he was disgusted with the jockeyship, or annoyed by the heat, dust, and clamour of the course. He might have turned out a *Scarlett* at *Nisi Prius*, and an *Ellenborough* on the Bench. He would also have been spared the sarcasms, galling though ill-founded, so repeatedly levelled at him for trifling with his sacred vocation, for which, in sober seriousness, he entertained the profoundest reverence. But if he had devoted all his energies to the Law—proverbially a jealous mistress—he must have given up to a profession what was meant for mankind; and the world would have lost incalculably by the change. When it is asked why he did not do what would be done by most aspiring young men similarly situated in our day,—why he did not trust to his pen for supplying the required funds in aid of the income from his fellowship, the obvious answer is, that sixty years since, reviews and magazines stood on a widely different footing. Their rate of pay to contributors was scanty in the extreme. They were mostly got up for the booksellers by the regular denizens of Grub Street, and a Fellow of New College could hardly have been accused of undue fastidiousness, if he had dismissed at once, assuming it to have occurred to him, the notion of being enrolled in such a troop. Amongst other good effects universally admitted to have resulted from the establishment of this Journal, must be ranked the triumphant vindication of the dignity of our craft. So signal has been our success in this respect, that people find it difficult to imagine a period when it was a moot point in the minor morals, whether a gentleman could receive pecuniary remuneration for an article. Swift quarrelled with Harley for offering to pay him in hard cash for his literary aid in the ‘*Examiner*.’ Lord Jeffrey was visited with misgivings which were not overcome without a struggle. In May 1803, he writes:—‘The terms are, as Mr. L. says, without precedent; but the success of the work is not less so.’ . . . All the

* When the late Mr. Chitty was consulted by an anxious father about the qualifications for the bar, he asked, ‘Can your son eat saw-dust without butter?’

'men here will take their — guineas, I find, and under the sanction of that example, I think I may take my Editor's salary also without being supposed to have suffered any degradation.'

We quote from Lord Cockburn's *Life of Jeffrey*, and we learn from the same high authority, that after three numbers of the *Review* had been published on the voluntary principle, it was Sydney Smith himself who suggested that no permanent reliance could be placed in amateurs,—a sagacious hint, which the late Professor Wilson condensed into his well-known maxim,—that 'an unpaid contributor is *ex vi termini* an ass.' But we are anticipating, and we have not yet brought Mr. Smith to the scene of his earliest labours in the grand cause of civil and religious liberty. We must first accompany him to his curacy in Salisbury Plain, where he underwent the most imminent risk of starvation, mental and bodily.

His parish was Netherhaven, near Amesbury, a village consisting of a few scattered farms and cottages: 'once a week a butcher's cart came over from Salisbury; it was then only he could obtain any meat, and he often dined, he said, on a mess of potatoes sprinkled with a little ketchup.' Too poor to command books, his only resource was the squire; and his only relaxation, not being able to keep a horse, long walks over those interminable plains, on one of which he narrowly escaped being buried alive in a snow drift. This dreary existence lasted two years, when the squire, Mr. Beech, took a fancy to him, and engaged him as tutor to his eldest son. 'It was arranged that I and his son should proceed to the University of Weimar, in Saxony. We set out, but before reaching our destination, Germany was disturbed by war, and in stress of politics we put into Edinburgh, where I remained five years.' In 1797, the date of his arrival, this city was in a kind of transition state between two ages or generations, either of which we might be excused for designating as Augustan. David Hume, Adam Smith, and Robertson were the central figures of the former period: Walter Scott, Playfair, Chalmers, and Jeffrey of the later; whilst Mackenzie and Dugald Stewart may be described as connecting links between the two. Or (to apply the beautiful imagery of Burke) before one splendid orb was entirely set, and whilst the horizon was still in a blaze with its descending glory, in an opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and for its hour became lord of the ascendant. Yet little did the survivors of the Robertsonian circle think of the ample compensation that was in store for them, and scornful, probably, or mistrustful was the passing glance which they

cast on the newly discovered stars just beginning to twinkle through the haze.

Besides the indigenous celebrities which, about the end of the last century, the modern Athens was breeding up for her own local attraction and illustration, she had become the chosen resort of several young Englishmen who have since done honour to their training, and proved a source of becoming pride to their nursing mother. Lord Lansdowne, Lord Webb Scymour, Francis Horner, and Lord Brougham, belonged to this category, and form no unimportant addition to the list of new acquaintances speedily to become valued and lifelong friends, amongst whom Sydney Smith received a ready welcome during his expatriation in the North. On the whole, therefore, the 'stress of politics' which compelled him to put into Edinburgh, instead of repairing to Weimar and falling under the influence of Goethe or quizzing him, may have been a fortunate occurrence. 'There's a divinity that shapes our ends,' and we are by no means sure that even the solitary confinement of the curacy was time wasted in the long run. Clever and lively companions must have afforded useful instruction for the critic and capital practice for the controversialist, but, as regards the development of his thinking powers, commend us to the lonely meditations of Salisbury Plain.

The Memoir is singularly meagre of information during his five years' sojourn in Edinburgh; and the earliest letter in the Selection bears the date of 1801, the fourth year after his arrival there. He was in the thirty-first year of his age when this Review was projected. Are we to infer that so active-minded a man, with his laudable aspirations for distinction and his fertility of resource, was content to let his faculties lie fallow during so protracted an interval, or that he found a satisfactory occupation for them in reading with his pupils, or in metaphysical discussions with his friends? An incident told in connexion with his marriage, which took place some time in 1799, rather adds to the mystery, as proving that the spur of straitened means was amongst his other stimulants to extraordinary exertion. Lady Holland tells us that it was lucky her mother, whose maiden name was Pybus, had some fortune, since her father's only tangible and appreciable contribution towards their future *ménage* were six small silver teaspoons, which, from much wear, had become the ghosts of their former selves. One day, in the madness of his joy, he came running into the room and flung these into her lap, saying, 'There, Kate, you lucky girl, I give you all my fortune.' In a letter written long after he had left Edinburgh, he exclaims, 'When shall I see Scot-

‘land again? Never shall I forget the happy days passed there, amidst odious smells, barbarous sounds, bad suppers, excellent hearts, and most enlightened and cultivated understandings.’

He did not take the less kindly to the Scotch on account of their alleged insensibility to humour. ‘It requires,’ he used to say, ‘a surgical operation to get a joke well into a Scotch understanding.’ Charles Lamb stoutly maintained the same doctrine, and we fear that an attempt on our part to dispute it will meet with no better success than the essay of the Edgeworths on Irish Bulls, written to prove that the Irish make no more bulls than other nations, and proving incontestably that they make more than all the other nations of Europe put together. Yet the imputation of insensibility to humour is a curious one to be fixed indelibly on the countrymen of Burns, Walter Scott, Galt, Lockhart, John Wilson, and Henry Cockburn. One of our foibles he was especially fond of rubbing. ‘Their temper,’ he writes, ‘stands anything but an attack on their climate; even the enlightened mind of Jeffrey cannot shake off the illusion that myrtles flourish at Craig Crook. In vain I have represented to him that they are of the genus *Carduus*, and pointed out their prickly peculiarities. He sticks to his myrtle illusions, and treats my attacks with as much contempt as if I had been a wild visionary, who had never breathed his caller air, nor lived and suffered under the rigour of his climate, nor spent five years in discussing metaphysics and medicine in that garret of the earth—that handle-end of England—that land of Calvin, oat-cakes, and sulphur.’

The motto which he proposed for this Journal, and his account of its origin, are too familiar to need repetition. He states that the project emanated from him, and that he edited the first Number. This statement has never been contradicted, and is true in the qualified sense in which he meant it to be understood. He had the principal voice in the selection and arrangement of the articles; but according to the detailed account of the transaction supplied by Jeffrey to Mr. Robert Chambers in 1846, there was no editor, in the modern acceptation of the office, for the first three Numbers. ‘As many of us as could be got to attend used to meet in a dingy room of Willison’s printing-office, in Craig’s Court, where the proofs of our own articles were read over and remarked upon, and attempts were made to sit in judgment on the few manuscripts which were then afforded by strangers. But we had seldom patience to go through with these; it was found necessary to have a responsible editor, and the office was pressed upon me.’ . . . ‘Smith was by far the most timid of the confederacy, and believed that unless

'our incognito was strictly maintained, we could not go on a day; and this was his object for making us hold our dark divans at Willison's office, to which he insisted on our repairing singly, and by back approaches, or by different lanes!' Now that the fame of the band, at least of its leading members, rests upon an imperishable basis, such precautions may well seem superfluous; but without embarking into the wide general question of anonymous writing, we may suggest that Sydney had reason on his side. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*. The only mode of ensuring a fair trial was to remain shrouded in mystery at starting; and if anything could have checked the success of the enterprise, it would have been a notification to the public that a set of briefless barristers, unemployed doctors, embryo statesmen, and mute inglorious orators, with the aid of an ex-curate, were about to electrify the republic of letters and inaugurate a new era in criticism.

Editorial identity differs widely from personal, and after the lapse of more than half a century will be found to resemble that of Sir John Cutler's stockings, which was preserved by a succession of renewals. Sydney Smith's Life could not be written or discussed without revelations which, at an earlier period, might have been both indiscreet and egotistical. We therefore make no apology for the foregoing details, nor for quoting the following account of the phenomena which accompanied our birth and the sensation which it caused:—'It is 'impossible,' remarks Lord Cockburn, 'for those who did not 'live at the time and in the heart of the scene to feel, or almost 'to understand, the impression made by the new luminary, or 'the anxieties with which its motions were observed. It was 'an entire and instant change of everything that the public had 'been accustomed to in that sort of composition. The old periodical opiates were extinguished at once.'* It is also a fact

* Life of Lord Jeffrey, vol. i. p. 131. Considerations of private delicacy were the cause that this excellent work was not duly noticed by us at the time of its first appearance, and that the homage we owe to the memory of Lord Jeffrey was left in some degree unpaid; but all who take an interest in the reputation of this Journal, or in the intellectual eminence of the Scotch metropolis, must be eager to acknowledge the invaluable service rendered by Lord Cockburn as a biographer, and the high gratification which his graphic pages have afforded them. No one was more highly qualified than Lord Cockburn to record the wit, the taste, and the eloquence of the society of Edinburgh during the first half of this century. His whole life was spent in the service of his native country and his native town; and the simple gaiety of his own character enhance the merit of his eminent attainments as an advocate and a judge.

worth noticing, that the first Number, although an apology was offered in the preface for the length of some of the articles, contained twenty-nine, of which seven were from the pen of Sydney Smith—one of these occupying rather less than a page. It professes to be a review of the ‘Anniversary Sermon of the ‘Royal Humane Society,’ by W. Langford, D.D., and runs thus:—

‘An accident, which happened to the gentleman engaged in reviewing this Sermon, proves, in the most striking manner, the importance of this Charity for restoring to life persons in whom the vital power is suspended. He was discovered with Dr. Langford’s Discourse lying open before him, in a state of the most profound sleep; from which he could not, by any means, be awakened for a great length of time. By attending, however, to the rules prescribed by the Humane Society, flinging in the smoke of tobacco, applying hot flannels, and carefully removing the Discourse itself to a great distance, the critic was restored to his disconsolate brothers.

‘The only account he could give of himself was, that he remembers reading on, regularly, till he came to the following pathetic description of a drowned tradesman; beyond which, he recollects nothing. (Here follows an extract.) This extract will suffice for the style of the Sermon. The Charity itself is beyond all praise.’

This is curious both as a specimen of Sydney Smith’s early manner and as illustrating the contrast which such a style of criticism must have presented to what Lord Cockburn disrespectfully terms the ‘old periodical opiates.’

Of course the principal contributors were speedily recognised, and had a mark set against their names by the then dispensers of public honours and emoluments. Their position has been thus vividly portrayed by their clerical associate:—‘From the beginning of the century to the death of Lord Liverpool was an awful period for those who had the misfortune to entertain liberal opinions, and who were too honest to sell them for the ermine of the judge or the lawn of the prelate; a long and hopeless career in your profession—the chuckling grin of noodles—the sarcastic leer of the genuine political rogue—prebendaries, deans, and bishops made over your head—reverend renegades advanced to the highest dignities of the Church for helping to rivet the fetters of Catholic and Protestant Dissenters, and no more chance of a Whig administration than of a thaw in Zembla—these were the penalties exacted for liberality of opinion at that period; and not only was there no pay, but there were many stripes.’ . . . ‘To set on foot such a journal in such times,—to contribute towards it for many years,—to bear patiently the reproach and poverty which it caused, and to look back and see that I have nothing

‘to retract, and no intemperance and violence to reproach myself with, is a career of life which I must think to be extremely fortunate.’ Amongst the subjects which he discussed in our pages with a peculiar view to political or social amelioration, were—Catholic Emancipation; Popular, Professional, and Female Education; Public Schools; University Reform; Church Reform; Methodism; the Game Laws; Spring Guns; Botany Bay; Chimney-Sweepers; Prisons and Prison Discipline; the Poor Laws; Counsel for Prisoners; Indian Missions; Irish Grievances, &c. &c. He not only kept his own contributions free from the revolutionary or democratic tone in politics; and from sceptical tendencies in theological speculation, but amidst all his exuberant jocularity he held close watch over his less guarded associates, and amongst the printed correspondence we find him more than once stating his firm resolve to withdraw from the work if a style of writing which he thought inimical to sound religion were continued. Thus in 1818 he writes to the editor: ‘I must beg the favour of you to be explicit on one point: do you mean to take care that the Review shall not encourage infidel principles? Unless this is the case, I must absolutely give up all thoughts of connecting myself with it.’

On the other hand, he had more than once to defend his guerilla-like inroads into grave subjects, and his dashing onslaughts on respectable bores, against the censures of a whole conclave of serious readers, to whom Jeffrey was prone to listen in his desponding or uncongenial moods. How could Pope venture to lay down as an axiom that ‘Gentle dulness ever loves a joke?’ unless he meant merely that dull people always enjoy their own jokes, which are commonly no laughing matter. Dulness loves nothing that it does not understand, or that startles it, or that ruffles its sense of self-importance. What Pindar said of music, and Coleridge applied to genius, holds equally true of wit or fun: ‘as many as are not delighted by it, are disturbed, perplexed, irritated.’ We are consequently not the least astonished to find Sydney Smith driven to the following defence, even at so advanced a stage of his reputation and authority as 1819—

‘My dear Jeffrey, — You must consider that Edinburgh is a very grave place, and that you live with philosophers who are very intolerant of nonsense. I write for the London, not for the Scotch market, and perhaps more people read my nonsense than your sense. The complaint was loud and universal of the extreme dulness and lengthiness of the “Edinburgh Review.” Too much, I admit, would not do of my style; but the proportion in which it exists enlivens

the "Review," if you appeal to the whole public, and not to the eight or ten grave Scotchmen with whom you live. I am a very ignorant, frivolous, half-inch person; but, such as I am, I am sure I have done your "Review" good, and contributed to bring it into notice. Such as I am, I shall be, and cannot promise to alter. Such is my opinion of the effect of my articles. I differ with you entirely about Lieutenant Heude. To do such things very often would be absurd; to punish a man every now and then for writing a frivolous book is wise and proper; and you would find, if you lived in England, that the review of Lieutenant Heude is talked of and quoted for its fun and impertinence, when graver and abler articles are thumbed over and passed by. Almost any one of the sensible men who write for the "Review" would have written a much wiser and more profound article than I have done upon the Game Laws. I am quite certain nobody would obtain more readers for his essay upon such a subject; and I am equally certain that the principles are *right*, and that there is no lack of sense in it.

'So I judge myself; but, after all, the practical appeal is to you. If you think my assistance of no value, I am too just a man to be angry with you upon that account; but while I write, I must write in my own way.' (Vol. ii. pp. 181-2.)

Sydney Smith ceased to reside in Edinburgh after 1803, and in 1804 we find him settled in Doughty Street, Russell Square, in the midst of a colony of lawyers, the most rising and accomplished of whom, by a natural affinity, were attracted to him. Sir Samuel Romilly, the late Lord Abinger and Sir James Mackintosh were the most distinguished; and amongst other friends, Lady Holland enumerates Dr. Marcet, Mr. Dumont, Mr. Wishaw, Lord Dudley (then Mr. Ward), Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Luttrell, and Mr. Tenant. There was also an old Abbé Dutens, bent on inventing a universal language, who, on Sydney's suggesting a few grammatical difficulties, exclaimed, — 'Oh non, Monsieur, ce sont là des bagatelles! La seule difficulté que je trouve, c'est de faire agir tous les rois de l'Europe au même temps.' The most important of his early social successes was an introduction to Holland House, 'the most formidable ordeal,' says his daughter, 'that a young and obscure man could well go through. He was shy, too, then: yet I believe, in spite of the shyness, they soon discovered and acknowledged his merits, and deemed him no unmeet company for their world. And what a world it was!'

Sydney Smith shy at thirty-three! Theodore Hook also used to complain to his dying day that he had never completely overcome the uncomfortable sensation of entering a room; and an eminent law-lord, the very model of senatorial and judicial eloquence of the composed and dignified order, has been seen to tremble when he rose to address the House of Lords, like a

thorough-bred racer when first brought to the starting post. One obvious solution of this phenomenon is that the delicacy of perception, the exquisite sensibility to impressions, and the impulsiveness, which are essential to humour or eloquence, are almost necessarily accompanied by a certain degree of nervous tremulousness, just as a finely strung harp vibrates at the slightest touch or whenever the faintest breeze passes over it. At all events, leaving the problem to the metaphysicians, we see not the smallest reason for questioning the fact that Sydney Smith did suffer from shyness, although neither comparative poverty nor unequal rank ever shook the perfect independence of his bearing in society. He was fond of drawing a ludicrous and (we suspect) overcharged picture of his distresses as a dinner-out, when, as he said, he could not afford a hackney coach. Balzac's hero, in a similar predicament, carefully picks his way under the terrible apprehension that an unlucky splash may deprive him of his *soirée*, and leave the field open to a wealthier rival. Sydney Smith, according to his own account, used to carry a pair of dress shoes in his pocket, and change them in the hall. 'The servants,' he added, 'stared at me at first, but I made them laugh, and they got used to me.' On hearing of the offence taken by his more fastidious friend Jeffrey, at the appearance of a straw (emblematic of the more humble vehicle) on the carpet of some Mrs. Leohunter, he exclaimed, 'a straw, a solitary straw! why I have been at literary parties where the floor looked like a stubble-field.'

If the fathers of a hundred ruined families could be put to the question or brought to confession, ninety at least of them would own that their primary embarrassments (like those of the Primrose family) arose from the wish to keep up appearances. Vanity would be found to be a more fruitful source of misery than vice. Rochefoucauld strongly inculcates the expediency of learning how to grow old. The art of growing (or of being and seeming) poor is more rarely studied, and more painful to pursue. It was Sydney Smith's constant care to practise and inculcate it. 'He never,' we are assured by his daughter, 'affected to be what he was not; he never concealed the thought, labour, and struggle it often was to him to obtain the simple comforts of life for those he loved: as to its luxuries, he exercised the most rigid self-denial. His favourite motto on such matters was,—"Avoid shame, but do not seek glory—nothing so expensive as glory;" and this he applied to every detail of his establishment. Nothing could be plainer than his table; yet his society often attracted the wealthy to share his single dish.' It is a secret worth knowing in a

luxurious metropolis, that nothing is so attractive to the wealthy as a plain dinner and a small party. The noble proprietor of half-a-dozen princely residences will thank you with an effusion of gratitude for asking him to such a dinner, an occurrence perhaps almost unique in his long life of aristocratic banquetting. 'Better a dinner of herbs, where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith.' Better a dinner off a joint where good conversation is, than turtle and venison, *entrées* and *entremets*, with dulness, pretension and pomposity. Of all the stereotyped delusions of the newspapers, we know few more provoking than their daily announcements that some of the stupidest people in town (naming them) 'entertained' a succession of distinguished guests. It was one of Sydney's own half-serious reflections, that the observances enjoined by the Church were tolerably well kept upon the whole; since the rich kept the feasts and the poor the fasts. But he left out of the account the intellectual fasts to which the richest of the rich submit by way of self-imposed penance for their superfluities. The royal lover of Madame de Pompadour knew better. 'At the *petits soupers* of Choisy,' says Mr. Rogers, 'were first introduced those admirable pieces of mechanism — a table and a sideboard, which descended and rose again covered with viands and wine. And thus the most luxurious court in Europe, after all its boasted refinements, was glad to return at last, by this singular contrivance, to the quiet and privacy of humble life.'

Still, although a good deal of rational enjoyment may be extracted from a scanty income, it does not follow that we should remain poor longer than we can help. One of the most creditable passages Junius ever wrote was his advice to Woodfall: 'Let all your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate, independence; without it no man can be happy, nor even honest.' What can be more touching than the scene in the 'Life of Sheridan,' where

'The orator, dramatist, statesman, who ran
Through each mode of the lyre and was master of all,'

bursts into tears when reproached for some imputed political backsliding, exclaiming, that it was all very well for his noble friends, with their tens, twenties, or fifty thousands a-year, to taunt a man who could never give change for half-a-crown out of his own money in his life. We have heard Sydney Smith revert to this incident, and avow his cordial concurrence in the axiom of a fellow-passenger in a stage-coach, — 'Poverty, sir, is no disgrace to a man, but it's confoundedly inconvenient.'

In his letters he fairly owns that every guinea he was enabled to add to his growing fortune was a gratification to him.

His preaching had been much admired, both at Edinburgh and London; and one of his projects, about 1805, for gaining money was to take the lease of a chapel then occupied by a set of Dissenters called the New Jerusalem, and take the chance of increasing his pew-rents by his popularity. Four years before, he had unfolded his views of what pulpit oratory was, and what it might become without losing any of its indispensable solemnity. ‘The English, generally remarkable for doing very good things in a very bad manner, seem to have reserved the maturity and plenitude of their awkwardness for the pulpit. Is it wonder, then, that every semi-delirious sectary who pours forth his animated nonsense with the genuine look and voice of passion, should gesticulate away the congregation of the most profound and learned divine of the Established Church, *and in two Sundays preach him bare to the very sexton?*’ . . . ‘Why this holoplexia on sacred occasions alone? Why call in the aid of paralysis to piety? Is it a rule of oratory to baffle the style against the subject, and to handle the most sublime truths in the dullest language and the driest manner? *Is sin to be taken from men as Eve was from Adam, by casting them into a deep slumber?*’

It was his wish to enter the field against the semi-delirious sectary; but for this purpose he required a license from the rector of the parish in which the chapel lay, and this was politely but peremptorily declined. Sydney was much annoyed; his family shared his indignation; and his affectionate biographer implies that he was cruelly wronged. ‘I appeal to you again,’ he wrote, addressing the rector, whose name is suppressed, ‘whether anything can be so enormous and unjust as that that privilege should be denied to the ministers of the Church of England, which every man who has folly and presumption enough to differ from it can immediately enjoy.’ He who is his own advocate has a fool for his client, is a sound though homely adage. Its literal application to Sydney Smith, in his most incautious moments, would be preposterous; but it is instructive to mark how a man of his intellectual culture could be blinded by eagerness in the pursuit of a favourite object to the palpable unsoundness of his argument. The essential end and object of a church establishment are to prevent this very description of competition which he claims as the inalienable privilege of its ministers. ‘With what sincerity, or with what dignity,’ asks Paley, ‘can a preacher dispense truths of Christianity, whose thoughts are perpetually solicited to the reflection how

‘ he may increase his subscription? His eloquence, if he possess any, resembles rather the exhibition of a player who is computing the profits of his theatre.’*

‘ The drama’s laws the drama’s patrons give,
And those who live to please must please to live.’

The late lamented Charles Buller, improving on a suggestion of Swift’s, proposed to organise a body of dignitaries and ministers of the Church of England, to be called ‘ The Church ‘ Moveable,’ or ‘ The Clergy Unattached;’ so that whenever the sectaries were gaining ground in any given district, a bishop’s or a dean’s party might be sent down to encounter them, as we despatch a captain’s or subaltern’s party to prevent a political outbreak.* But he did not propose to increase their pay in proportion to the number of Dissenters they led captive. On what ground did Sydney Smith himself propose to settle a State provision on the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland? Was it not in the hope of rendering them independent of their flocks, and of taking away the pecuniary temptation to turbulence?

In 1804, 1805, and 1806 were delivered at the Royal Institution the Lectures first printed for private circulation by Mrs. Sydney Smith in 1849, and subsequently published under the title of ‘ Elementary Sketches of Moral Philosophy.’ They were eminently and deservedly popular. ‘ His success,’ wrote Horner during their delivery, ‘ has been beyond all possible conjecture; from six to eight hundred hearers; not a seat to be procured, even if you go there an hour before the time. Nobody else, to be sure, could have executed such an undertaking with the least chance of success. For who else could make such a mixture of odd paradox, quaint fun, manly sense, liberal opinions and striking language?’ The portions of the series which attracted most attention were the two lectures on ‘ Wit and Humour,’ in which he broached the startling doctrines that ‘ the feeling of wit is occasioned by those relations of ideas which excite surprise, and surprise *alone*,’ and that ‘ a man might sit down as systematically, and as successfully, to the study of wit, as he might to the study of mathematics.’ The peroration of the second of these two lectures is very striking:—

* ‘ *Wagner*. I have often heard say, a player might instruct a priest.’

‘ *Faust*. Yes, when the priest is a player, as may likely enough come to pass occasionally.’

(*Goethe’s Faust*.)

‘ There is an association in men’s minds between dulness and wisdom, amusement and folly, which has a very powerful influence in decision upon character, and is not overcome without considerable difficulty. The reason is, that the *outward* signs of a dull man, and a wise man, are the same, and so are the outward signs of a frivolous man and a witty man; and we are not to expect that the majority will be disposed to look to much *more* than the outward sign. I believe the fact to be, that wit is very seldom the *only* eminent quality which resides in the mind of any man; it is commonly accompanied by many other talents of every description, and ought to be considered as a strong evidence of a fertile and superior understanding. Almost all the great poets, orators, and statesmen of all times, have been witty. Cæsar, Alexander, Aristotle, Descartes, and Lord Bacon, were witty men; so were Cicero, Shakspeare, Demosthenes, Boileau, Pope, Dryden, Fontenelle, Jonson, Waller, Cowley, Solon, Socrates, Dr. Johnson, and almost every man who has made a distinguished figure in the House of Commons . . . The meaning of an extraordinary man is, that he is *eight* men, not one man; that he has as much wit as if he had no sense, and as much sense as if he had no wit; that his conduct is as judicious as if he were the dullest of human beings, and his imagination as brilliant as if he were irretrievably ruined. But when wit is combined with sense and information; when it is softened by benevolence, and restrained by strong principle; when it is in the hands of a man who can use it and despise it, who can be witty, and something much *better* than witty, who loves honour, justice, decency, good-nature, morality, and religion, ten thousand times better than wit;—wit is *then* a beautiful and delightful part of our nature. There is no more interesting spectacle than to see the effects of wit upon the different characters of men; than to observe it expanding caution, relaxing dignity, unfreezing coldness,—teaching age, and care, and pain, to smile,—extorting reluctant gleams of pleasure from melancholy, and charming even the pangs of grief. It is pleasant to observe how it penetrates through the coldness and awkwardness of society, gradually bringing men nearer together, and, like the combined force of wine and oil, giving every man a glad heart and a shining countenance. Genuine and innocent wit like this, is surely the *flavour of the mind*! Man could direct his ways by plain reason, and support his life by tasteless food; but God has given us wit, and flavour, and laughter, and perfumes, to enliven the days of man’s pilgrimage, and to “charm his pained steps over the burning marle.”’

There cannot be a more striking proof of the slenderness of the provision made for the reward or encouragement of intellectual eminence in this country, than the fact that Sydney Smith, with this fullness of reputation, and with his political friends in power, felt compelled to accept the small living of Foston-le-Clay in Yorkshire, which was with some difficulty obtained, through the exertions of Lord and Lady Holland, from the Whig Chan-

cellor, Lord Erskine. Again, however, we maintain, that Sydney's character and reputation have rather gained than suffered by what he felt as a severe infliction at the time. His second or third banishment, with its concomitants, brought out into broad relief the finest points of his understanding and his heart. Buffon somewhere defines or describes genius as a superior aptitude to patience. May not goodness and virtue be resolved into the same element, when an uncongenial course of life is deliberately adopted, and a host of privations and (if you please) petty miseries are knowingly encountered from a genuine and profound sense of duty?—'A diner-out, a wit, and a popular preacher,' to borrow his own graphic picture of his situation, 'I was suddenly caught up by the Archbishop of York, and transported to my living in Yorkshire, where there had not been a resident clergyman for a hundred and fifty years. Fresh from London, not knowing a turnip from a carrot, I was compelled to farm three hundred acres, and (without capital) to build a parsonage-house.' . . .

'It made me a very poor man for many years, but I never repented it. I turned schoolmaster, to educate my son, as I could not afford to send him to school. Mrs. Sydney turned schoolmistress, to educate my girls, as I could not afford a governess. I turned farmer, as I could not let my land. A man-servant was too expensive; so I caught up a little garden-girl, made like a mile-stone, christened her Bunch, put a napkin in her hand, and made her my butler. The girls taught her to read, Mrs. Sydney to wait, and I undertook her morals; Bunch became the best butler in the county.

'I had little furniture, so I bought a cart-load of deals; took a carpenter (who came to me for parish relief, called Jack Robinson) with a face like a full-moon, into my service; established him in a barn, and said, "Jack, furnish my house." You see the result.

'At last it was suggested that a carriage was much wanted in the establishment; after diligent search, I discovered in the back settlements of a York coachmaker an ancient green chariot, supposed to have been the earliest invention of the kind. I brought it home in triumph to my admiring family. Being somewhat dilapidated, the village tailor lined it, the village blacksmith repaired it; nay (but for Mrs. Sydney's earnest entreaties,) we believe the village painter would have exercised his genius upon the exterior; it escaped this danger, however, and the result was wonderful. Each year added to its charms: it grew younger and younger; a new wheel, a new spring; I christened it the *Immortal*; it was known all over the neighbourhood; the village boys cheered it, and the village dogs barked at it; but *Faber meæ fortunæ* was my motto, and we had no false shame.

'Added to all these domestic cares, I was village parson, village doctor, village comforter, village magistrate, and Edinburgh Reviewer; so you see I had not much time left on my hands to regret London.

‘My house was considered the ugliest in the county, but all admitted it was one of the most comfortable; and we did not die, as our friends had predicted, of the damp walls of the parsonage.’ (Vol. i. pp. 159-60.)

Should any readers have felt disposed to question the advantage of having an accomplished and high-minded daughter, bred up at her father’s feet and imbued with his noble spirit, for the biographer of such a man, their doubts will vanish into thin air before they have half-finished the seventh chapter, describing the building of the Foston Parsonage, and the arrival of the family to take possession of their new residence. Vividly as some familiar scenes in the ‘*Vicar of Wakefield*’ are recalled to us by the magic of association, there is no actual likeness, and there are freshness and novelty in every one of Lady Holland’s indelible and faithfully recorded impressions and details:—

‘But oh, the shout of joy as we entered and took possession!—the first time in our lives that we had inhabited a house of our own. How we admired it, ugly as it was! With what pride my dear father welcomed us, and took us from room to room; old Molly Mills, the milkwoman, who had had charge of the house, grinning with delight in the background. We thought it a palace; yet the drawing-room had no door, the bare plaster walls ran down with wet, the windows were like ground-glass from the moisture which had to be wiped up several times a day by the housemaid. No carpets, no chairs, nothing unpacked; rough men bringing in rougher packages at every moment. But then was the time to behold my father!—amid the confusion, he thought for everybody, cared for everybody, encouraged everybody, kept everybody in good-humour. How he exerted himself! how his loud, rich voice might be heard in all directions, ordering, arranging, explaining, till the household storm gradually subsided! Each half-hour improved our condition; fires blazed in every room; at last we all sat down to our tea, spread by ourselves on a huge package before the drawing-room fire, sitting on boxes round it; and retired to sleep on our beds placed on the floor;—the happiest, merriest, and busiest family in Christendom.’ (Vol. i. p. 162.)

If Molly Mills, Annie Kay, Bunch, and Jack Robinson could be transplanted into one of Mr. Thackeray’s or Mr. Dickens’s monthly numbers, with appropriate parts, their names would speedily become as familiar in men’s mouths as household words, whilst Bitty, the pet donkey, is a study for a Sterne. Although, as Sydney Smith admits, visions of crozier did occasionally cross his waking dreams, all his plans were formed on the hypothesis of his remaining rector of Foston for life. The event nearly justified his prevision; he remained there twenty-two years, and was at length removed to a more fitting sphere, not by the aid or through the instrumentality of those

for and with whom he had fought the good fight, but by Lord Lyndhurst, 'who,' says Lady Holland, 'had the real friendship and courage to brave the opinions and opposition of his own party, and, though differing from my father in politics, to bestow on him a stall which was then vacant at Bristol.' Yet a ministry (the Coalition or Junction Ministry) had been formed in 1827, some of whose prominent members or influential supporters might have remembered how much 'Peter Plymley' had contributed to advance that very question which was their sole or main bond of union. From a letter addressed to one of these, whose name is omitted, we collect that he was disappointed and deeply hurt at their neglect, as well he might be; nor can we satisfactorily account for it, even after making all reasonable allowance for the meanest motives which can actuate the dispensers of patronage. We are well aware that the gratitude of statesmen may be most especially designated as a lively sense of favours or services to come. New partisans are constantly entering the arena:—

'Then what they do in present,
Though less than yours in past, must o'ertop yours.'

But Sydney Smith had still his tongue and pen. It could not be said of *him*,—'It is lucky he has arrived at the place of his destination, for the horses are off.' There were few public men who could afford to profess indifference to his praise or blame; and an opportune pamphlet or article from him, at a critical period or in a balanced state of parties, might make or mar a Minister. But the Whig or Liberal debt was left unpaid till 1831, when, by way of tardy instalment, he was appointed to a prebendal stall at St. Paul's, by Lord Grey.

One of the first things, we are told in a note, which Lord Grey said on entering Downing Street, was, 'Now I shall be able to do something for Sydney Smith.' Then why was not more done for him? Lord Melbourne is reported to have said that there was nothing he more regretted than the not having made Sydney Smith a bishop. Lord John Russell writes,—'My dear Sydney, I think you are quite right not to be ambitious of the prelacy, as it would lead to much disquiet for you; but if I had entirely my own way in these matters, you should have the opportunity of refusing it.' At a long antecedent period, Lord Holland thus anticipates the only plausible objection,—

'My dear Sydney,—I wish you could have heard my conversation with Lord Grenville the other day, and the warm and enthusiastic way in which he spoke of Peter Plymley. I did not fail to remind him that the only author to whom we both thought it could be com-

pared in English, lost a bishopric for his wittiest performance; and I hoped that, if we could discover the author, and had ever a bishopric in our gift, we should prove that Whigs were both more grateful and more liberal than Tories.'

Yet the Whigs, we speak it with sorrow, left the initiative to the Tories, and indirectly sanctioned the prejudices or calumnies which the most eminent of them repelled, discredited, and despised. We sympathise with the biographer in her protest against any comparison, except in purely mental qualities, with the Dean of St. Patrick's; but we have little doubt that there was a solid foundation for the limited parallel suggested by Lord Holland, although Sydney was not

‘ By an old murderess pursued,
A crazy prelate, and a royal prude.’

The persons indicated in this vindictive couplet are the Duchess of Somerset, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Queen Anne. In the ‘ Windsor Prophecy,’ the Duchess is ridiculed for the redness of her hair, and upbraided as having been privy to the murder of her first husband. It was doubted, suggests Scott, which imputation she accounted the more cruel insult, especially since the first charge was undeniable, and the second only arose from the malice of the poet. At her instigation, the Archbishop tried to prevent Swift’s promotion by questioning his orthodoxy, and when his Grace had failed, she succeeded, by dint of tears and supplications, in inducing her royal mistress to refuse the expected bishopric. The beautiful Duchess who filled the corresponding post in the English Court when Sydney Smith’s claims (which, we fear, never came so nigh the ear of Majesty) were preferred, would have been more likely to weep at their rejection; yet some one certainly attempted to play, with the Premier, the part which the ‘ crazy prelate’ vainly attempted with Queen Anne. Lady Holland quotes a letter from her father to Lord John Russell, in which (April, 1837), he writes—‘ I defy — to quote one single passage of my writing contrary to the doctrines of the Church. I defy him to mention a single action of my life which he can call immoral. The only thing he could charge me with would be high spirits, and much innocent nonsense. I am distinguished as a preacher, and sedulous as a parochial clergyman. His real charge is, that I am a high-spirited, honest, uncom- promising man, whom all the bench of bishops could not turn, and who would set them all at defiance upon great and vital questions. This is the reason why (as far as depends upon others) I am not a bishop; but I am thoroughly sincere in

‘saying I would not take any bishopric whatever, and to this I pledge my honour and character as a gentleman. But, had I been a bishop, you would have seen me on a late occasion, charging — and — with a gallantry which would have warmed your heart’s blood, and made Melbourne rub the skin off his hands.’

Two years before his death he reverted to this subject in conversation with a friend, in his garden at Combe Florey. ‘They showed a want of moral courage, in not making me a bishop,’ was his remark, ‘but I must own that it required a good deal. *They* know, *you* know, all who have lived or talked much with me must know, that I should have devoted myself heart and soul to my duties, and that the episcopal dignity would have sustained no loss of public reverence in my keeping. But I have only myself to blame if I have been misunderstood.’

These volumes will amply vindicate his memory from the charge of thinking lightly on serious or sacred subjects; but we are tempted to add a few words of warning against the recurrence of the injustice, which he himself unluckily sanctioned in ‘Peter Plymley’s Letters,’ by treating Canning’s lively fancy and sense of the ludicrous, as serious disqualifications for statesmanship. In the same mistaken spirit, a Prime Minister, trained up in Canning’s school, has been recently denounced as wanting in earnestness, and culpably blind to the exigencies of his position, for not constantly affecting a solemn tone and grave bearing in debate. His critics forget that one of the finest observers who ever lived, has defined gravity as a mystery of the body for concealing the emptiness of the mind; and the puzzle to our minds is, how any Minister, after forty years’ experience of public life, can listen without a smile to the simulated energy of pseudo patriotism. Erasmus wrote an essay in praise of folly. Sir Thomas Moore jested on the scaffold, and his alleged levity is the theme of one of Addison’s most admired papers:—‘The innocent mirth, which had been so conspicuous in his life, did not forsake him to the last. His death was of a piece with his life: there was nothing in it new, forced, or affected.’ Forced gravity, out of keeping with the known character, would afford better ground for cavil or suspicion than habitual vivacity, which only superficial observers can mistake for insensibility or indifference; and if compelled to choose between the laughing and the crying schools of moralists and statesmen, we should award the palm of trustworthiness to the disciples of Democritus.

For want of an episcopal palace, Sydney Smith removed, in

1828, to Combe Florey, near Taunton, which he soon converted into one of the most comfortable and delightful of parsonages. The house was situated in a picturesque little valley, at the end of which was a wood with pleasant walks cut through it. The climate was warm and soft, and he was wont to expatiate on its merits in a style somewhat resembling Lord Jeffrey's myrtle delusions at Craig Crook. On one occasion, when some London visitors were expected, he called in art to aid nature, and caused oranges to be tied to the shrubs in the drive and garden. The stratagem succeeded admirably, and great was his exultation when an unlucky urchin from the village was detected in the act of sucking one through a quill. It was as good, he said, as the birds pecking at Zeuxis' grapes, or the donkeys munching Jeffrey's supposed myrtles for thistles. Another time, on a lady's happening to hint that the pretty paddock would be improved by deer, he fitted his two donkeys with antlers, and placed them with their extraordinary headgear immediately in front of the windows. The effect, enhanced by the puzzled looks of the animals, was ludicrous in the extreme.

But in his most frolicsome moods, he never practised what is called practical joking, agreeing in opinion on this topic with the late Marquis of Hertford, who checked a party of ingenious tormentors at Sudbourn with the remark, that the human mind was various, and that there was no knowing how much melted butter a gentleman would bear in his pocket without quarrelling. There was one practical joke, however, which Sydney admitted he should like to see repeated, if only as an experiment in physics and metaphysics. It was the one played off in the last century on a Mr. O'Brien, whose bedroom windows were carefully boarded up, so that not a ray of light could penetrate. When he rang his bell in the morning, a servant appeared, half dressed and yawning, with a candle, and anxiously asked if he was ill. Ashamed of the fancied irregularity, the patient recomposed himself to sleep, but at the end of a couple of hours rang again, and again the same pantomime was enacted. 'Open the shutters.' They were opened, and all without was as dark as a wolf's mouth. He was kept in bed till driven to desperation by hunger, when rushing out upon the landing place, he found that he had only just time to dress for a late dinner.

There was one kind of mystification in which Sydney Smith shone preeminent,—that of which the pretended extract from an old Dutch Chronicle, quoted in his first letter to Archdeacon Singleton, is an amusing specimen. Still better was the report supplied by him to a Yorkshire paper, of the alleged trial of a farmer at the Northamptonshire Sessions for keeping a savage

dog, and the sentence of imprisonment, with hard labour and private whipping, passed upon the offender. The effect, he said, was wonderful, and the reign of Cerberus closed in the land. 'That accounts,' remarked Lord Spencer, on hearing him relate the story, 'for what has puzzled me and Althorp for many years. We never failed to attend the Sessions at Northampton, and we never could find out how we had missed this remarkable dog case.' Even editorial dignity and credulity were sometimes ruthlessly trifled with. The publication named at the head of his article on 'Counsel for Prisoners,' had no existence except in his own creative fancy.

When Sydney Smith first settled in Yorkshire, he was in the habit of riding a good deal. About this time he writes:— 'I used to think a fall from a horse dangerous, but much experience has convinced me to the contrary. I have had six falls in two years, and just behaved like the three per cents. when they fall,—I got up again, and am not a bit the worse for it, any more than the stock in question.' 'At a later period,' he says, 'I left off riding for the good of my family; for somehow or other, my horse and I had had a habit of parting company. On one occasion I found myself suddenly prostrate in the streets of York, much to the delight of the Dissenters. Another time my horse Calamity flung me over his head into a neighbouring parish, as if I had been a shuttlecock, and I felt grateful it was not into a neighbouring planet.'

The late Charles Matthews having had his limbs fractured two or three times by falls from gigs, vowed never to enter one again unless he was first satisfied, by ocular demonstration, that the horse would bear the sawing of the reins under his tail without kicking. Sydney Smith had an equal horror of this description of vehicle, and maintained that, as regarded the prolongation of human life, the invention of gigs had more than counterbalanced the discovery of vaccination. According to Mr. Apperly (Nimrod), a hunting parson makes friends, a shooting parson makes enemies. Sydney Smith tells us that he gave up shooting, first, 'because I found, on trying at Lord Grey's, that the birds seemed to consider the muzzle of my gun as their safest position; secondly, because I never could help shutting my eyes when I fired my gun, so was not likely to improve; and thirdly, because if you do shoot, the squire and the poacher both consider you as their natural enemy, and I thought it more clerical to be at peace with both.'

In an argument with a serious baronet, who objected to clerical sporting in the abstract, he stood up for angling. 'I give up fly-fishing: it is a light, volatile, dissipated pursuit.

‘But ground-bait, with a good steady float that never bobs without a bite, is an occupation for a bishop, and in no ways interferes with sermon-making.’ He once discovered some tench in a pond at Sandhill Park (a seat of the Lethbridges close to Combe Florey), and kept the secret till he had caught every one of them (an exploit requiring several days), when he loudly triumphed over the fisherman of the family. Writing to Lady Grey, he says, ‘his (John Grey’s) refusal of the living of Sunbury convinces me that he is not fond of gudgeon-fishing. I had figured to myself you and Lord Grey, and myself, engaged in that occupation upon the river Thames.’

Lady Holland’s description of a morning at Combe Florey may form a companion picture for her sketch of the arrival of the family at Foston :

‘The room, an oblong, was, as I have already described, surrounded on three sides by books, and ended in a bay-window opening into the garden : not brown, dark, dull-looking volumes, but all in the brightest bindings ; for he carried his system of furnishing for gaiety even to the dress of his books,

‘He would come down into this long, low room in the morning like a “giant refreshed to run his course,” bright and happy as the scene around him. “Thank God for Combe Florey!” he would exclaim, throwing himself into his red arm-chair, and looking round ; “I feel like a bridegroom in the honeymoon.” And in truth I doubt if ever bridegroom felt so joyous, or at least made others feel so joyous, as he did on these occasions. “Ring the bell, Saba ;” the usual refrain, by the bye, in every pause, for he contrived to keep everybody actively employed around him, and nobody ever objected to be so employed. “Ring the bell, Saba.” Enter the servant, D—. “D—, glorify the room.” This meant that the three Venetian windows of the bay were to be flung open, displaying the garden on every side, and letting in a blaze of sunshine and flowers. D— glorifies the room with the utmost gravity, and departs. “You would not believe it,” he said, “to look at him now, but D— is a reformed Quaker. Yes, he quaked, or did quake ; his brother quakes still : but D—is now thoroughly orthodox. I should not like to be a Dissenter in his way ; he is to be one of my vergers at St. Paul’s some day. Lady B— calls them my virgins. She asked me the other day, ‘Pray, Mr. Smith, is it true that you walk down St. Paul’s with three virgins holding silver pokers before you?’ I shook my head, and looked very grave, and bid her come and see. Some enemy of the Church, some Dissenter, had clearly been misleading her.”

“There now,” sitting down at the breakfast-table, “take a lesson of economy. You never breakfasted in a parsonage before, did you ? There, you see, my china is all white, so if broken can always be renewed ; the same with my plates at dinner : did you

"observe my plates? every one a different pattern, some of them *sweet articles*; it was a pleasure to dine upon such a plate as I had last night. It is true, Mrs. Sydney, who is a great herald, is shocked because some of them have the arms of a royal duke or a knight of the garter on them, but that does not signify to me. My plan is to go into a china-shop and bid them show me every plate they have which does not cost more than half-a-crown; you see the result."

"I think breakfast so pleasant because no one is conceited before one o'clock."

Mrs. Marcet admired his ham. "Oh," said he, "our hams are the only true hams; yours are Shems and Japhets." (Vol. i. pp. 331-3.)

A good deal of this may be nonsense, as no one knew better than himself; but it is cheerful, sparkling, joy-inspiring nonsense, such as none but a good, happy, right-minded, highly-cultivated, and very clever man could talk. Rousseau, the antipodes of the rector of Combe Florey, also professed '*un goût vif pour les déjeuners. C'est le temps de la journée où nous sommes le plus tranquilles, où nous causons le plus à notre aise.*' The memory of Mr. Rogers's breakfasts will last as long as that of Madame du Deffand's suppers; but the fame of colloquial meetings is commonly lowered rather than exalted by description; and we are sorry that Lady Holland has called in the aid of note-taking friends and admirers to confirm her impressions of the Combe Florey 'feasts of reason and flow of soul' by their reminiscences.

'Eloquence,' says Bolingbroke, 'must flow like a stream that is fed by an abundant spring, and not spout forth a little frothy water on some gaudy day, and remain dry the rest of the year.' So must humour, and Sydney Smith's was so fed; yet it was seldom overpowering, and never exhausting, except by the prolonged fits of laughter which it provoked. Although in one of his letters already quoted he calls himself a dinner-out, he had none of the prescriptive attributes of that now happily almost extinct tribe. He had no notion of talking for display. He talked because he could not help it; because his spirits were excited, and his mind was full. He consciously or unconsciously, too, abided by Lord Chesterfield's rule, 'Pay your own reckoning, but do not treat the whole company; this being one of the very few cases in which people do not care to be treated, every one being fully convinced that he has wherewithal to pay.' His favourite maxim (copied from Swift) was 'take as many half-minutes as you can get, but never talk more than half a minute without pausing and giving others an opportunity to strike in.' He vowed that Buchon, a clever and amiable man of letters who

talked on the opposite principle, was the identical Frenchman who murmured as he was anxiously watching a rival, 'S'il crache 'ou tousse, il est perdu.' Far from being jealous of competition, he was always anxious to dine in company with men who were able and entitled to hold their own; and he was never pleasanter than when some guest of congenial turn of mind assisted him to keep up the ball. On the occasion of the first attempt to bring him and Theodore Hook together, the late Mr. Lockhart arrived with the information that Hook was priming himself (as was his wont) at the Athenæum Club, with a tumbler or two of hot punch. 'Oh,' exclaimed Sydney, 'if it comes to that, let us start fair. When Mr. Hook is announced, announce Mr. Smith's punch.' When they did meet, they contracted a mutual liking, and Sydney ran on with his usual flow and felicity; but poor Hook had arrived at that period of his life when his wonderful powers required a greater amount of stimulants than could be decently imbibed at an ordinary London dinner with a clergyman.

Sydney Smith almost invariably made it his special business to call out and encourage the display of any latent elements of information or agreeability in any silent, unobtrusive, or abashed member of the company. At the same time, he by no means disliked mixing with what he called commonplace, humdrum people; endowed with only an indistinct perception of a joke; and he rightly conceived that he had done the State good service by the invention of the 'Foolometer.' In 1818 we find him writing to Earl Grey: 'I will send Lady Grey the news from London when I get there. I am sure she is too wise a woman not to be fond of gossiping. I am fond of it, and have some talents for it.' It formed in his opinion an excellent foundation for the more elevated order of social intercourse; since conversation, like singing, if commenced in too high a key, is apt to get overstrained and out of tune. No one knew better how and when to turn from gay to grave. There was always plenty of bread to his sack. His intellectual larder in no respect resembled that of the Prince in the fairy tale, which contained nothing but cream tarts, with or without pepper. There was abundance of plain wholesome food to be found in Sydney's, which was frequently served up without sauce or condiment to the guest who was fortunate enough to be his companion in a ride or walk; when the coruscations of his humour were relieved not by flashes of silence but by the moonlight beams of good feeling and good sense.

When he stopped to give directions to his servants or labourers he was well worth listening to. On it being pointed out to him

that his gardener was tearing off too many of the leaves of a vine, he told him to desist. The man, a Scotchman, looked unconvinced. 'Now, understand me,' he continued; 'you are probably right, but I don't wish you to do what is right; and as it is my vine, and there are no moral laws for pruning, you may as well do as I wish.' Sir Henry Holland's high authority is adduced in favour of Sydney's medical knowledge; but we have our doubts whether the health of either Foston or Combe Florey was improved by the indulgence of his hobby in this particular. A composition of blue-pill which he was glad to 'dart into the intestines' of any luckless wight whom he could induce to swallow it, sometime operated in a manner which he had not anticipated. One morning, at Combe Florey, a regular practitioner from Taunton, who had been going his weekly round and was considerably employed to overlook the serious cases, came in with rather a long face and stated that an elderly woman, who had been taking the pill during several consecutive nights for the lumbago, complained that her gums were sore, and he therefore advised the discontinuance of it. A London visitor, who had tried it once, began to titter; and Sydney, after attempting a weak apology for his practice, heartily joined in the laugh, exclaiming: 'What a story you will make of this, when you next breakfast with Rogers, and how he and Luttrell will triumph in it!'

The rapidity with which reading men, particularly critics and those who read for a purpose, get over the ground, has often astonished persons unpractised in the art. Dr. Johnson has been described as tearing out the heart of a book, and he seldom read one fairly through. Sydney Smith's mode of reading must have been equally quick, for we find him writing to Lady Grey:— 'I recommend you to read Hall's, Palmer's, Fearon's, and Bradling's "*Travels in America*," particularly Fearon's; these four books may, with ease, be read through 'between breakfast and dinner.' The truth is, any one accustomed to composition, and conversant with the subject, can see at a glance whether a new author has contributed anything valuable or curious to the pre-existing stock of thought or knowledge, and will fasten intuitively on the passages which contain the pith of the work. Rare are the cases in which the packing and stuffing, the beating about the bush and the amplification, do not constitute the larger half of the publication. Sydney Smith's mode of writing may be guessed. His sentences were not painfully elaborated, drop by drop, like Fox's, nor his proofs corrected three or four times over, like Burke's. His articles were obviously more than half composed before he

proceeded to commit them to paper. But he was by no means devoid of the common sensitiveness to editorial emendation; and he more than once complains of Jeffrey for spoiling his jokes.

He was fond of good eating, and kept an excellent table as soon as he could afford it. His well-known recipe for salad contains two lines, which his friend Luttrell might have envied:—

‘ Let onion atoms lurk within the bowl,
And, scarce suspected, animate the whole.’

He insisted on warmth as indispensable to convivial or social enjoyment, and was wont to contend that compatibility of temperature was as necessary to domestic happiness as compatibility of temper. He liked a profusion of light, and complained that a very celebrated dining-room, in which the light is reflected from the pictures, was a place of ‘darkness and gnashing of teeth.’ Amongst his personal peculiarities, it deserves to be recorded that he much preferred conversation to music, and he had a strong dislike to theatres and theatrical entertainments.

The old rules of evidence should be strictly enforced as regards Sydney Smith. No hearsay versions of his sayings should be admissible. It is really too bad to have inaccurate versions of Charles Fox’s well-known comment on Thurlow’s countenance, Thurlow’s equally familiar remark on corporations, Joseph Hume’s application of the term ‘allegator’ to Sir Robert Peel, Lord Ellenborough’s jokes on the stammering barrister and the yawning peer, with some notorious instances of the late Lord Dudley’s absence of mind, deliberately set down and printed as specimens of Sydney Smith’s conversational felicity. So long as the biographer trusts to her own resources, all goes right. To those who never heard him in an exuberant mood the following sample of his manner may convey a notion of it:—

‘ Some one mentioned that a young Scotchman, who had been lately in the neighbourhood, was about to marry an Irish widow, double his age and of considerable dimensions. “Going to marry her!” he exclaimed, bursting out laughing; “going to marry her! impossible! you mean, a part of her: he could not marry her all himself. ‘It would be a case, not of bigamy, but trigamy; the neighbourhood or the magistrates should interfere. There is enough of her to furnish wives for a whole parish. One man marry her!—it is monstrous. You might people a colony with her; or give an assembly with her; or perhaps take your morning’s walk round her, always provided there were frequent resting-places, and you were in rude health. I once was rash enough to try walking round

"her before breakfast, but only got half-way and gave it up exhausted. Or you might read the Riot Act and disperse her; in short, you might do anything with her but marry her." "Oh, Mr. Sydney!" said a young lady recovering from the general laugh, "did you make all that yourself?" "Yes, Lucy," throwing himself back in his chair and shaking with laughter; "all myself, child; all my own thunder. Do you think, when I am about to make a joke, I send for my neighbours C. and G., or consult the clerk and churchwardens upon it. But let us go into the garden;" and, all laughing till we cried, without hats or bonnets, we sallied forth out of his glorified window into the garden.' (Vol. i. pp. 344-5.)

The story of his furnishing his house with pictures is correct in the main; but the biographer has forgotten to state that he gravely consulted two Royal Academicians, and when they had been some time considering what sales were likely to take place, he added by way of after-thought, 'Oh, I ought to have told you that my outside price for a picture is thirty-five shillings.' The reminiscence has omitted the best part of the remark on the late Lord Denman, which was, that it was a wonder his court was not constantly beset with sculptors and artists engaged in studying and copying so fine a model. The verses intitled 'Ode by Miss Berry,' (vol. i., p. 841.), were the production of Miss Catherine Fanshawe, the accomplished authoress of the 'Enigma on the letter H.'

The Americans were very angry at his Repudiation Letters in 1843, and their Press accused him in the coarsest language of being exclusively actuated by interested motives. This was a mistake. His loss did not exceed 50*l.*, and the line he took may be sufficiently accounted for by his instinctive hatred of dishonesty, and his fears lest free institutions should be discredited. There was more sorrow than anger in his concluding remark, 'And now having cased my soul of its indignation, and sold my stock at 40 per cent. discount, I sulkily retire from the subject, with a fixed intention of lending no more money to free and enlightened republics; but of employing my money henceforth in buying up Abyssinian bonds, and purchasing into the Turkish Fours, or the Tunis Three-and-a-half per Cent. Funds.' He was fond of the society of cultivated Americans, although he was wont to complain of their slow perception of humour, and their touchiness when they suspected the laugh to be at their expense. Once, when a former representative of the United States flared up at an unlucky doubt expressed whether canvas back ducks were not a 'humbug,' Sydney turned round to the sceptical gourmand and exclaimed, 'Now, you are in for it. You had better have trampled upon their flag.' He would relate with great glee how a celebrated Yankee critic

claimed fellowship with him as one of the craft, and gravely asked his opinion whether he did not think pepper and vinegar the essential ingredients of a review. His first reflection after his introduction to Webster (whose eminent qualities are acknowledged in the correspondence) was that time could not be valuable in America.

He often alluded with evident complacency to the spread of his fame on the other side of the Atlantic, as when he says, 'I have heard that one of the American Ministers in this country was so oppressed by the numbers of his countrymen applying for introductions, that he was obliged at last to set up sham Sydney Smiths and false Macaulays. But they can't have been good counterfeits; for a most respectable American, on his return home, was heard describing Sydney Smith as a thin, grave, dull old fellow; and as to Macaulay (said he) I never met a more silent man in my life.' Sophie Arnault actually played off a similar trick on a party of Parisian fine ladies and gentlemen who had expressed a wish to meet Rousseau. She dressed up a theatrical tailor who bore some likeness to the author of 'Emile,' and placed him next to herself at dinner, with instructions not to open his mouth except to eat and drink. Unluckily he opened it too often for the admission of champagne, and began talking in a style befitting the *coulisses*; but this only added to the delusion, and the next day the noble faubourg rang with praises of the easy sparkling pleasantry of the philosopher. According to another well-authenticated anecdote, there was a crazy fellow at Edinburgh, who called himself Doctor, fancied that he had once been on the point of obtaining the chair of Moral Philosophy, and professed the most extravagant admiration for a celebrated poet. Some wag suggested that he should pay a visit to his idol. He did so, and stayed two days, indulging his monomania, but simultaneously gratifying his host's prodigious appetite for adulation; and the poet uniformly spoke of him as one of the most intelligent and well-informed Scotchmen he had ever known. When this story was told to Sydney Smith, he offered the narrator five shillings for the exclusive right to it for a week. The bargain was struck, and the money paid down. With all his boundless fertility of fancy, he delighted in a good story, and fully exemplified his own remarks in the lecture on Wit and Humour. 'If I say a good thing to-day, and repeat it again to-morrow in another company, the flash of to-day is as much like the flash of to-morrow, as the flash of one musket is like the flash of another; but if I tell a humorous story, there are a thousand little diversities in my voice, manner, language,

‘and gestures, which render it rather a different thing from what it was before, and infuse a tinge of novelty into the repeated narrative.’ A story that seemed to haunt him for weeks, was one of a tame magpye, that suddenly descended on the reading-desk and endeavoured to fly off with the sermon; and of the desperate struggle that ensued between the bird and the preacher, ‘the congregation all in favour of the pye.’

Many discriminating tributes to Sydney Smith’s worth and talents are included in this biography, but Mrs. Austin’s preface to the second volume renders all the rest superfluous. It is a concise, convincing, impartial, and affectionate summary of her lamented friend’s leading merits and distinguishing qualities. It hardly requires an addition, and certainly does not admit of improvement. After justly remarking that, many of the giants he combated being not only slain but forgotten, the very completeness of his victory tends to efface from the minds of the present generation the extent of their obligations to him, she asks, ‘What other private gentleman of our day, unconnected with Parliament, without rank or fortune, has been able by a few pages from his pen to electrify the country, as he did by his letters to the Americans? or to fight single-handed against the combined power of the ministry and of the dignitaries of the Church—a battle in which he carried public opinion with him?’ Or, we beg leave to add, to alter the whole complexion of a controversy on a subject apparently so exhausted as the Ballot? At the same time, we cannot quite agree with Mrs. Austin as to his style; and Sir Henry Holland’s remarks, which she quotes approvingly, must be read with a few grains of allowance:—‘If,’ writes Sir Henry, ‘Mr. Sydney Smith had not been the greatest and most brilliant of wits, he would have been the most remarkable man of his time for a sound and vigorous understanding, and great reasoning powers; and if he had not been distinguished for these, he would have been the most eminent and the purest writer of English.’

Since we are on the chapter of style, we may be pardoned for suggesting that Sir Henry’s obvious meaning is not expressed with his usual precision. But he clearly intended to assert that Sydney Smith, besides being the most brilliant of wits, and possessing great reasoning powers, was no less remarkable for the excellence of his style. Now a good style is one which can be safely recommended for general use; and in saying that Sydney Smith’s was not, in this sense at least, a good style, we say no more than is indisputably true of Burke’s, Gibbon’s, or Johnson’s. We are not denying that Sydney Smith’s style was admirably fitted for his purpose, and we could cite passages of high

eloquence which are unexceptionable in point of composition. His sermons, which are mostly free from mannerism, prove that he could combine purity and correctness with force of language when he thought fit. But his humorous writings are often deficient in ease, smoothness, grace, rhythm, and purity, because he constantly aimed at effect by startling contrasts, by the juxtaposition of incongruous images or epithets, or by the use of odd-sounding words and strange compounds of Greek and Latin derivation. Thus he describes a preacher wiping his face with his ‘cambric *sudarium*,’ and asks, ‘Why this *holoplexia*. ‘on sacred occasions alone?’ A weak and foolish man is ‘anserous and asinine.’ Dr. Parr’s wig is the *μέγα θαύμα* of barbers. Mr. Grote is quizzed for supposing that England is to be governed by ‘political acupuncturation,’ and told that his concealed democrat, doomed to lead a long life of lies between every election, ‘must do this not only *eundo*, in his ‘calm and prudential state, but *redeundo*, from the market, ‘warmed with beer and expanded by alcohol.’ This is certainly not pure English; it is not even popular writing, like Defoe’s, or Swift’s, or Cobbett’s. It is *caviare* to the multitude, and would require to be interpreted for the benefit of the ladies and the country gentlemen; that is, if the country gentlemen did not now constitute one of the most highly educated classes of our society. The art of true criticism demands that we should subject ourselves to a strict self-examination, and that we should analyse the causes and sources of our impressions, favourable or unfavourable. Let Sir Henry Holland do this, and he will admit that he has confounded the style with the man, and that Sydney Smith sometimes formed a striking exception to Buffon’s famous dogma, *Le style, c’est l’homme*. In his case the man was always natural, simple, and essentially English, — the style was often forced, factitious, composite, and (to borrow his own word) cosmopolite. Many of his allusive expressions, rich with the raciest humour, could not be enjoyed beyond the polished circles of the metropolis. He wrote for the meridian of Holland House; and one reason why he notwithstanding exercised such widespread influence, is to be found in the aristocratic constitution of our Legislature.

What Sir Henry Holland says of the suddenness and unexpectedness of his manner, is just. His review of Madame d’Epinay’s ‘Memoirs’ begins thus:—

‘There used to be in Paris, under the ancient *régime*, a few women of brilliant talents, who violated all the common duties of life, and gave very pleasant little suppers. Among these supped and sinned Madame d’Epinay, the friend and companion of Rousseau, Diderot, Grimm,

Holbach, and many other literary persons of distinction of that period. Her principal lover was Grimm; with whom was deposited, written in feigned names, the history of her life. Grimm died—his secretary sold the history—the feigned names have been exchanged for the real ones—and her works now appear abridged in three volumes octavo.

An excellent judge of composition, the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Milman), has spoken of the increased vigour of style and boldness of illustration in Sydney Smith's writings as he advanced in years. This is most observable in the letters, the earliest of which, we frankly own, have disappointed us, although they contain ample confirmation (were any needed) of his soundness of principle, his unaffected piety, his undeviating rectitude of purpose, his affectionate disposition, his happy temper, and his warm heart. The shortest are the best. The longest, we believe, cost him no effort, but some of them read as if they did, and we would gladly exchange them for a collection of the notes he dashed off in the daily commerce of life. Thus in one which has been placed at our disposal, excusing himself from keeping an engagement to sup in the Temple:—

‘ Charles Street, May 18. 1836.

‘ My dear —, — There is no more harm in talking between eleven and one, than between nine and eleven. The Temple is as good as Charles Street. The ladies are the most impregnable, and the gentlemen the most unimpeachable, of the sex; but still I have a feeling of the wickedness of supping in the Temple; my delicate and irritable virtue is alarmed, and I recede.

‘ Ever yours,
‘ S. S.’

The following, printed in the selection, are thoroughly characteristic:—

‘ May 14. 1842.

‘ My dear Dickens,—I accept your obliging invitation conditionally. If I am invited by any man of greater genius than yourself, or one by whose works I have been more completely interested, I will repudiate you, and dine with the more splendid phenomenon of the two.

‘ Ever yours sincerely,
‘ SYDNEY SMITH.’

‘ July 4. 1843.

‘ My dear Lord Mahon,—I am only half recovered from a violent attack of gout in the knee, and I could not bear the confinement of dinner, without getting up and walking between the courses, or thrusting my foot on somebody else's chair, like the Archbishop of Dublin. For these reasons, I have been forced for some time, and am still forced, to decline dinner engagements. I should, in a sounder state, have had great pleasure in accepting the very agreeable party

you are kind enough to propose to me; but I shall avail myself, in the next campaign, of your kindness. I consider myself as well acquainted with Lady Mahon and yourself, and shall hope to see you here, as well as elsewhere. Pray present my benediction to your charming wife, who I am sure would bring any plant in the garden into full flower by looking at it, and smiling upon it. Try the experiment from mere curiosity. Ever yours,

‘SYDNEY SMITH.’

The following is an excellent sample of his more thoughtful epistles. It is addressed to his old friend Lord Murray:—

‘Green Street, June 4. 1843.

‘My dear Murray,—I should be glad to hear something of your life and adventures, and the more particularly so, as I learn you have no intention of leaving Edinburgh for London this season.

‘Mrs. Sydney and I have been remarkably well, and are so at present; why, I cannot tell. I am getting very old in years, but do not feel that I am become so in constitution. My locomotive powers at seventy-three are abridged, but my animal spirits do not desert me. I am become rich. My youngest brother died suddenly, leaving behind him 100,000*l.* and no will. A third of this therefore fell to my share, and puts me at my ease for my few remaining years. After buying into the Consols and the Reduced, I read Seneca “On the Contempt of Wealth!” What intolerable nonsense! I heard your *éloge* from Lord Lansdowne when I dined with him, and I need not say how heartily I concurred in it. Next to me sat Lord Worsley, whose enclosed letter affected me, and very much pleased me. I answered it with sincere warmth. Pray return me the paper. Did you read my American Petition, and did you approve it?

‘Why don’t they talk over the virtues and excellences of Lansdowne? There is no man who performs the duties of life better, or fills a high station in a more becoming manner. He is full of knowledge, and eager for its acquisition. His remarkable politeness is the result of good nature, regulated by good sense. He looks for talents and qualities among all ranks of men, and adds them to his stock of society, as a botanist does his plants; and while other aristocrats are yawning among Stars and Garters, Lansdowne is refreshing his soul with the fancy and genius which he has found in odd places, and gathered to the marbles and pictures of his palace. Then he is an honest politician, a wise statesman, and has a philosophic mind; he is very agreeable in conversation, and is a man of an unblemished life. I shall take care of him in my Memoirs!

‘Remember me very kindly to the *maximus minimus* (Lord Jeffrey), and to the Scotch Church. I have urged my friend the Bishop of Durham to prepare kettles of soup for the seceders, who will probably be wandering in troops over our northern counties.

‘Ever your sincere friend,

‘SYDNEY SMITH.’

Without carrying the taste so far as Tieck, whose Shakespeare readings and *soirées* at Dresden boasted about four women to one man, Sydney Smith had a marked predilection for female society. The letters selected for publication were principally addressed to ladies; the Countess Grey, the late Lady Holland, Mrs. Meynell of Temple-Newsham, Mrs. Grote, and Miss Georgiana Harcourt (now Mrs. Malcolm), being amongst the most favoured of his fair correspondents. The letters which passed between him and the Dowager Countess of Morley, on the identity of Blue-coat Boys and Juvenile Quakers, are capital. But we do not know where to find a more pleasing specimen of his letters to ladies than the following to Lady Dufferin:—

‘Combe Florey: no date.

‘I am just beginning to get well from that fit of gout, at the beginning of which you were charitable enough to pay me a visit, and I said—the same Providence which inflicts gout creates Dufferins! We must take the good and the evils of life.

‘I am charmed, I confess, with the beauty of this country. I hope some day you will be charmed with it too. It banished, however, every Arcadian notion to see — walk in at the gate to-day. I seemed to be transported instantly to Piccadilly, and the innocence went out of me.

‘I hope the process of furnishing goes on well. Attend, I pray you, to the proper selection of an easy chair, where you may cast yourself down in the weariness and distresses of life, with the absolute certainty that every joint of the human frame will receive all the comfort which can be derived from easy position and soft materials; then the glass, on which your eyes are so often fixed, knowing that you have the great duty imposed on the Sheridans, of looking well. You may depend upon it, happiness depends mainly on these little things.

‘I hope you remain in perfect favour with Rogers, and that you are not omitted in any of the dress breakfast parties. Remember me to the Norton: tell her I am glad to be sheltered from her beauty by the insensibility of age; that I shall not live to see its decay, but die with that unfaded image before my eyes: but don’t make a mistake, and deliver the message to — instead of your sister.

‘I remain, dear Lady Dufferin, very sincerely yours,
‘SYDNEY SMITH.’

We had thoughts of attempting, with the aid of Mr. Thackeray’s Lectures, to draw a parallel between Sydney Smith and the other leading English humourists; but comparisons are proverbially odious, and in a case like the present they would be both unjust and inconclusive. Sydney Smith stands alone: none but himself can be his parallel; and he is the first in his line, although his line may not be the first. He possessed the faculty of simplifying and popularising reason and

argument in a way which must be pronounced inimitable, and during forty years he uniformly exerted it for noble and useful ends. He weeded out a mass of noxious errors, and he placed a number of valuable truths and principles in new and striking points of view, thereby adding incalculably to their exchangeable value and beneficial influence. The good he has done in this way cannot be measured by what passes current, or is ticketed, as his; for so fertile was his mind that thoughts and images fell from him and were picked up and appropriated by others, like the carelessly set jewels which dropped from Buckingham's dress at the Court of Anne of Austria. He never came into society without naturally and easily taking the lead as, beyond all question, the most agreeable, sensible, and instructive guest and companion that the oldest person living could remember. These are his titles to the celebrity which still attaches to his name, but unluckily they sound transitory, perishable, and inappreciable when contrasted with the claims of the first-class humourists to the undisturbed enjoyment of their immortality. Each of these has produced at least one standard work, which will rank as an English classic so long as the English language endures. Sydney Smith is similarly situated in this respect to what Swift would be if he had never written 'The Tale of a Tub' or 'Gulliver's Travels.' Nay, an impartial posterity will probably prefer the Drapier's Letters to Peter Plymley's. But if the Canon of St. Paul's was inferior to the Dean of St. Patrick's as a wit or a writer, he was superior as a moralist and a man. The prime of his life was not wasted in the barren and abortive struggles of faction. His temper was not soured by disappointment, nor his heart corroded by misanthropy. He was not like the scathed elm which had begun to wither at the top. His intellect retained to the last its original brightness; and he died in the fulness of years, with glowing affections and unimpaired faculties, surrounded by all that should accompany old age, and able to say with Addison to any sorrowing relative who may have needed the lesson, 'I have sent for you that you may see how a Christian can die.'

We may apply to him, with the alteration of a word or two, what he said in his letter to Sir James Mackintosh's son:—
 'The impression which the great talents and amiable qualities of your father made upon me will remain as long as I remain.
 'When I turn from living spectacles of stupidity, ignorance, and malice, and wish to think better of the world, I remember my great and benevolent friend, Mackintosh.' How often, in an analogous mood of mind, have we not thus thought of *him*!

How ardently, when we see folly or bigotry reviving and putting forth fresh offshoots, do we long for one of his racy pamphlets or pithy letters! Oh, for one hour of Peter Plymley! What a subject for his pen would be the intolerance and asceticism of the Sabbatarian party, or this new-fangled distaste for representative government, or the Administrative Reform mania—not the less dangerous because it has, or had, a semblance of reason on its side. When we turn from such spectacles—from the contemplation of false piety, simulated zeal, mendacious presumption, and hollow patriotism—and wish to think better of the world, we remember our great, wise, and benevolent friend, Sydney Smith.

ART. X. — 1. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Army before Sebastopol, with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.* — Printed 18th June, 1855.

2. *Papers relating to the Negotiations at Vienna on the Eastern Question.* Parts XIII. and XIV. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, May 1855.

THERE has seldom been a change of public feeling more rapid and violent than that which overthrew the Government of Lord Aberdeen in February last, and for a time threatened to render any Government impossible. It arose naturally enough, not merely from the reaction which is sure to follow over-confident expectations of success; but from the sympathy and astonishment with which the nation regarded the sufferings of the army. That suffering was declared by a distinguished member of the cabinet, at the moment he quitted it, to be as inexplicable to him as it appeared to others. Parliament did not directly charge those sufferings against the Government; but it took upon itself the duty of inquiry; and by the rules of construction usually acted upon under our parliamentary system, the Administration interpreted that course as implying want of confidence in their own intention to inquire, or their ability to remedy. Nevertheless, the new Government was formed mainly of the same elements; and did little more than continue the remedial measures which had already been begun. Those measures have proved to a great extent effectual, as they would have done if no Committee had been appointed, and if no change of administration had taken place. The inquiry of Parliament, as the Committee very fairly admits, has necessarily been partial and incomplete; not only

because the chief witnesses who ought to be heard have been engaged in working, whilst those actually examined could only talk; but also because that inquiry specially excluded many elements which went far to determine the conduct both of the Government and of the Generals. Yet it has cleared up some important facts, and, above all, it has served to allay the irritation and satisfy the curiosity of the public. We cannot in this article enter in detail upon the copious evidence taken by the Committee, nor can we, on the other hand, restrict ourselves within the limits to which this Report is necessarily confined; but we think we can supply our readers with such a sketch in outline of the conduct of the war and of the negotiations as may aid their judgment, and direct their inquiries to a just conclusion.

‘The conduct of the war’ obviously divides itself into three very distinct heads; viz. the *political* conduct, that is to say, the conduct of it in so far as it has been affected by political considerations; its *strategical* conduct, that is to say, the general plan of its active operations; and lastly, the *executive* conduct, or the departmental management of details. We must observe, however, that although these are separable on paper, they are so closely connected in practice that no just opinion can be arrived at which is not founded on a due consideration of them all. The Report of the Committee deals almost exclusively with the last; and consequently, in so far as shortcomings in execution depended on essential difficulties of plan, and this again on paramount considerations of policy, it cannot afford a just view of the whole ‘conduct of the war.’

But little falls within political conduct of the war which does not rather belong to the negotiations, and with these we propose to deal separately before the close of this article. But there are some important features in the war which have been determined by considerations neither purely diplomatic nor merely strategical, such, for example, as the use on all occasions of a combined force of the two allied Powers. Lord Ellenborough has remarked on this combination as involving the radical vice of a divided command. This is undoubtedly true; but it is the vice of our position, and could not be avoided without incurring other evils, and especially political dangers of the most serious kind. It was indispensable to show that perfect community of design of which combined action is an essential part; and if none but French troops had been sent to the East—setting aside the physical insufficiency of the one army without the other—jealousies and suspicions would have arisen from the exclusive occupation of Turkish territory by a single Power,

which might have had serious results in Europe, and even on the conditions of our own alliance. But it is needless to pursue this subject further, because we have seen that all the troops which both France and England could accumulate on the great point of attack have not been too strong, by a single man, for the tremendous undertaking they were expected to perform: and we may safely add that each army has felt its need of the peculiar virtues of the other for sustaining all the hardships and difficulties of the struggle.

We pass on, therefore, without delay to the second head or the strategical conduct of the war. Although, at the time when the public and Parliament were willing to listen to and believe anything against what was called the conduct of the war, many attacks were made from every possible direction on the general plan of operations, only one counter-project has been propounded which can even be termed rational. We refer to the project of those who maintain that when the more immediate defence of Constantinople or that of the Turkish Cis-Danubian provinces had been provided for, we ought to have proceeded no further, and to have abstained from enlarging the circle of the war by aggressive operations against the enemy. Lord Ellenborough, who last year declared that this was a 'statesman's war,' and consequently 'one which the people 'of this country could not understand,' has propounded this view in the House of Lords. He says, 'it is a most dangerous thing to attack a great nation's military honour,' and that on this ground we ought to have been content with the Russian failure at Silistria, and the subsequent evacuation of the Principalities. We shall not seek to reconcile this opinion with a former speech, in which he recommended a war of nationalities, and an extensive system of attack on the Russian possessions in Asia, or with the more formal announcement, in a subsequent oration, that we ought to have assailed Russia at once nearer home, and sent our army to operate in the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland. But we have no hesitation in saying that of all these various and contradictory schemes the 'do-nothing' policy is the least irrational. Logically, perhaps, and on paper, though not morally or in practice, it would have been possible for the allied armies to have been contented with the repulse of the Russian invasion, which was effected by the gallantry of the Turks, encouraged by their own presence in the background. Between 70,000 and 80,000 troops of the finest armies in the world *might* in this sense, have re-embarked for France and England without ever having seen the enemy, or having done more than cheer the heroic exertions of a Turkish

garrison at the safe distance of more than 100 miles. But if they had done so, what terms of peace would have been obtained? Not even the evacuation of the Principalities as a confession of wrong, or on any ground of principle; but avowedly as a retreat merely for strategic reasons. Beyond this—nothing. If such a campaign would have satisfied Lord Ellenborough's notions of a statesman's war, would such terms have satisfied his conception of a statesman's peace?

If we may refer our readers to our own remarks on the war, published in this place in January last*, and written at a time when the magnitude of the siege of Sebastopol and the sufferings of the army were only partially known to us, we may assert that the strategical opinions expressed by us on that occasion are wholly untouched and unchanged by subsequent experience, or by the elaborate investigations of Mr. Roebuck's Committee. We shall not revert in detail to the explanation we then gave of the earlier movements of the campaign, the occupation of the lines of Gallipoli, the advance to Varna, and the decisive arguments against a campaign on the plains of the Danube or the Pruth.

When the siege of Silistria was raised, and the Russian army had retired behind the Danube, one main purpose of the advance to Varna was fulfilled; and everything clearly pointed to more enterprising operations on the shores of the Euxine. The formidable fleet which lay ensconced behind the forts of Sebastopol, was ever ready to slip its cables whenever an opportunity should present itself. To blockade that harbour required constant vigilance, and absorbed the exclusive attention of a powerful force. Its peculiar position rendered it, at almost all seasons, singularly convenient for watching and seizing opportunities of sudden attack, and of as sudden retreat. It was, undoubtedly, the head-quarters of Russian power in the Black Sea. There could be no doubt of the greatness of the object which would be attained by the destruction of that fleet and stronghold, both in a moral and in a material point of view. And the Crimea was the only, as it was by far the most important, theatre of action in which the allied armies could use, to full advantage, their maritime supremacy for the support of all their operations on shore.

One question alone was doubtful, and that was, the adequacy of the force at the disposal of the generals. We shall refer more particularly to this question when we come to the next head, on the executive conduct of the war. But, so far as

* *Ed. Review*, No. ccv. p. 270.

it was connected with the larger considerations which belong to strategy, we now know the main elements entering into a determination which was necessarily left to the final decision of the generals. In the first place, although extreme difficulty had been found by them in procuring any local information, the English Government had succeeded in estimating very nearly the probable Russian force in the Crimea which would be disposable for the immediate defence of Sebastopol. Their estimate is stated by Sir J. Graham (*Evidence*, pp. 21. 239.) to have been 70,000 men, 40,000 of whom formed the garrison of Sebastopol, and 30,000 dispersed in other parts of the Crimea. Practically we know that the number of the army which Prince Menschikoff could muster to stop the advance of the Allies upon the Alma was under 40,000. In the second place, it was known that in the fortification of Sebastopol much more attention had been bestowed upon the side of the sea than on that of the land, from which quarter, since Russia held it, there has never appeared to be even the possibility of attack. In the third place, the powerful fleets of the Allies, and the careful reconnaissances made of the coast by the activity of the admirals, and especially by Sir Edward Lyons, rendered the work of landing almost secure, unless from the impediments of weather. Lastly, the same maritime power seemed to secure the uninterrupted supply of the armies, as well as, in extreme circumstances, their retreat.

Beyond these general considerations, it is not to be denied that neither the generals, nor the Governments which directed them, had, or could have, any precise or certain data. Therefore, the Crimean expedition will ever remain one of the boldest military undertakings in history. Yet we believe, on the whole, that this expedition was wise, as bold offensive plans are generally wise in war, even when they incur considerable risks. We cannot admit, upon this subject, the correctness of an argument which is involved by implication in one paragraph of the Report before us. Considerations as to the policy of any given military movement must of course be subordinate to questions with respect to the possibility of success. But where the policy is recommended by considerations of overwhelming force, and the risks of failure are confined within certain limits, we cannot measure the wisdom of such a step by pondering the exact amount of doubt attending it. Such, we hold, was precisely the position of the Allied Governments in respect to the Crimean expedition. It was not only recommended, as we have seen, by accumulated considerations of policy over every other course, but it was literally the only course open to them which had any tendency to secure the great objects of the war. It is erroneous

then to argue as if that which 'induced' the Government to direct the expedition was, or ought to have been, the precise amount of detailed information they possessed as to all the difficulties attending it. That which really 'induced' them was the paramount argument of policy which pointed to its importance; and the only question is, whether this argument was sufficiently conclusive to justify them in incurring the degree of risk which could probably or possibly be involved. But this is precisely the question which the Committee cannot answer, because the policy of the expedition lies, they say, beyond the sphere of their inquiry. When, therefore, the Committee conclude their report by condemning the expedition as having been undertaken without 'sufficient information,' we must dispute their title to pronounce that decision. 'Sufficient' is a relative term, the relation being between the risks to be run and the object to be gained. But on one of these two things they tell us they have no right to judge. How then can they pronounce on the proportion which obtains between them? We have stated the grounds on which we think the expedition was wise in respect to policy; and also the grounds on which we think the risks, in spite of the want of detailed 'information,' were not too great for the object to be gained. Grave as the events of that expedition have been, we are not shaken in that opinion. On the contrary, those events have shown that our command of the sea, which was rendered more secure by the expedition, has enabled us to confront with success all the most serious dangers of the enterprise.

We shall not follow further the strategical conduct of the war into the details of the campaign after the expedition landed in the Crimea; because the strategy of detail, whatever were its merits or defects, belongs, of course, exclusively to the generals on the spot. They, in conjunction with the admirals, chose the point of landing, the direction of advance, the method of assailing the entrenchments of the Alma, the time spent upon that bloody but triumphant field. They determined not to attack the north side of Sebastopol, but to direct their famous flank march on Balaklava. On every step of these operations abundant criticism has been spent, and the most confident decisions pronounced as to what would have happened if the conduct of the generals had been different. We pass all these speculations by in the silence of willing forgetfulness, with only one remark: If it be true that any other mode or time of operation would have enabled the generals to take Sebastopol after Alma, it must be also true that the calculations of the Governments at home, as to the practicability of the great object in view, and

the probable sufficiency of the means provided, were not so far wide of the mark as it has been frequently pretended. We must guard ourselves, however, by saying that we attach no weight whatever to these opinions. The defence of the expedition must rest on much broader and wider grounds.

There are two other strategical features in the general conduct of the war, which require separate notice. The first is the occupation of Eupatoria by the army of Omar Pasha, transferred thither from the Danube. That army is undoubtedly in a position there to do essential service to the Allies, by at least occupying the attention of a considerable force of the enemy. But that service would have been infinitely increased had the Pasha been able to operate in the field, from Eupatoria as a base. We cannot but regret, therefore, that the allied generals have not considered themselves able to complete that army with such a detachment of European troops as would have enabled it to act in advance, and to threaten the communications of the Russian army with Simpheropol and Bactshi Serai. The other great feature in the strategical conduct of the war to which we have referred is the recent capture of Kertch, and the occupation of the Sea of Azoff. This is an operation, the importance of which was indicated by the Duke of Newcastle, in his dispatch of the 29th June, 1854, directing the Crimean expedition. It was subsequently, as we now know, more specifically pressed upon the attention of Admiral Dundas by the English Admiralty; and we believe that although that officer was prevented from making the attempt by the want of land troops essential to its success, it was a matter which was urgently pressed upon the attention of the generals both by the Government at home, and by the Admirals Lyons and Bruat. With the accession of General Pelissier to the command of the French army all difficulties were at once removed; and the brilliant success which has attended the expedition exceeded even the most sanguine expectation. The prodigious stores which have been found and destroyed by Captain Lyons (whose much-lamented death is the sole drawback on the good fortune which attended his brave and skilful achievements) sufficiently indicate the immense importance of the Sea of Azoff to the supply of the Russian army in the Crimea: and making every allowance for the great command which the Government may have over the means of land carriage in the southern provinces of the Empire, it is difficult to believe, that without free transit across the Sea of Azoff, it will be possible to maintain in the Crimea the great armies necessary for its defence. Nor is it upon the possession of that peninsula alone that this great blow will tell. The sub-

sequent evacuation of Anapa sufficiently indicates how essential was the link which has been broken to the whole chain of Russian possessions in the East; and though we cannot wish to see ourselves entangled in such guarantees of Circassian independence as would involve us in a state of chronic warfare on behalf of tribes inhabiting the inaccessible countries which stretch towards the Caspian Sea, it is no small matter that we may have it in our power to make important conditions in respect to the territories bordering on the Euxine.

We must turn now to the third head,—to the executive conduct of the war. It is hardly just to canvass the conduct of the Government in sending an army which has proved numerically too weak to accomplish, so speedily as was at first expected, the work assigned to it. That army was not at first regarded as more than a contingent to the much larger army which France was supposed to be as able as she was willing to supply. But much more is to be said than this. The English Government sent out a larger army, on a shorter notice, and to a greater distance, than England had ever sent out before; and they landed on the distant shores of the Crimea a force actually larger than that which was landed by our great military ally. The truth is, there is more colour of reason in the opposite complaint against the Government, viz. that the force which they sent was too large. They sent out very nearly the whole army which we possessed in an available condition. The consequence was, as Lord Ellenborough observed, with that truth which is more apt to characterise his separate remarks than his logical conclusions, that we fought without an army of reserve. We observe that the Committee have taken the same line of criticism. It was so; and it is a bad thing to have no army of reserve. But this is the condition in which England found herself at the breaking out of a great war, after forty years of peace. The best defence of the Government is simply this, that they could not do both,—send a large force tolerably adequate to the design, and keep besides a force at home, or at Constantinople, to form an army of reserve. They had but one army, and it could not be used in both ways.

But there is a further question: Might not earlier steps have been taken to form an army of reserve? We think they might. The increase of the bounty and the lowering of the standard were measures which in our opinion were not taken soon enough. And generally we concur upon this subject in the regret of the Committee that all the measures resorted to by the Government after the alarm raised by the battle of Inkermann were

not taken at an earlier time. But although we concur in that regret, we cannot pretend to connect this matter very closely with the 'condition of the army before Sebastopol' during the period of its distress; for if we are asked what part or measure of the calamities of the winter would have been prevented or lightened by an earlier resort to the measures we have referred to, we must confess that the criticism bears but little reference to those calamities at all, but only to the due preparation for a possibly long and arduous war.

The next great count of indictment which has been popularly brought against the executive management of the war arises from the delay which took place at Varna. That delay must be considered with reference to two wholly different causes, corresponding to two different periods of time. In the first place, the generals went to Varna long before they would otherwise have done so, — because long before they could possibly be ready to move from it, — in order to comply with the earnest desire of Omar Pacha, who thought that the presence there of even part of the allied armies would exercise, as it did exercise, no small influence both on the hopes of the Turks in Silistria, and on the apprehensions of the besieging Russians. It has been commonly supposed that the allied armies were prevented from moving to the relief of Silistria solely by the want of baggage animals. But the truth is, that the allied armies were not themselves assembled in sufficient force at Varna until within a few days of the retreat of the Russians. It is now notorious that the French army was less prepared, and consequently less willing, to make the movement from the Bosphorus to Varna than the English. They had less means of sea transport; and it is some consolation to think that at this stage of the combined operations, their 'ordnance department' was certainly not more complete in its *matériel* than ours. By the middle of May but few of their artillery horses had arrived; and our own were still insufficient, although the most powerful steamers had been employed in the service, and sailing ships had been seven weeks on the voyage from England. By the 10th of June, however, a large part of our horse equipments had arrived; but Lord Raglan's anxiety to comply with the wishes of the Turkish general had been such that he had already begun the movement of his force; and the Light division had all landed at Varna by the 5th. We need not follow the details further; suffice it to say, that the allied armies were not collected in force at Varna till the end of June; whilst the siege of Silistria was raised on the 22d. Bosquet's division of the French army did not arrive from Adrianople till early in July.

The extreme difficulty experienced by both the Allied Governments in providing adequate conveyance for the innumerable appliances of a great army, and for the comparatively small number of horses which were necessary for field artillery and for a very limited force of cavalry, is sufficient comment on the extravagant assumption that baggage animals also could have been provided otherwise than locally. Yet the want of the means of land transport has been gravely charged against the Government by Lord Ellenborough as one of the foremost items of mismanagement. Let us take the calculation with which he has himself supplied us in the last Session of Parliament on the authority of the late Sir Charles Napier. His estimate was that to make an army really moveable it was needful to have animals at the rate of about one for every man. Now, our largest steamer, the 'Himalaya,' conveyed 318 horses from England in thirteen days. Let us take only one half of the number of animals indicated by the above estimate, and suppose that our army, numbering some 30,000, had been supplied from England with baggage animals. It would have taken forty-seven ships of the size of the 'Himalaya' to convey them. We need hardly say that there were few such ships available for this purpose in addition to those employed in the conveyance of the troops and their material of war. It is clear, therefore, that although the Duke of Newcastle appears very wisely to have taken steps to procure animals from Spain and the coast of Africa, one of the necessary difficulties of the campaign was that, in the main, the baggage animals of the army should be collected from the Turkish territories in Europe and Asia, bordering on the theatre of operations. It is always to be remembered, further, that the idea of an inland campaign was from the first foreign to the obvious policy of the Allies, and that there was the less probability of such animals as would be required not being procurable in sufficient numbers for short distances from the sea. Nor is it at all true, as was asserted, we believe by Mr. Layard, that those countries could not afford a supply of beasts of burden. By the time the army itself was fully assembled at Varna, they were bought in considerable numbers, and procured at a moderate price. Before the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken nearly 6000 animals had been collected, and more could easily have been procured if it had been necessary to provide for a campaign on the Danube.

About a fortnight only elapsed between the raising of the siege of Silistria and the receipt by the allied generals of the instructions to direct the expedition to the Crimea. All the delay, therefore, which occurred after that date had reference

solely to the means of embarkation and disembarkation on the enemy's coast. That delay was considerable; that is to say, it lasted about six weeks, from the 18th or 19th July, when the expedition was determined upon by the generals, to the last days of August, when the embarkation of the forces was being rapidly effected. We think it probable that if the expedition to the Crimea had been absolutely certain when the headquarters of the army had reached the Bosphorus in April, and orders had then been given them for the preparation of the necessary boats, platforms, &c., they might have been ready earlier. But there was not and could not be any such certainty. If Silistria had fallen, the plan of operations must have been very different. It is possible also, that if the Home Government had been able to calculate with certainty on the actual result, they might have sent some of the required materials from home; and there can be no doubt that the inefficiency of Turkish arsenals was not fully known. But, on the whole, considering the great operations which so fully occupied the time and attention of all the departments at home, as well as of the generals and admirals on the spot, up to the full assembly of the troops at Varna, we do not think that the time occupied in the final adjustment of detail for that vast undertaking can be considered as excessive.

Of the manner in which that embarkation, that sailing, and that landing were effected, we need only say that the world saw it with wonder and admiration. It was a new fact in the history and in the art of war. Upon it we have but one general remark to offer. It proved two things: one, that the means of effecting it had been placed at the disposal of the two services by the two Governments; and the other is that some, at least, of the men they had selected for command showed themselves capable of turning these means to that great account. All the merit of arrangement and execution—and on these everything depended—belongs exclusively to the officers of the two services, and to the departments on the spot. Ought these general considerations not to be borne in mind when we enter upon the more painful events which followed? Were not the men who planned and conducted the Crimean armada the same men who continued to hold the same command over the same materials, for the organisation of the army, and the supply of its necessities? Ought not this to lead us to the conclusion that a great part, at least, of the subsequent misfortunes were due to circumstances which their proved ability could not control, with the means at their disposal? As these sheets are passing through the press we learn the sudden and melancholy termination of

Lord Raglan's honourable and useful career before the successful completion of the great enterprise in which he was engaged. Our limits forbid us to do more in this place than pay a passing tribute to the virtues, the graces, and the high qualities of his character; but the nation will do justice to his services, and Death, which silences the clamour of faction, will place his fame upon a lasting monument, hallowed by the respect of good men and the esteem of his country.

The Crimean campaign must be considered carefully with reference to certain distinct periods, into which it is naturally divided by the dates of leading events. The first period is from the landing to the occupation of Balaklava, that is, from the 14th, when the disembarkation began, to the 26th September. Whatever inconveniences were suffered by the troops during those eleven days arose from the want of tents, and some other articles of baggage. Considering the extreme importance of landing at once as many men as possible, we doubt whether Lord Raglan can be seriously blamed for not having sacrificed the conveyance of any part of his fighting men for the sake of a larger quantity of baggage. The British army landed with about 1000 cavalry, the only detachment of that arm which accompanied the expedition, as well as with 1200 animals for the carriage of ammunition, and seventy carts equipped with mules. To the conveyance of this essential force Lord Raglan postponed for the moment that of the ambulances and the rest of the animals collected at Varna. The French took their ambulances and a larger proportion of bât-horses, but left behind their cavalry. Which of these two measures was most essential to the success of the army, the event of the battle of the Alma sufficiently testifies. Marshal St. Arnaud expressly stated in his despatch of the 21st of September, that had he had his cavalry on the field, he would have obtained the most decisive results. We can, therefore, perfectly understand the motives which induced Lord Raglan to leave behind on the first voyage or landing, much that was essential to the permanent comfort of his troops. But we are at a loss to conceive why effectual measures were not taken to land them, and convey them to the front the moment Balaklava was secured. It seems to us that an organised plan for carrying up to the camp, and even for bringing into every tent, the baggage and articles of first necessity for the health and comfort of an army, was quite as essential as a system for carrying up the guns and ammunition. Nothing short of such a system could possibly enable the officers and men, situated as they then were, to possess themselves of their baggage; and we

apprehend that it was a mistake to land any part of the men without their kits, which ought to be the inseparable companion of the soldier.

It was not till the 28th and 29th that the ships could begin the disembarkation of artillery and stores in the harbour of Balaklava. From that date to the 17th October, when the bombardment opened, a period of only eighteen days, every nerve was strained, and every available man employed, in carrying up to the front the siege artillery and ammunition, and in preparing the batteries and trenches for their reception. And wonderful was the work performed in that short time. It is very easy for us to pronounce now, when we know how ineffectual the bombardment proved to be, that the time would have been better employed in bringing up the necessary comforts for the men, in anticipation of a long encampment. There can be no doubt that — from causes which are more fully discussed in another article of this Number of our Journal — the engineering department of the army fell into a prodigious miscalculation of the effect of artillery on the kind of defences before them.

The bombardment had only lasted four days when, on the 21st, symptoms were already apparent of a Russian force threatening Balaklava. Four days after, on the 25th, as we all know, the attack took place, which produced on the part of our cavalry such melancholy and fatal feats of valour. The great sortie and repulse of the Russians followed on the 26th. Thus eight or nine days from the opening of the fire bring us to the time when events imperatively directed the attention of the generals to another great labour — that of strengthening and extending the defences of Balaklava, which was planned by the engineers with apparently no regard to the strength of the army. And then — how apt we are to forget the oppressive swiftness of these tremendous dates — at only ten days' interval followed that dreadful conflict of Inkermann, which, side by side with Alma,

‘is now a voice for ever,
To the world's four quarters blown!

Nor did the demand for fresh military labours cease with that battle. On the contrary, it seemed to show that those labours, great as they had been, had not been great enough. New ground had to be occupied, new fortifications raised. And so more time was spent, which again, if the future had been known, might have been more profitably applied. For an enemy more formidable than the Russians had appeared on the morning of the 5th of November: the fogs and rain, which covered the approach of the Russian columns, were the advanced guard of

the Crimean winter. Even a few days earlier the weather had begun to break. Immediately afterwards it broke entirely; and nine days more bring us to that terrific storm, on the 14th of November, which, in a few fatal hours, scattered to the winds and waters of the Euxine a large part of the clothing and other comforts which the Government had provided, and sent out in ample time, for the health and comfort of the troops.

It is impossible to follow these dates without seeing that up to this period at least the time of the troops and the attention of the generals were engrossed by successive labours of the most arduous kind, connected exclusively with military operations, on which they spent the whole force of the army, scant enough, as it even then seemed, for the purpose of self-defence, and the works needed for a permanent winter's encampment. The Committee have, however, expressed upon this subject, one of the most definite opinions contained in their Report. 'In this matter,' they say — (viz. that of a road between Balaklava and the camp), 'it appears to us there was a want of 'due foresight and decision.' Admitting the impossibility of affording military labour, other labour, they think, might have been obtained. We do not dispute this opinion, though we are by no means certain of its truth. But we are sure that if labour was not procurable from some point on the shores of the Black Sea, it could not have been organised and sent out, in time from England, after the date assigned by the Committee as that when the application should have been made, to prevent the misfortunes of the ensuing weeks. But local labour,—from Eupatoria or elsewhere — might probably have been applied with some advantage, if unfortunately military men were not generally prejudiced against associating civilians with themselves in works of engineering. We trust that the experience of this campaign will go far to render this association familiar to the army.

After the battle of Inkermann, and the storm of the following week, the miseries of the army are attributable mainly to these four causes:—First, overwork and exposure in the trenches; secondly, bad clothing for a time from the loss of that which had been supplied; thirdly, want of fuel, of time, and means of cooking; and lastly, one great want, which aggravated every other that it did not directly cause—we mean the want of facility of conveyance between Balaklava and the camp.

Overwork and exposure were evils inseparable from the operations, the season, and the numerical weakness of the army. The blame attributable either to the Government or to the generals respecting them is precisely the blame attaching to them

for ever having undertaken the expedition at all in the face of contingencies of this kind. If the generals thought it necessary to carry on their attempted offensive operations through the winter, there was but one way in which the labour could have been lightened, and that was by an earlier division of it into more equal portions between the French and English armies. But when the trenches were first opened, the numerical strength of the two armies was about equal; and there is reason to believe that as the proportion altered by the large reinforcements at the disposal of the French, no time was lost by the English general in endeavouring to effect such an arrangement.

But the exposure we have here spoken of is that which was connected with the overwork in the trenches. Another kind of exposure remains to be considered, — that of insufficient covering when the men were off work, owing to the want of huts. Some of the witnesses before the Committee have declared that they did not, on the whole, think the huts preferable to the tents; and it is certain that the French army had not only no huts during the period to which we are now referring, but a great part of them had nothing more than the small *tentes d'abri*, the shelter of which is but partial. Nevertheless, we hold that the degree of confidence in speedy success, which led both the Governments at home and the generals on the spot to neglect more sufficient means of shelter at an early period, was altogether excessive. In respect of both, it was only after the battle of Inkermann that they ordered hutting. The Government at home were quite as early in this matter as the generals on the spot. Lord Raglan ordered hutting on the 7th, two days after the battle. The Government ordered it on the 17th, two days after they heard of that event. There can be no doubt that this was a mistake. We are bound to add, however, that it was not unreasonable to suppose that wood for temporary hutting was to be obtained at Constantinople, and therefore within reach of the generals, more especially as that city is, to a great extent, built of wood, and that both materials and workmen exist there in abundance. We observe, not without surprise, that the Committee are of opinion that loose planking for floors, and canvass for doubling the tents, would have been better than regular huts, and yet that they specially connect the non-supply of these articles with the imperfect organisation of the Ordnance Department — at home. But if there are any two articles in the world for which a local supply might have been relied on, they are plank-ing and tenting in Turkey.

In respect to the insufficient means of conveyance between Balaklava and the camp, so much of the blame is undoubtedly

attributable to the Government as can be fairly laid upon them for not having resorted from the first to the formation of a separate corps, charged exclusively with the care of land transport. There are three things to be considered in estimating fairly what that amount of blame may be: — First, it is to be remembered that, except that corps which the Duke of Wellington organised at the latter end of the Peninsular War, no such separate body was known in the British army. The care of the land transport formed a part of the duty of the Commissariat. Secondly, although the formation of a separate corps, specially charged with the duty of organising the land transport of an army, seems a very obvious expedient when the old system has once so completely failed, we doubt whether such a failure, in the very limited distances from our naval base which the Crimean expedition involved, was an event which could have been contemplated beforehand. And lastly, we think it is impossible to read the evidence of Sir Charles Trevelyan on this point without being convinced that the failure of the commissariat transport was due to causes over which it had no control, and which would have operated under any system. The commissariat had procured and landed in the Crimea as many animals as were considered to be sufficient, and had sent a large reserve to Constantinople. With these means, it supplied with complete success the wants of the army until the weather broke. We have seen how rapidly that event followed upon others which had filled every hour with the most laborious deeds of valour and of endurance. To understand the terrible effect with which it operated, we have only to listen to the precise and forcible statement of Sir Charles Trevelyan: —

‘The road became broken up. The first effect of that was that, whereas draught animals and carts had been principally used before, the animals could afterwards be used as pack animals only, the consequence of which was that the transport power was reduced at once *by two thirds*, because, as I mentioned before, an animal could draw 600 lbs., but could only carry 200 lbs., so that it was reduced to one third at once. Then, whereas, before the breaking of the road the draught animals made one trip a-day, very soon after the breaking up of the road, the pack animals were able to make only a trip every other day, which reduced the one third to one sixth. Then the state of the road was such, being knee-deep with holes in it, that it wore and distressed extremely both animals and drivers. The length of time they were occupied in waiting at Balaklava for the stores, carrying them up to the camp and bringing them back again, exposed all this time to the inclement weather — the severe labour over this almost impassable road, destroyed both animals and drivers, and the drivers began rapidly to disappear.’

We must add, however, that we think Sir Charles Trevelyan has somewhat overstated his case in defence of the Commissariat. We are not satisfied either in respect to the supply of forage, or in respect to the want of shelter for the animals, that greater energy might not have overcome to a greater extent the difficulties which undoubtedly surrounded this department. The Committee have related the facts with much fairness, and have been unable to come to any positive opinion. It is impossible to read this account of the effects produced in that soil and climate, from the want of a road, without seeing that, *if* time and labour were wanting for the execution of that work during the month of October, a great part of the misery that followed was inevitable. Certain it is that those leading causes of distress in the British army to which we have referred, and which were inseparable from the position in which it found itself placed, continued to operate long after those which were remediable by either the Government or the general had been removed. Within little more than a fortnight after the catastrophe of the 14th of November, by the 3rd of December, some warm clothing had arrived; by the 18th, further supplies were reported by Lord Raglan; and, by the end of that month, both huts and clothing, and stores of every kind, were pouring in faster than they could be turned to account. But all this time the weather continued to be dreadful, and the labour and exposure in the trenches excessive. For this there was no remedy but one, and that one could not apparently be afforded at the time: it was not till the middle of January that General Canrobert thought himself in a position to divide more equally the labours of the siege with our attenuated ranks. From that moment, corresponding as it also did with a somewhat improved access to the camp, the condition of the army began to amend. That amendment went on at a doubly accelerated rate when the weather began to improve, and the railway to facilitate the communications. This last resource was not so early available as had been hoped. The Duke of Newcastle had entered into the arrangement in November within a couple of days after the account of the storm of the 14th reached England; but, notwithstanding all the energy and skill of Messrs. Peto and Brassey, the physical difficulties of an operation of so great a nature, at such a distance, were such that the railway was not even partially available until the 23rd of February, when rations and firewood were taken up for the Highland brigade at Kadikoi.

On the mismanagement of the hospitals at Scutari, though not, strictly speaking, part of the 'conduct of the war,' we

agree with the Committee that the one great error, for which the Government was to blame, was not having from the first appointed some superior officer to be responsible for the whole arrangements connected with the establishments on the Bosphorus. They were too far removed from the general to be under his eye, and the necessity of drawing upon his staff for this purpose should not have been laid upon him, considering the peculiar qualifications requisite for the duty. It was, of course, still more impossible for the Minister at home to exercise any control. The Ambassador, to whom ample pecuniary powers were given, had probably neither the time nor the qualifications necessary for exercising any personal judgment on the wants and requirements of the hospitals. The consequence was, that, when complaints arose, the Government could only refer them to the subordinate officers whose conduct was inculpated. We concur also with the Report before us that there is no explanation of the disorders which prevailed in those establishments for a considerable time, which does not leave much blame on the superior medical officers in charge. They knew that Lord Stratford had unlimited means to place at their disposal. Yet the difficulty was, not in answering any requisitions from them, but in persuading them even to acknowledge the deficiencies, which they should have been the first to discover and urge on the attention of the Government and its agents.

With respect to the inefficient conduct, for a time at least, of the transport service between the Bosphorus and Balaklava, we think, again, that the Government were responsible, in so far as they appear to have made an unfortunate selection of the officer charged with duties requiring the largest administrative abilities, and in so far as the error admitted by Sir James Graham in declining at first to comply with one requisition from that officer, may have increased his difficulties. But the selection of Admiral Boxer was one made from the purest motives: he was an officer who rose from the ranks by his own exertions; he seems to have discharged with energy and success the more limited, but important duties subsequently assigned to him at Balaklava. We may observe in passing that he was certainly not connected with the 'aristocracy.' It is, indeed, a curious comment on the extravagant assertions on this subject of the Administrative Reform Association, that the officer who has latterly supplied the place, and ably performed the duties in which Admiral Boxer failed, is not only one of what these gentlemen call the 'ruling classes'—not only a Whig—but a Grey! And although at one moment the unfortunate admiral was overwhelmed by a storm of unpopularity, his subsequent misfortunes and sudden

death have caused him to be sincerely lamented by the whole expedition.

In respect to one most important item of the mismanagement of the transport service in the Black Sea, viz., the want of Hospital ships for the conveyance of the sick, we cannot acquit either the naval or military commanders-in-chief. It seems to us that without any instructions from home, a matter of such obvious importance ought to have been arranged by them. Yet even after Sir James Graham had urged it on the attention of Admiral Dundas in a private letter of the 25th October, no immediate steps were taken for the purpose. It is difficult to believe that officers who had at their disposal the vast fleet which carried the whole army to the Crimea, could not have organised a system for the conveyance of its sick and wounded.

We cannot pass, however, from the subject of the transport service without declaring our opinion that, on the whole, the conduct of it has been rather matter for astonishment and admiration than of criticism or blame. The attention of the public has been too exclusively directed to the partial shortcomings which have undoubtedly taken place in a service of unparalleled complication and extent. We are glad to observe that the Committee of the House of Commons have, though inadequately, done something to check the want of consideration which has been shown in the charges brought against this department of the public service: one in which, more than any other, we should feel interest and pride, as the best indication of the vast resources of the English people. When we are told that within a year we have conveyed and landed upon the distant shores of the Crimea upwards of 150,000 men, and 14,000 horses, we have, after all, but an inadequate idea of what has been effected. The amount of stores of all kinds which have been required for the supply of such armies, in food, in forage, in guns and ammunition, and for the supply of the transport ships themselves, the system and regularity with which those supplies required to be, and have been, provided in a continuous stream across such distances, and through every variety of weather, without one single accident of any importance except that which befel the vessels lost in a hurricane of unprecedented violence—all this has been almost forgotten in the very greatness and success with which these gigantic operations have been conducted. At this moment we are employing no less than one hundred and thirty-eight steamers, with a tonnage of 153,413; besides ninety-seven sailing ships, with a tonnage of 84,683. It may be safely said that if it had not been for the prodigious resources available in the maritime power and merchant navy of England,

this distant war could not have been conducted at all; and that it is these resources mainly which have rendered available not only our own army, but the military forces of France, Turkey, and Sardinia.

The Committee devote a considerable part of their report to observations on the conduct of the Government at home, especially in respect to the constitution of the military departments. This has been a favourite topic both with those who have attacked the Government and with those who have defended it. Opponents have severely blamed the Cabinet for not having reorganised the departments when the war began. Their supporters, again, justly assuming the difficulty of speedy and effective reorganisation at a moment when every wheel of the machine was required to be working double time, have charged every shortcoming on defects of system. For ourselves, we agree with Lord Ellenborough, that by far too much has been made of this matter upon both sides. Those errors, which the Government at home did commit—take, for example, the non-appointment of a superior officer on the Bosphorus—had nothing to do with departmental difficulties; whilst, on the other hand, the items of mismanagement which resulted from defective organisation had but little immediate connexion with the misfortunes of the winter. No one of the departments had anything to do with the extent of the trenches at Sebastopol, or with the tardy division between French and English labour, or with the want of a road, or with the consequent failure of the means of land transport, or with the loss of winter clothing in the storm, or with the local mismanagement of the sea transport between Balaklava and the Bosphorus. Let us take, perhaps, the worst case of defective system—that of the Ordnance department. We agree with the Committee, that the Government were wrong in allowing Lord Raglan to retain the position of Master-General when he could not perform its duties. We agree that the condition of that department united in itself every objection which applies generally to Boards, with many special aggravations, which rendered indispensable the controlling power of an active and energetic Head. But when the Committee sum up the specific practical evils, which they can trace to this bad organisation, we not only find that they confine themselves to very general terms, but that even in these they cannot help pressing into the service defects which had little connexion with the alleged cause; for example, the insufficient supply of Minié rifles was notoriously due to the want (strange as it may seem) of adequate manufacturing power at Birmingham to produce the quantity required. But the Duke of

Newcastle exercised his ample powers as Secretary of State to order a supply from abroad; and whatever delay arose in their delivery was not due to any impediments whatever interposed by the Board of Ordnance. Again, the sending of huts instead of loose planking and tenting may have been an error, but it certainly was not one depending in the remotest degree on defective organisation. The Committee, indeed, implies, without directly asserting, that there was undue delay in making the huts after the order was given. But when we recollect that Lord Raglan reported in the last days of December that huts were then arriving in abundance, and that the order was only given on the 17th November, we must be allowed to dispute the evidence on which this assertion rests. Nor can we pass from this portion of the Report of the Committee without expressing our entire dissent from that paragraph, which seems to censure the Duke of Newcastle for having 'lent his sanction to 'the Clerk of the Ordnance, and enabled him to overrule both 'his colleagues.' It seems to us that in the absence of the real head of that office, this was precisely what the Duke was bound to do if he thought the clerk right, and the clerk's colleagues wrong. It was only by thus exercising his own judgment on matters brought into dispute between different members of the Board, that he could counteract the evils of its constitution; and we believe that in every instance in which he supported the opinion of Mr. Monsell he broke through the trammels of a bad system, to the clear advantage of the public service.

In a former article in this Journal*, we traced the history of the negotiations on the 'Eastern Question' with some care, from its earliest stages to the declaration of war, in March, 1854. With that event, under ordinary circumstances, negotiations would have closed. But the circumstances, so far from being ordinary, have been anomalous in the last degree. We, ourselves, continued to be at peace with Russia, after the Turks, whose cause we were supporting, had declared war. Austria, again, has refused to draw the sword when France and England felt themselves compelled to do so. Yet, she has declared her approval of our objects, and has more than implied that certain contingencies would compel her to resort to similar means for their attainment. Those contingencies might be vague or doubtful. But if the doubts connected with them were sufficient to deprive us of any confident expectation, they were, at least, sufficient, on the other hand, to be a source of danger and

* Ed. Review for July, 1854. No. cciii.

embarrassment to Russia. The best chance of their being ultimately solved in our favour, would have been rapid military success; not, as Lord Ellenborough would have it, in campaigns dependent on Austrian support, but in operations resting only on our own resources. Another chance, however, not to be neglected in the meantime, was that of implicating Austria more and more closely in our objects and our policy, by such diplomatic engagements as she might be willing to contract.

Immediately after our declaration of war, which took place at the end of March, the Conference of the Four Powers reassembled at Vienna, and the result was the important protocol of the 9th of April, upon which all the subsequent engagements, including the treaty of December, were founded. In that protocol the change which had resulted from the breaking out of war between the Western Powers and Russia, was considered by Austria and Prussia 'as implying the necessity of 'declaring anew the union of the Four Governments in the 'principles laid down in the protocols of December 5th and 'January 13th.' In making this declaration, those principles received somewhat more clear development in the following passage:—

'L'intégrité territoriale de l'Empire Ottoman est et demeure la condition *sine quâ non* de toute transaction destinée à rétablir la paix entre les Puissances Belligérantes: et les Gouvernements représentés par les soussignés s'engagent à rechercher en commun les garanties les plus propres à rattacher l'existence de cet Empire à l'équilibre général de l'Europe, comme ils se déclarent prêts à délibérer et à s'entendre sur l'emploi des moyens les plus convenables pour attendre l'objet de leur concert.'

We have seen that the Anglo-French army reached the Bosphorus in force in May, and began their movement to Varna in the first days of June. About the same moment Austria addressed to Russia, what was called at the time, a summons to evacuate the Principalities. It was not conceived, however, in such imperative terms as necessarily to involve a collision should the requisition be refused. No answer was returned by Russia until, a few weeks later, the failure at Silistria made it convenient to her to assume a more accommodating tone. In the meantime, whilst the siege of that place was still pending, Austria proceeded to conclude with the Porte the treaty of the 14th of June. By that treaty she bound herself to procure, by war if necessary, the evacuation of the Principalities, and to prevent, by her own forces, any return of the Russian army. We have always considered the conclusion of that treaty, *at that moment*, as one of the clearest

indications of the honesty of Austria, and of the reality with which she then contemplated the last alternative of war. At that moment the chances were—indeed every human probability was, in favour of the fall of Silistria; and if that fortress had been taken, we do not imagine that the Russians would have retired from the Principalities without a struggle. Within a few days, however, of the date of that treaty, the Russians retired from before Silistria, and there were not wanting indications that this movement behind the Danube might soon be extended to a movement behind the Pruth. Then came the Russian reply to the Austrian ‘summons,’ which had been left more than three weeks unanswered. Russia, now, would not be unwilling to evacuate the Principalities, if only Austria could assure her, in return, of the maritime evacuation of the Euxine by the Western Powers! Nay, she would go further, — she now discovered her willingness to accept the three principles involved in the protocol of the 9th of April, which she defined to be, ‘1. Territorial integrity of Turkey. 2. Evacuation of Principalities. 3. Confirmation of Christian rights.’ But all mention was carefully omitted of the most important part of that protocol, which engaged the Powers to ‘seek in common’ the guarantees the most fitted to attach the existence of the ‘Ottoman Empire to the European balance of power.’ New motives, however, were now being brought to bear. It began to be suspected that her troops might be needed elsewhere. Austria, too, was about to take another step in advance of her previous engagements with the Western Powers. Suddenly, therefore, the approaching evacuation was announced to her, whilst, with a strange struggle between pride and policy, it was at once explained as a military manœuvre, and paraded as a generous concession.

Austria, on this occasion, again, seems to us to have acted with honesty and firmness. She signed with the Western Powers the note of the 8th of August, and therein declared that no peace could be satisfactory which did not fulfil these four great conditions, essential to the solution of the Eastern question: first, abolish the Russian Protectorate over the Principalities; secondly, secure the free navigation of the Danube; thirdly, revise the treaty of 1841, ‘dans un intérêt d’équilibre Européen;’ and fourthly, confirm the privileges of the Christian subjects of the Porte. The extensive sweep of these four great principles did not escape the penetration of Russia. On the 26th of August she replied to the communication, in which Austria had announced this new engagement, upbraiding her for the ungrateful return thus made for the sacrifice to German interests

and wishes involved in the evacuation of the Principalities, declaring that she could not be deceived as to the real meaning of these new bases; that the 'interest of the European equilibrium' was made to signify 'nothing less than the abrogation of all her former treaties, the destruction of all her maritime establishments, and the restriction of Russian power 'in the Black Sea;' that such conditions pretended to treat Russia as if she were 'already enfeebled by the exhaustion of a 'long war;' that she had now exhausted every measure of concession compatible with her honour; and, in the same proud spirit of self-contradiction as before, this document concluded with the declaration that her movement behind the Pruth 'arose 'solely from strategic necessities.'

Such 'necessities' are, indeed, the only arguments to which Russia has been accessible throughout these transactions. This is sufficiently indicated by the dates of her so-called concessions. In September the Crimean expedition was undertaken; the battle of the Alma was fought; and already whispers were heard at Berlin that some, at least, of the 'Four Bases' might receive favourable consideration. But it was a whisper only, and intended for friendly ears. There was yet hope that the tide of strategic necessities might turn. Confident expectations were entertained of the result of the great attack on the allied position before Sebastopol. The 5th of November broke that dream. The telegraph had not more than time to convey to St. Petersburg the news of that disastrous day, when the same ready instrument was employed to report at Potsdam still more distinct intimations of a conciliatory disposition on the part of Nicholas. When the details of Inkermann were fully known, these dispositions seem to have been much confirmed; for on the 17th of November it was formally announced to the Austrian minister at St. Petersburg that Russia would accept the Four Bases, as laid down in the note of the 8th of August.

Yes; it is some satisfaction to remember that this blood was not spilt in vain, and that the heroic courage, which for so many hours sustained an unequal contest, effected a signal breach, not only in the columns of a single army, but in the policy of a whole century of wars. The degree of good faith with which Russia accepted those Bases is not the question. The fact of her professing to accept them marks an advance towards the establishment of principles fatal to those on which she had been building up her ascendancy in the East of Europe. It was immediately subsequent to this announcement on the part of Russia that Austria completed her engagements towards the

Western Powers, by entering into the treaty of the 2nd of December.

But the question now arose much more definitely than it had ever done before. What did Austria bind herself to aid us in securing? What did Russia profess to offer in accepting the Four Bases? They were never intended as defining the terms of peace. They were bases and bases only; that is to say, they laid down certain essential principles which future conditions must be devised and directed to secure. Those conditions would admit of great variety and extension as the events of war might enable the Allies to dictate or impose them. This was true even of the least indefinite among the Four Bases. For example, the free navigation of the Danube might be secured by some such arrangement as that lately proposed at Vienna, or by depriving Russia of less or more, or of the whole, of her territories at its mouth and on its banks. Again, the most important of all — the Third Basis — the revision of the treaty of 1841 in the interest of the 'balance of power' in those countries, had already been spoken of by Russia herself as implying the restriction of her naval power in the Euxine. This again might be extended to the extinction of that naval power, and secured by the destruction and disarmament of Sebastopol, or by the cession of the whole Crimea. All these would be conditions falling within the two great bases of principle to which respectively they refer. The truth is, that the Third Basis was so wide and general in its terms as to be capable of serving as the foundation for yet more extensive designs against Russian power. It was right, therefore, that all parties should come to some more definite explanation of their views. It was right, on the one hand, that Austria should know whether we were seeking to engage her in a war for the dismemberment of Russia, or at least for some great territorial changes going far beyond any object connected with the security of the East. It was right, on the other hand, that the Western Powers should declare their views to be fairly bounded by the just and legitimate objects of a war undertaken for the settlement of the Eastern question; a war, therefore, which ought to cease when real securities had been obtained that, so far as Russia was concerned at least, that question should be set at rest. And lastly, it was indispensable to know what Russia really meant to offer when, as the result of the negotiations at Alma and at Inkermann, she declared her acceptance of the Four Bases.

And thus, we apprehend, arose that memorandum on the common interpretation put upon the Four Bases, which is the first of the documents connected with the late conferences at

Vienna; and on the professed acceptance of which by Russia, the possibility of negotiating was founded. In that memorandum one great object of the Third Basis was declared to be, the putting an end to Russian preponderance in the Black Sea; and to this condition Russia, by her acceptance, professed to yield.

The subsequent negotiations which took place in the month of April at Vienna, may, in fact, be reduced to a single point—whether the means proposed by Russia for the solution of the difficulty were an honest and effectual discharge of the engagement she had contracted by her acceptance of the bases contained in the memorandum of the 28th of December. On this point we have the express authority of Count Buol, who declared the opinion of the Austrian Cabinet to be that these propositions were neither complete nor effectual. There is, indeed, another point connected with it—whether the terms offered by the Allies themselves were not too favourable to Russia to be consistent with an efficient restriction of her power? The terms offered by the Allied Powers were undoubtedly a compromise—something less than they would have been justified in demanding if speedy and entire success had crowned their enterprise in the Crimea, but enough, in their opinion, to justify them in acceding to the restoration of peace if these conditions had been accepted frankly, and full submission had been made to the principles they involve. This proposition having been definitively rejected by Russia, it appears to us superfluous to revert to the discussions which have taken place as to its value, in so far as these have had reference to the precise terms of the proposal. Lord Clarendon stated in the House of Lords, on the 26th of June, that the Allied Courts now considered themselves entirely disengaged from the offer they had made, but which Russia had rejected. Perhaps the most improbable of all events, is that those terms should ever be renewed; but the *principle* on which the Allies have acted and negotiated remains unchanged; namely, that the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea shall cease. To that principle Russia herself has professed to submit; and the mode of accomplishing this essential object must depend on the ultimate success or failure of our naval and military operations.

We cannot pass from this subject, however, without observing that many of the objections taken to the proposal made by the Allies, have been objections to its principle rather than to its details; that is to say, they have been objections—not to the number of ships which Russia would have been allowed to keep—but to any stipulations having reference to fleets alone.

They are objections to 'limitation,' not on account of the degree to which it was to be carried into effect, but to limitation even if it should be carried to the extent of extinguishing the Russian Fleet altogether. And these objections have come from two or three different parties.

There is a small group of men who were themselves responsible for the policy of the war, and for the assertion of the principle that means must be found to 'put an end to Russian 'preponderance in the Euxine,' who have, nevertheless, persuaded themselves that this object may be sufficiently effected without resorting to any material guarantees. But, unfortunately for the success of their arguments, they have — at least Mr. Gladstone has — been induced to go a step further, and to argue — not so much that naval limitation is a stipulation unnecessarily severe for the end in view, but that any compulsory restriction of her fleets is a measure positively unjust towards Russia in itself. But the grounds on which this stipulation is declared to be unjust are fatal to those on which the proposed substitute is declared to be sufficient. That substitute is simply the recognition of the Sultan's right to hold absolute command over his own straits, and to call into the Euxine, whenever he considers himself menaced, the naval forces of his allies. We say nothing of the fact that in recognising this right Russia makes no concession of anything to which she has the smallest title to object; because we admit, if the problem can be solved by an arrangement which costs Russia nothing, this of itself would be no ground of rejection. But how is this proposed substitute to operate? There might possibly be ground to argue that, in dread of the Sultan exercising this power of admission into the Euxine, Russia would take care to give him no cause of alarm; and, therefore, would keep her fleet within limits imposed by herself from motives of prudence. This, in itself, is ~~not~~ a very strong argument, because it is obviously founded on the assumption that Russia is *bonâ fide* to abandon those traditional designs which alone justify us in seeking to impose, whether by one means or another, limits on her means and opportunities of aggression. Still it is not without a certain plausibility; and the effect of the arrangement might possibly for a time — till alarm had passed off — be that which is contemplated. But then down comes Mr. Gladstone with his arguments against the *justice* of limitations, and sweeps all these pleasant plausibilities away. He contends that it is unfair to limit Russia in the Black Sea, because she may need her fleets, not for the purpose of aggression, but for that of defence. Nay more, he argues that the

arrangement accepted by Russia herself,—that of leaving absolute freedom to open, or to shut, the straits, in the hands of Turkey, might justly have been resisted on the same grounds. It allows a Power both weak and corrupt to let in upon Russia at any moment the whole fleets of France and England to ravage her coast and bombard her towns. What, he asks, is to hinder either of these Powers taking advantage in some future war of this facility? and where is the justice of depriving Russia of the natural means of self-defence against such attack? This danger Mr. Gladstone considers not to be distant or fanciful, but so real and so great that he thinks the Russian proposal more than we could have ventured to ask, or even hope for. In this argument, then, we have his own confession that the practical operation of his plan, which he thinks a good substitute for limitation, will be to keep Russia under the constant fear of attack, or, what amounts to the same thing, under the constant ability to plead that fear, in support of larger and more effective armaments than before. Hence, to all the motives previously existing for the maintenance of a powerful fleet, which could only be motives connected with purposes of aggression, would be added the new motives connected with the contingencies of defence. Nor is this the only way in which Mr. Gladstone's argument on the justice of limitation tells fatally against the sufficiency of the proposed substitute. Turkey, it is said, is too weak; or too corrupt; or both, to be a really independent keeper of the Straits. She will be at the mercy of the more powerful States, who will be able to compel or induce her to open when convenient to themselves. If this, then, be true with respect to the Western Powers, it would be equally true with respect to Russia, when possessed of a formidable fleet. Which of the two, then, would be most likely and have most opportunity of using superior force for an illegitimate purpose? This war is not to be justified at all, unless we assume that Russia is the Power whose means of aggression are to be feared against Turkey, and whose opportunities of attack are to be guarded against by the other Powers. It will not do to reverse the whole conditions on which the war rests, and to assume that Russia, in the Euxine, is a defensive, and not an aggressive Power; and that the presumption is in favour of her using great armaments in that sea with moderation and forbearance.

But the most illogical part of Mr. Gladstone's argument is that in which he tells us that it is dangerous first to insult a Power, and then to leave her with undiminished means of vengeance. Surely this applies precisely to what he has done already, in connexion with what he would do now. With his sanction we have attacked Russia on her own shores, and

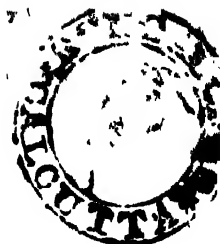
besieged her favourite stronghold. Under the pressure of this attack we have compelled her to abandon all her old treaties with the Porte, the maintenance of which she declared, only a few months ago, to be in the same category with the maintenance of her forts and arsenals, and which, consequently, it was incompatible with her honour to abandon. All this has been done, and done with Mr. Gladstone's approval. Therefore, on his own argument, it would seem that he is bound now not to 'leave her, with all her strength unimpaired, to meditate and 'to watch for an opportunity of revenge.' Does he, then, mean that the limitation of fleets is not a *sufficient* curtailment of her strength, and that one so small is worse than no curtailment at all? If he does mean this, then the conclusion to which his argument will drive us is — not that we should accept less than limitation—but that we should demand more. But is it true that an effectual naval limitation would be a measure in itself attended with consequences so small or inappreciable? Here, again, we have a contradiction of Mr. Gladstone's argument furnished by himself. In another part of the same speech he says, 'Suppose you obtained limitation, what would you have done? You have recorded against the Russian people a 'standing insult to that Government, — a standing deprivation 'of its powers of defence, — the first powers which belong to a 'Government as such.' So here we find him arguing that naval limitation not only would be some 'curtailment' of Russian strength, but that that curtailment would be so grievous as to amount to nothing short of a 'deprivation of the powers 'of defence.' Mr. Gladstone's argument, therefore, if good against those who seek to continue the war for the sake of glory, or for the recovery of some supposed lost prestige, without any object more definite in view, is equally good against his own practical conclusion, which seems to us to answer closely to the paraphrases he has given of the language of others, — 'Insult Russia, offer her indignities, strike her in the face; and, 'having done so, leave her, with all her strength unimpaired, to 'meditate and watch for an opportunity of revenge.'

We admit the value to be placed upon the abandonment by Russia of her treaties with the Porte. But it would be an abuse of words to argue that those treaties constituted any part of her 'strength.' They were the machinery by which she could bring that strength to bear advantageously, and, above all, quietly and constantly. But we must remember that she possesses other influences, of which those treaties were but the symbols and expression, and which will survive when they are gone. Early in the controversy Russia made light of the diplomatic engagements she had secured from Turkey, maintaining

that her influence on the fate and the affairs of that empire did not rest on them, but on the sympathy between herself and her 'co-religionaires,' on her physical power to give effect to that sympathy, and on the thousand facts which made the one an advancing and the other a declining empire. At the late Conferences she found it convenient to use precisely the opposite argument, and to urge that, when she gives up her treaties, she abandons everything that could give just alarm to Turkey, and everything on which her 'preponderance' depends. We have no hesitation in saying that of these two arguments the first is by far the nearest to the truth; and consequently, that the security in which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. S. Herbert see a fulfilment of all the original objects of the war is one which, however important in itself, would yet be wholly insufficient, if it stood alone. We cannot prevent a large amount of sympathy from existing between the different populations belonging to the Eastern Church, nor can we altogether prevent the influence which that sympathy must enable the Government of Russia to exert on Turkey. If, therefore, in addition to this influence, which is inseparable from the condition of things, we leave her undiminished means of backing it with overpowering physical force, we shall do nothing towards settling the difficult problem with which we have to deal. We do not now care to argue whether those means would have been sufficiently reduced by the late proposal of the Allies. We are quite prepared to accept the conclusion that the *limitation* of fleets ought to be carried to the point of extinction. But on the essential value of the principle of curtailing Russian power, with reference to her naval rather than with reference to her territorial or military power, we entertain no doubt whatever. Every plan for putting an end to Russian preponderance which does not include an effectual limitation, or extinction, of her fleets in the Euxine, will be wanting not merely in one important, but in the most essential, element of security. Russia has experienced, now more than once, the difficulty of attacking Turkey with success, and the impossibility of rendering that success speedy or sudden on the side of the Danube and the Balkan. But a powerful fleet would render an attack by water both easy, speedy, and comparatively safe. Nor is it true to say that such an expedition could as readily be conducted in mere transport ships. The liability of having the communications of an army so conveyed cut off by the entry in the Black Sea of the armed vessels of other Powers, or even of Turkey itself, would be an effectual dissuasive from such attempts.

We hold, therefore, that the arguments in favour of accepting the Russian proposal of the 26th of April, as a satisfactory

solution of the problem how best to put an end to Russian preponderance in the Black Sea, have thoroughly broken down. We do not deny that Mr. Gladstone and the Peace party, represented by Mr. Cobden, have done some service, in showing how great has been the advance of the Allies in bringing down the pretensions of Russia, and in establishing principles fatal to those on which she has been so long stealing towards exclusive dominion in the East of Europe. Service not less good has been done by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in his able speech on the 5th of June, in exposing the fatal danger of extending the circle of the war, with a view to issues towards which 'it is not in man to direct his steps' with even tolerable certainty that he is walking straight. We ought to keep as strictly as we can to the original objects of the war; securing these by conditions as stringent and effective as we may be able to command. On these grounds, we hold that the Four Bases are useful definitions of the principles we have engaged to establish; for they are large enough to allow for any amount of change or of extension which, humanly speaking, can be placed within our reach by the events of even the most successful war. Our belief is, that, if we adhere to them, we shall yet have plenty of fighting to secure them well. There is far more probability that by insisting on them all, and enforcing them all by efficient means, we shall necessitate a long course of war, than that by refusing to introduce new elements of strife, we shall too early or too easily secure a peace. At the present time their character is rather negative than positive. They exclude that appeal to the 'suppressed nationalities' of Europe which we firmly believe would prove a fatal weapon to any power resorting to it; they exclude plans for the dismemberment of Russia, though they do not exclude such local changes of territory as are strictly connected with the objects they define; and they omit all mention of the expenses of the war. But in all the acts and protocols of the Allied Powers an express resolution has been made in favour of such ulterior measures as the course of events and the results of our operations may justify or require; and it is only upon the termination of the campaign that the Governments of Europe now engaged in this great enterprise can determine the precise extent of the conditions necessary to the restoration of peace.



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N^o. CCVIII.

ART. I.—*Mémoires et Correspondance Politique et Militaire du Roi Joseph*. Publiés, annotés, et mis en ordre par A. DU CASSE, Aide-de-Camp de S. A. R. le Prince Jérôme Napoléon. 10 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1853.—(Second article.)

WE left King Joseph (in a former* Number) on his way from Naples to Bayonne, full of misgiving and disquietude, casting back many longing looks towards the pleasant kingdom he had quitted, and little elated at the dangerous promotion in store for him†, but, according to his custom, prepared to yield implicit obedience to the Emperor's will. He arrived at Bayonne on the 7th June, 1808. Napoleon went out to meet him; and explaining the various reasons which made his acceptance of the Crown of Spain indispensable, Joseph consented to take the burthen upon him;—indeed it was too late to decline it, for without waiting for his acquiescence the Emperor had already caused him to be proclaimed King. For some time after his arrival at Bayonne his prospects seemed not unpromising, nor could he foresee the enormous difficulties which soon began to gather around him. The elaborate scheme of treachery and peridy by which the whole Royal Family of Spain had been decoyed to their ruin, and the Spanish nation betrayed and deceived, had

* No. 204. October, 1854.

† Joseph was not aware that the Spanish crown had been previously offered by the Emperor to his brother Louis; to whom he wrote on the 27th March, desiring a categorical answer: 'If I declare you King of Spain, can I rely on you?' Louis refused, and then Napoleon turned to Joseph. (*Thibaudeau*, vol. vi. p. 334.; *Garden*, vol. ii.) ●

been worked out to its final consummation. The coast was cleared for Joseph. He found himself without a competitor, and accepted with alacrity and apparent satisfaction by all classes of Spaniards as their King; his election was ratified even by the deposed sovereigns themselves, and by all the princes of their house, whose contingent rights had, with their own consent, been set aside. It would require a long and circumstantial narrative to connect the threads of the various intrigues which intermingled with and crossed each other during the months preceding the final transactions at Bayonne; the successive steps by which the affair was led to the state in which Joseph found it may be briefly told. On the 19th of March, after the insurrection of Aranjuez, King Charles abdicated, and on the 20th Ferdinand, amidst the acclamations of the people and the army, assumed the government as King. Murat, who was at Madrid in command of the French army, refused to acknowledge Ferdinand, eluding the pressing entreaties that were made to him to do so, and sent one of his own officers to Aranjuez to sound the disposition of King Charles.* The old King gave him a letter addressed to the Emperor, in which he declared that his abdication had been extorted from him by violence and terror, and he protested against its validity. Upon this Murat took him and the Queen under his protection, and gave them a French guard; while Ferdinand, perceiving that he could not establish himself on the throne without the consent and approbation of Napoleon, sent his brother, Don Carlos, to endeavour to obtain his sanction to what had passed. Meanwhile Napoleon, having no confidence in the political dexterity of Murat, and not choosing to intrust the secret of his schemes to his Ambassador Beauharnois, had sent Savary to Madrid to carry on his intrigues, and inveigle the two Kings into his power, whilst he himself resolved to repair to Bayonne, where he arrived in the beginning of April. As soon as Savary got to Madrid he sought an audience of Ferdinand, treated him as 'King,' promised that the Emperor would recognise him, and pressed him to go to Burgos and meet his Majesty, who, as Savary affirmed, was already on his way to visit him at Madrid. The language and assurances of the French Envoy were so plausible that both Ferdinand and his councillors were completely deceived; and he was induced to set off from Madrid on the 10th of April, leaving a junta under the presidency of his uncle Don Antonio to conduct

* The French army had entered Spain in virtue of the treaty of Fontainebleau, and Murat had marched to Madrid (without orders) on receiving information of the revolution at Aranjuez.

the Government during his absence. He was much surprised on arriving at Burgos to find that the Emperor was not there, but was nevertheless induced to go on to Vittoria. There the truth began to dawn upon him; and shortly after, an ambiguous letter from Napoleon himself revealed to him the danger of his position. Many of his most trusty councillors, particularly Urquijo and Cevallos, now urged him to make his escape while it was still in his power; but the persuasions of some others, and the deceitful promises of Savary induced him to continue his journey, and he entered Bayonne on the 20th of April, the Emperor being already arrived. King Charles, who had remained at the Escorial, was impatient to invoke in person the protection of the Emperor, and Murat had no difficulty in persuading him to repair to Bayonne, where he arrived on the 30th April. The Emperor had now got both the father and the son in his power, each of them soliciting the Crown of Spain at his hands; but although his machinations were so far completely successful, his sagacity perceived the embarrassment of his position, and in a letter to Murat* he expressed the perplexity in which he was involved, described with the utmost correctness the disposition of the Spanish people towards himself, and predicted the nature of the resistance with which he was threatened exactly as it eventually took place. Either, however, he thought he had gone too far to recede, or he had such confidence in his political skill and his military power, that he determined to proceed with his designs. Napoleon had given strict injunctions to Murat to observe the utmost caution in his conduct, and to do nothing calculated to excite or exasperate the people of Madrid. But the discontent which was continually fermenting in the capital, produced symptoms of resistance to his authority which provoked Murat, and led him to interfere with the Government in the most arbitrary and insulting manner; while the licentious behaviour of the French soldiery, and the agitation and anger of the people brought about frequent collisions between them. Matters were in this combustible state, when they were brought to a crisis by the demand of Murat that the members of the Royal Family still remaining at Madrid should forthwith proceed to join their relations at Bayonne. After great hesitation, the Government was terrified into submission to this demand; and on the 2nd of May the Infants set out from Madrid. Their departure produced the most violent excitement, and brought about what the French called the revolt, and the Spaniards termed the massacre of Madrid. A conflict ensued, which was

of short duration, and the loss of life (enormously exaggerated at the time) was inconsiderable; but the effect produced throughout Spain by this event was prodigious, and was the immediate cause of the general insurrection which soon after broke out. The news of the commotion at Madrid reached Bayonne on the 5th May; ever since their arrival in that city, negotiations had been going on with both the father and the son to procure their respective abdications. After a strenuous resistance, Ferdinand was terrified into signing* a conditional resignation, by which it was stipulated that he and his father should both return to Madrid, and in the event of his father's not choosing to resume his authority, that the Prince should govern the kingdom as his lieutenant. Great was the irritation of the Emperor when he was informed of the events at Madrid, but they enabled him to bring the perplexing affairs he had in hand to a conclusion. After a long conference with Charles IV., the King (by a treaty signed on the 5th) ceded to the Emperor all his rights to the Crown of Spain and the Indies. Ferdinand renounced the Crown for himself and restored it to his father; but the Emperor not deeming this sufficient, exacted from him a treaty of renunciation in favour of himself, which was signed on the 5th. On the 8th May King Charles announced by a proclamation that he had ceded the Crown of Spain to the Emperor Napoleon; and on the 12th Ferdinand, in another proclamation, declared that he had surrendered the Crown back to his father, who had conveyed it to Napoleon, to place it on the head of whatever person he might think fit to select. He announced that his brother, Don Carlos, and his uncle Don Antonio, were consenting parties to this cession; and he exhorted the Spaniards (whom he released from their allegiance to himself) to accept the Government and the Sovereign that the Emperor would bestow upon them. But while Ferdinand was terrified into yielding a hypocritical obedience to Napoleon's will, and signed all the treaties or proclamations to which he was ordered to put his hand, he secretly took measures to defeat their object, and prevent their being attended by the desired effect. On the 6th May he had written a despatch to Don Antonio (believing him to be still at Madrid), stating that he had restored the Crown unconditionally to King Charles, but he had previously† addressed two secret documents to the Junta and the Royal Council, in which he ordered them to transport the Government to a place of safety, to summon the Cortes, and to declare war against France the instant they heard of his being removed into the interior of that

* May 2.

† May 5.

country. Meanwhile the abdications and proclamations were published at Madrid, and Murat invited the different councils and public bodies to express their opinions to the Emperor as to the most eligible choice he could make of a new Sovereign amongst the Princes of his family. They expressed their wishes that his choice might fall on the King of Naples; and the Cardinal of Bourbon (Ferdinand's uncle) wrote a letter to the Emperor in which he testified his satisfaction, and promised to recognise the Sovereign whom he might appoint.

These documents having been conveyed to the Emperor, by a decree of the 6th of June he proclaimed his brother Joseph King of Spain and the Indies. The Spanish Princes had been already removed into the interior of France; the members of the Junta, who awaited the arrival of Joseph, saluted him with every appearance of cordiality, and some of the strongest partisans of Ferdinand offered their services to him. The Emperor had ordered what he called a Constitutional Junta to be convoked at Bayonne for the purpose of promulgating a Constitution, the plan of which was to be submitted for their consideration and discussion. This assembly was to be composed of deputies, part of whom Murat was directed to name, and part were to be elected by the provinces, cities, and corporations. The members of this Junta, the Council of Castille, the Grandees of Spain through the Duc de l'Infantado, and the army through the Duc del Parque, all acknowledged and congratulated the new King, and gave him formal assurances of their fidelity. Of the 150 members of which the Junta was to have been composed, only 91 attended; they were allowed to discuss freely the constitutional project submitted to them; and after many sittings, in which some modifications were made, the constitution was voted unanimously on the 1st July. The former ministers and servants of both Charles and Ferdinand accepted office under King Joseph; all the authorities swore allegiance to him. The Marquis of Romaña, who commanded the Spanish troops in Denmark, addressed to him a letter with protestations of fidelity on the part of himself and his *corps d'armée*, and more than all he was recognised by Ferdinand himself and the members of his family. To fraud and violence Ferdinand had opposed a deep dissimulation. Without courage or dignity, he shrank from no degradation to which he thought it prudent to submit; and he had the baseness to write to Joseph in the following terms:

'Sire, permit me in my own name and in the name of my brother and uncle to express to you our satisfaction at your accession to the throne of Spain. . . . We hope you will accept our good wishes for your happiness, and that you will reciprocate the feelings of friend-

ship we entertain for your Majesty. I beg your Catholic Majesty to receive the oath of allegiance which I owe you as King of Spain, together with that of all the Spaniards who are with me.*

Encouraged by these delusive appearances of general recognition Joseph quitted Bayonne on the 9th July, and proceeded on his journey to Madrid; but in the meantime the insurrection had broken out all over Spain. Provisional juntas formed themselves in every town, and assumed the government in the name of King Ferdinand; the authority of Joseph was only acknowledged and exercised in those places which were occupied by French troops. The war was already raging, and although Joseph received the submission of the cities and provinces through which he passed, it was not till after the victory of Rio Seco, gained by Marshal Bessières over Cuesta, that he was able to make his way to Madrid. Already while on his road from Bayonne, the King had begun to perceive the disordered state and threatening aspect of affairs, and in his first letter to the Emperor he tells him that 'the worst spirit prevails everywhere, particularly at Madrid, 'where there is no order, division among the troops, and urgent 'want of money.'† The next day he writes from Vittoria in a still more desponding tone:—

'I was proclaimed here yesterday. The inhabitants are strongly opposed to the whole thing. The men in office are terrified by the menacing aspect of the people and by the insurgents. Your Majesty has never yet been told the truth. The fact is, that there is not a single Spaniard on my side except the few who composed the Junta, and my small suite. All the rest who preceded me here have concealed themselves from fear of the unanimous opinion of their countrymen.'§

Napoleon in his replies endeavoured to animate his brother's drooping spirits by a display of confidence and assurances of certain success. 'N'ayez aucune crainte de la guerre, et n'ayez 'pas d'inquiétude sur le succès de mes armes en Espagne.'|| But the further Joseph advanced the more alarmed he became at the posture of affairs.

'Everybody about him,' he says, 'is dismayed, and all see that 50,000 fresh troops and many millions of money are absolutely indispensable; for no public revenue can be levied. When the opposition is unarmed, it is at least passive, and no rewards can procure information or guides for the French generals.

* Valençay, June 22.

† July 11.

|| July 18.

† July 14.

§ July 12.

'It seems nobody has yet chosen to tell your Majesty the plain truth ; it is my duty never to conceal it from you. . . . Ever since I have been in Spain I have every day repeated to myself, my life is nothing, and I am ready to sacrifice it. But to avoid the disgrace of failure, we must have great supplies of men and money: then my easy nature may acquire adherents. . . . However these affairs may end, it is a lamentable consideration that my kingdom is only to be gained by force ; but since the die is cast, it only remains to shorten the struggle as much as possible. I am not appalled at my position, but there never was anything like it in history, for I have not here one single partisan.*

It was in vain that Berthier (in a letter to Savary) pronounced the affairs of Spain to be in a very prosperous condition, and affirmed that every sensible man in Spain had changed his opinion, and deplored the insurrection ; it was in vain that the Emperor assured Joseph that his friends in Spain were numerous, and included all good and honourable men ; that large bodies of troops were continually advancing to reinforce him, and exhorted him to be of good cheer.

'Votre tâche est belle et glorieuse Vous ne devez pas trouver trop extraordinaire de conquérir votre royaume. Philippe V. et Henri IV. ont été obligés de conquérir le leur. Soyez gai. Ne vous laissez pas affecter, et ne doutez pas un instant que les choses finissent mieux et plus promptement que vous ne pensez.†

In spite of these assurances and exhortations Joseph's letters became more and more dismal. On the eve of entering Madrid he writes :

'All the letters from Madrid concur as to the deplorable state of affairs, and that nothing but the most extraordinary efforts on the part of Your Majesty can restore them. We are not in possession of the soil, for every province is in a state of insurrection or occupied by large armies of the enemy. The only hope is in prompt and extraordinary measures, without which, as chance (as you so often say) produces nothing of itself, we shall fail altogether and perish ; for how can we hope for success when opinion and the means of resistance to us increase daily, while our own resources are constantly decreasing? Your Majesty must not flatter yourself with the idea that what I say is exaggerated. We must have fifty millions and 50,000 men immediately, for in three months double will be insufficient.‡

In addition to his other sources of vexation, Joseph was already annoyed by his anomalous and mortifying position in respect to his military authority, a grievance of which he had repeatedly to complain during the whole time he was in Spain,

* July 18.

† July 19.

‡ July 19.

and which produced a state of things most irksome and humiliating to him, and at the same time embarrassing to the French generals, and injurious to the public service. The King informs the Emperor that he had given some orders to Savary which that officer did not appear to have obeyed, and he desires His Majesty will, once for all, determine what their mutual relations are to be, and whether he or Savary is to have the command, which cannot be divided. He pleads that the King of Spain ought to command the army in Spain, and he begs him to give clear and precise orders on the subject.

‘Your Majesty is mistaken when you imagine that I am incapable of comprehending your instructions and carrying them out with firmness. At my age and in my position, I may have counsellors, but not masters in Spain. . . . Whoever commands your armies is master in the places they occupy, as the insurgents are masters everywhere else. . . . Nor can I disguise from myself the peculiar unfitness of Savary to command in Madrid: he has had to play an odious part, and he is not on good terms with the other Generals. Your Majesty will do what you think fit, but the danger is too great and imminent to allow me to stand on any ceremony with you.’*

To this unusually bold and plain speaking, the Emperor, evidently provoked, replies that Joseph is to command, and that Savary had already acknowledged his authority, so that he might have spared himself the trouble of writing ‘une page de bavardage.’† Joseph made his entry into the capital on the 20th July without any popular welcome, and he was proclaimed amidst a mournful silence. For a few days he was too much absorbed in the cares of his new government to be aware of the danger of his position: but it soon burst upon him. Vague rumours of some great disaster began to circulate. The Grantees ceased to attend at the palace, and on the 23d the defeat of Dupont and capitulation of Baylen became generally known. Desertions had already begun, the spirit of all classes grew worse and worse, and Joseph’s cries of distress and appeals for aid became every day more urgent.

‘All classes,’ he writes, ‘are emigrating from Madrid. The servants of the Duc del Parque have abandoned him, and written him word they are gone to join the Spanish army. We are penniless; all the provinces are occupied by the enemy. Henry IV. had a party, and Philip V. had only a rival to combat; I am opposed by a nation of twelve millions of inhabitants, brave, and at the highest pitch of exasperation. . . . I repeat again that we must have enormous sup-

* July 19.

† July 23.

plies of men and money. I have often told Your Majesty so, but you will not believe me. Let what will happen, this letter will remind you hereafter that I was right. The good people are no more on my side than the good for nothing. No, Sire, *your glory will be shipwrecked in Spain*. My destruction will be the proof of your impotence, for no one will doubt your affection for me. All this will happen, for I am determined never to recross the Ebro.*

On the 28th he received the account of the capitulation of Baylen, and on the 30th he retired from Madrid. The news of this event had encouraged people of all classes to manifest their undisguised abhorrence of the new government. Joseph increased his demand to 100,000 men, and said that the Spanish people were unlike any other in the world, and that neither a courier nor a spy were procurable amongst them. On his departure from Madrid, he was abandoned by almost all his Spanish officers, and by all the nobles except the Dukes of Frias and Del Parque; and he wrote to Napoleon that the nation was unanimous against all that had been done at Bayonne, and 'I predict to Your Majesty—and since I have been in Spain events have verified all my predictions—that in three months it will be too late.'† Napoleon replied (before he was aware of the whole extent of the calamity of Baylen): 'Le style de votre lettre du 24 ne me plaît point; il ne s'agit point de mourir, mais de vivre et d'être victorieux; et vous l'êtes, et le serez. Je trouverai en Espagne les colonnes d'Hercule, mais non les limites de mon pouvoir.‡' This jactitance and confidence (whether real or affected) were thrown away upon Joseph, whose plain sober sense and personal experience were not to be deceived; and he intimates to Napoleon that he had better come to Spain and conduct the war in person, and as for himself that his brother might dispose of him as he pleased. The Emperor, seeing the state of mind he was in, endeavoured to pacify and encourage him by a tone of unusual sympathy and kindness.

'Quelques revers que les circonstances vous puissent apprendre, n'ayez point d'inquiétude . . . tout est en mouvement, mais il faut du temps. Vous régnerez, vous aurez conquis vos sujets pour en être le père. Les bons rois ont passés à cette école . . . Surtout, santé, gaieté, c'est à dire, force d'âme.' 'Vous ne sauriez croire combien l'idée que vous êtes aux prises, mon ami, avec des événements au-dessus de votre habitude autant qu'au-dessous de votre caractère naturel, me peine . . . Vous aurez 100,000 hommes, et l'Espagne sera conquise dans l'automne . . . Je crois que pour votre goût particulier vous vous souciez peu de régner sur les Espagnols . . .

* July 24.

† July 31.

‡ July 31.

Dites-moi que vous êtes gai, bien portant, et vous faisant au métier de soldat : voilà une belle occasion pour l'étudier.*

It was but a mockery to recommend Joseph to be gay ; but he replies that he is calm and in good health, and that his difficulties and reverses are not without a certain charm ; and he begs the Emperor will make himself easy about him, and dispose of him in whatever way it may suit his political designs.† But he was now evidently bent on getting rid of the thorny crown of Spain, and resuming that of Naples. In a very able letter he gives the results of his reflexions on the situation of affairs in Spain, and demonstrates the impossibility of his ever wearing that crown in honour and peace. He says that if France should conquer Spain at a great expense of blood and treasure, she will require territorial indemnity, and thereby Spain will be reduced to the condition of a third-rate power — that neither honour nor conscience would allow him to continue on the throne if she was thus stripped of her territories—that if he commanded the French armies in this war (and he could not endure that any one else except the Emperor in person should command them), he should be for ever an object of terror and execration to his people—that he was too old to have time to repair so much evil, and, in the midst of calamities and prejudices of all sorts, he should be unable in person to mitigate the hatred he had incurred.

‘Ce peuple,’ he says, ‘est plus concentré dans ses ressentiments qu’aucun autre peuple de l’Europe. . . . V. M. ne peut se faire une idée, parceque certainement personne ne lui aura dit à quel point le nom de V. M. est ici haï. La guerre n’est pas propre à diminuer ce sentiment, et quant à moi, je ne me sens pas le courage de regner sur des peuples qu’il faudrait sans cesse tyranniser, ou transiger avec l’affection que je vous porte, et mes devoirs envers la France.’

He thus explains his own wishes and objects ; that he desires to retain the command of the army long enough to beat the enemy, return victorious to Madrid, and then to renounce the throne of Spain and go back to Naples ; and he begs the Emperor not to dispose of the latter kingdom. He concludes by assuring him that there is no longer the slightest hope of any arrangement with the insurgents, and that conciliation is out of the question ; suggests that his efforts should be diverted from the conquest of the Peninsula to a general pacification ; and entreats the Emperor not to force him on a people who reject him because he is his brother, and who could only be kept in subjection by a ruler as suspicious and cruel as Philip II.‡

Aug. 1 and 3.

† August 6 and 8.

‡ August 9th.

Danger and distress had emboldened Joseph to address the Emperor in language, and to tell him truths to which His Imperial Majesty had been little accustomed; and he continued with increasing vehemence to represent to him the real and desperate state of affairs. The appointment of Murat to the crown of Naples was a dreadful blow to Joseph, for it extinguished all his hopes of being restored to that kingdom, and left him no alternative but to remain in Spain and wage a war repugnant to his feelings and his conscience, or to retire into private life. Nevertheless he returns to the charge, and accumulates proofs of the hopelessness of the contest in which they were engaged. He says, the conquest of Spain would require 200,000 men, and 100,000 scaffolds afterwards to maintain the sovereign who should be condemned to reign there. 'Non, Sire, on ne connoît pas ce peuple; chaque maison sera une forteresse, et chaque homme a la volonté de la majorité.' Not a single Spaniard had been persuaded to remain in the service of the French; and 2000 servants quitted the King at once, notwithstanding the high wages he gave them. Neither spies nor guides could be procured, and within four hours of the battle of Rio Seco Marshal Bessières was ignorant of the position of the enemy.* In reply to these letters, the Emperor admits that affairs are in a very deplorable state; but instead of entering into Joseph's position and wishes, he criticises his military operations and those of the other generals, and tells him he will have a fine opportunity for beating the enemy.

The retreat of Joseph from Madrid, the insurrection *en masse*, and some partial successes, had exalted the arrogance and confidence of the Spaniards to an extravagant pitch; and proclamations full of bombast announced to the credulous people the speedy destruction of the French armies. For some months no event of importance occurred. Napoleon was at Erfurt, whence he writes † that he should be at Bayonne in less than a month, and that 'la guerre pouvait être terminée d'un seul coup par une manœuvre habilement combinée; et pour cela il faut que j'y sois.' He arrived at Bayonne on the 3rd of November, immediately assumed the command of his army (now amounting to 187,000 men), and marched on Madrid, which capitulated on the 4th of December. Joseph, who was in the Emperor's camp, found himself completely set aside in this transaction, no notice being taken in the capitulation either of him as King, or of the constitution of Bayonne. He was grievously hurt and offended at this neglect, and retired to the Pardo, a country house two

* August 14th.

† October 13.

leagues' from Madrid, whence he wrote the following letter to Napoleon:—

'Sire, M. d'Urquijo me communique les mesures législatives prises par V. M. La honte couvre mon front devant mes prétendus sujets. Je supplie V. M. de recevoir ma renonciation à tous les droits qu'elle m'avait donnés au trône de l'Espagne. Je préférerais toujours l'honneur et la probité au pouvoir acheté si chèrement. En dépit des événements, je serai toujours votre ami le plus tendre. Je redeviens votre sujet, et attends vos ordres pour me rendre où il plaira à V. M. que je me rende.'*

His discontent was increased by the arbitrary conduct of Napoleon, and his declared intention to treat Spain as a conquered kingdom, to be disposed of according to his will and pleasure. Various imperial decrees were issued, some of proscription, and some of amnesty and pardon; and, finally, a proclamation, in which Napoleon told the Spaniards he had come to regenerate them, and they had only to accept the benefits he offered them to be powerful and happy; that he had removed every obstruction to their grandeur and prosperity, and had given them a liberal and constitutional, in place of a despotic monarchy. 'But,' he concluded, 'if I find that my efforts are useless and my confidence misplaced, I will treat you as conquered provinces, and put my brother on some other throne. I will place the crown of Spain on my own head, and I shall know how to make it respected; for God has given me the power and the will to surmount all obstacles.' The civil and religious authorities were assembled by the Corregidor, and after thanking the Emperor for his goodness, they entreated him to restore King Joseph to them. The Emperor consented, provided all the inhabitants would swear to be faithful to Joseph, and promise him 'non seulement de la bouche mais du cœur, et sans aucune restriction jésuitique,' their attachment and support. 'Alors je me désaisirai du droit de conquête; je placerai le roi sur le trône, et je me ferai une douce tâche de me conduire envers les Espagnols en ami fidèle.' The oaths were taken, and Joseph was re-established; but he did not re-enter Madrid till the 22nd of January, 1809, a month after Napoleon's departure. Although he was again permitted to act the part of King of Spain, only a small part of the royal authority was conceded to him. General Belliard remained Governor of Madrid, in the name of the Emperor, independent of the King; and French commissions issued by the ambassador of France enforced decrees

* December 8. This letter was written in consequence of the Emperor's having determined on some legislative measures repugnant to Joseph's ideas, which however were eventually given up.

of confiscation against the principal Spanish families, and the sums thus levied were paid into the Imperial treasury. Joseph found himself in a false and painful position. Well aware that the detestation with which the Spaniards regarded the French was the principal obstruction to his establishment on the throne, he sought to acquire favour with the nation by separating himself as much as possible from his own countrymen, by employing none but Spaniards in his service, and testifying on all occasions his regard and admiration for the national character. Meanwhile Napoleon was marching against Sir John Moore, and the rapidity of his movements did not prevent his writing constantly to Joseph, and as usual entering into the minutest details with regard to the operations of his different corps d'armée. It was his constant custom to cause any news, no matter how false, to be published which it suited his purpose to have believed; and he desired Joseph to put in the Madrid newspapers that 20,000 English were surrounded and lost.* And, again, he says, 'Publish in the journals and spread abroad everywhere that 36,000 English are surrounded, that I am in their rear celebrate this success by some ceremony; have the guns fired, and receive compliments thereupon. You will soon hear of the events.'† On the 7th of January he notified that war with Austria was impending, and on the 16th he set off to Paris, giving out that he would return to Spain in a few months, and ordering that his armies should be commanded during his absence by the King.

Notwithstanding this order the authority of Joseph, either as King or as Commander in Chief, was more nominal than real, and his difficulties were enormous. The conduct of Napoleon in regard to Spain exhibits only a series of inconceivable errors and mistakes, and even a vacillation in his mode of conducting the war, quite inconsistent with his usual decision and sagacity. The French armies amounted in the beginning of 1809 to nearly 200,000 men. To secure unity and combination in the plans of operation he conferred the supreme command on the King, but having no reliance on his military capacity, he allowed the marshals commanding the different corps to consider themselves independent both of each other and of the King; and they were confirmed in this view of their position, by receiving orders to correspond directly with the French minister of war. Nothing could exceed the confusion and disorder arising out of this arrangement. The marshals would only obey the Emperor himself, entertained a profound contempt for his brother, and

* December 23.

† December 27.

great jealousy and hatred of each other. Joseph accordingly never knew whether any orders he might give would be obeyed, and it was impossible for him to form any combined plan, when he could never depend on the co-operation of all or even any of those who would have to carry it out. Besides his military difficulties, the King was no less perplexed and harassed by others connected with his civil administration. From a country in such a state as Spain, he could derive hardly any revenue, and as it was the uniform practice of the French armies to draw their subsistence from the countries they occupied, each general appropriated to himself all the resources of the province in which he happened to be quartered, superseding the authority of the sovereign, and intercepting all the revenue that ought to have flowed into the royal treasury; the consequence was, the grievous oppression and burning hatred of the people, and the deplorable poverty of the crown. It was in vain that Joseph turned to the Emperor for succour and relief. To his urgent appeals for pecuniary aid, Napoleon replied, 'I would willingly send you money if I had any, but my expenses are enormous;'^{*} and as he deemed the nourishment and supply of his troops to be paramount to every other consideration, he never would allow the Spanish towns and provinces to be delivered from the despotism and exactions of his generals. The dissimilar views which the two brothers took of the mode of dealing with Spain, the one being all for severity, and the other for lenity; and constantly recurring subjects of complaint on both sides, produced before long a state of mutual dissatisfaction and estrangement, which led to a suspension of their direct correspondence: Joseph, indeed, continued to write to Napoleon, but the Emperor ceased to reply, and transmitted to him his orders through his own ministers at Paris. Joseph, in spite of his habitual respect and humility towards the Emperor, became more bold and urgent in his remonstrances and complaints as his sufferings and his perils increased, and often talked of abdication, and of retiring to Mortfontaine. To his *jérémies* the Emperor, when he condescended to reply at all, returned only contemptuous criticisms on his lax and too indulgent administration, and the absurdity of his affecting a respect for the constitution.

'J'ai vu avec une extrême surprise la raison que vous me donnez; que la constitution le prohibe. . . . Il faut avouer que cette manière de voir est petite et affligeante. . . . Vous ne viendrez à bout de l'Espagne qu'avec de la vigueur et de l'énergie. Cette affiche de bonté et de clémence n'aboutit à rien.† On vous applaudira tant

^{*} February 7. † This related to some regulations of police.

que mes armées sont victorieuses ; on vous abandonnera quand elles sont vaincues.’*

This letter sorely vexed Joseph, who rejoined that what he desired was an intimate union between France and Spain, and not the subjection of one to the other, which would only make Spain seize the first opportunity she could find to become the enemy of France ; and he begs that, if the Emperor does not concur in this view, he will take back his tottering crown, which he will wear with honour or not at all.† Of such effusions the Emperor seldom took any notice whatever, and left Joseph to recover his serenity as best he could. He took great umbrage at the publication of a French newspaper at Madrid, which, he said, ‘permettait des discussions littéraires sur Paris, et s’y établit à l’égard de la France le Don Quichotte des Espagnols . . . La France, engagée en Espagne dans une guerre aussi ‘cruelle, doit espérer au moins l’avantage de régénérer ce pays, et de le rendre à des idées plus libérales.’‡ . . . And the same day, ‘Mon intention est de ne souffrir nulle part où sont mes ‘troupes aucun journal français, à moins qu’il ne soit publié par ‘mes ordres.’§ During the year 1809 the Emperor was engaged in the war with Austria, and there was an end of any chance of his returning to Spain ; his misunderstanding with Joseph was now complete, and for about two years he did not vouchsafe to communicate with him except through his ministers ; the same subjects of complaint and dissatisfaction continued to increase amidst the vicissitudes of the war, and the increasing misery and destitution of the country. Napoleon would not trust his brother with full discretionary powers, and he endeavoured to direct the affairs of the Peninsula from Vienna, or wherever he might be,—a plan which even his great sagacity and military skill could not prevent being pregnant with mistakes and disasters. He issued orders and instructions with reference to a state of affairs of which he was necessarily ignorant, as it was changing every day. Joseph (as far as he felt authorised) gave directions on matters of urgency and requiring immediate decision to the marshals commanding the several armies, who rendered an occasional and capricious obedience to the King, but more often acted according to their own judgment or necessities, generally without concert, and frequently entirely disagreeing with each other||: by the time Napoleon’s orders arrived, their ex-

* February 21.

† March 7.

‡ March 27.

§ Letter to General Clarke.

|| ‘Your Majesty will see that M. Ney refuses to obey my orders, and seems no more disposed to obey the orders of M. Soult.’ Joseph

ecution was often either unadvisable or impossible, and altogether a state of confusion and general disorganisation prevailed, enough to baffle any efforts of military skill or valour. The warnings and predictions of Joseph had been more than justified; he had said if 50,000 men were not at once sent to Spain, double the number would soon be insufficient. In the middle of 1810 the force in the Peninsula amounted to 370,000 men, and the work seemed no nearer its accomplishment. The Spaniards had at last seen the error of their own military tactics, and instead of sending 'rash levied numbers' to encounter certain defeat, had adopted the Guerilla system on an enormous scale, which proved quite as dangerous and destructive to the French as the regular operations of the allied armies. To Napoleon, while pursuing his victorious career in Germany, Spain became a secondary object; but such was his prodigious activity, that during the whole campaign of 1809, and even during the critical six weeks in the island of Lobau, between the battles of Aspern and Wagram, he found time to read all the reports from his armies in Spain, and to transmit back his comments and directions as usual. Meanwhile Joseph had fought the battle of Talavera, and guessing very truly that the Emperor would be extremely dissatisfied with the result of it, he endeavoured to deprecate his anticipated wrath in these terms:

'Your Majesty will I hope not be dissatisfied, though I have no doubt if you had been in my place not an Englishman would have escaped and the war would now be over; but I am practising an art which is not to be learnt in a day I am consoled by the reflection that it is given to few to excel in it, and at least I have done my best.*'

Joseph, so habitually submissive and deferential to Napoleon, was from time to time roused by a just resentment to make spirited remonstrances, and repeatedly to tender his resignation; he was particularly provoked at the exactions of the French generals, who plundered the country in the most barefaced manner.

'I have stopped,' he says, 'at Vittoria, a convoy of Church plate. . . . The insurrections of Galicia and Castille are partly due to the exasperation of the inhabitants. Your Majesty knows I have no authority over the troops but what you confer on me. . . . When a marshal refuses to obey me and is allowed to continue in his command, I must either march against him with such troops as remain faithful to me, or suffer the ignominy and disorganisation of the army, or beg Your Majesty to give the command of your troops to somebody

to Napoleon July 21. Soult, Ney, and Mortier were perpetually quarrelling.

* August 7.

else; and as the whole sovereignty of Spain is now vested in the Commander in Chief of the French army, I beg you to accept my formal renunciation of the crown of Spain.*

To Joseph's appeals, either pathetic or resentful, Napoleon vouchsafed no reply; he was resolved to afford him no redress, and he continued through his Minister of War (Clarke) to find fault with his own generals as well as with the King, imputing to their errors the ill success which attended his arms. In one characteristic letter he says:—

'Inform the King of Spain that it is contrary to all military rules to let the power of his army be known . . . that when he speaks of his force he ought to exaggerate it, and represent it to be twice or thrice as large as it is; and, on the other hand, diminish in the same proportion that of the enemy: *qu'à la guerre tout est moral* . . . donner la force morale à son ennemi est de l'ôter à soi-même, car il est dans l'esprit de l'homme de croire qu'à la longue le plus petit nombre doit être battu par le plus grand . . . the most experienced soldiers (he says) cannot calculate the numbers of their opponents, and a sort of natural instinct makes them think the numbers greater than they are.'

He desires that on no pretext and in no way whatever should the numbers of his armies be made public; but, on the contrary, that all means should be adopted to have them believed to be more numerous than they were.

'Quand j'ai vaincu à Eckmühl j'étais un contre cinq, et mes soldats croyaient être au moins égaux aux ennemis. . . . Loin d'avouer qu'à la bataille de Wagram je n'avais que 100,000 hommes, je m'attache à persuader que j'en avais 220,000. Constamment dans mes campagnes d'Italie, où j'avais une poignée de monde, j'ai exagéré ma force; cela a servi mes projets et n'a pas diminué ma gloire. Les généraux et les militaires instruits savaient, après les événements, reconnaître le mérite des opérations, même celui d'avoir exagéré le nombre de mes troupes: avec de vaines considérations, de petites vanités, et de petites passions, on ne fait jamais rien de grand.' †

Joseph, who always flattered himself that his good intentions towards the country would sooner or later change the sentiments of the Spanish people and make him popular, had in some measure succeeded in his object. The causes which produced estrangement between him and Napoleon, and their mutual complaints, were calculated to modify the hostile feeling entertained towards himself. The expense of the war was enormous, and the French armies drew their whole subsistence from the provinces they severally occupied; from the exactions of this

* August 27.

† Oct. 10.

system, it was the object of the King as much as he could to defend the people. The army not unnaturally resented his interference in favour of the rebellious Spaniards and against themselves, who were there for the purpose of maintaining him on the throne. Then the representatives of Napoleon at Madrid were constantly quarrelling with the Spanish Ministers, treating them, and even the King himself, with intolerable insolence.* Marshal Augereau, who chose to consider the Spaniards who were in arms in defence of their country as 'insurgents,' ordered that all who were taken (not being troops of the line) should be summarily put to death, and they were gibbeted in hundreds along all the great roads. This barbarity exasperated instead of terrifying the people, and produced ferocious reprisals. Joseph removed Augereau, and replaced him by Marshal Macdonald, who endeavoured to conciliate the people by a milder system, and by enforcing greater order and discipline among his troops. The consequence of these measures was, that not only many respectable Spaniards espoused Joseph's cause, but he was enabled to levy a considerable body of Spanish troops (*Juramentados*, as they were called), who served him faithfully, and were found particularly useful in fighting against the Guerillas. These improved prospects were darkened, and the position of the King made more intolerable than ever, by a decree of Napoleon (in the beginning of 1810) converting the northern provinces into military governments, of which even the civil administration was taken from the King, and placed in the hands of French generals. This measure threw him into despair; it cancelled all the good he had done, discouraged and alienated his partisans, and more than ever convinced the nation that the dismemberment of the kingdom was intended. It was in vain that Joseph remonstrated against the military governments. 'For your own interests, Sire, as well as mine,' he wrote, 'let me know your intentions; but do not permit the dreadful anarchy which will follow the abolition of all central authority; do not trample on the passions of the nation, and make me a nominal King, and an object of pity or derision. If you only reflect that it is your own blood which runs in my veins, you will comprehend the impossibility of my supporting such a state of things.' At length this and many other minor grievances determined Joseph to send the Marquis of Almenara to Paris on a sort of mission, with letters to his Queen, and instructions to her to communicate with the Emperor, to express his feelings, if possible to obtain redress of his wrongs, and if not, permission to return in

* Thiers' *Consulat et Empire*, vol. xi. p. 9.

a private capacity to France. ‘*La Reine Julie*,’ who was an excellent woman, and moreover very judicious and prudent, had always been a favourite with the Emperor; and His Majesty seems to have listened not ungraciously to her representations and entreaties, though she did not succeed in obtaining the revocation of the obnoxious decree, or the Emperor’s consent to the abdication of her husband. This collection contains no letter of hers, but several were found in the papers of King Joseph taken in his coach after the battle of Vittoria, which give an interesting account of her negotiations; these curious portions of the King’s correspondence are still unpublished; but we are enabled to make some extracts from authentic copies of the letters now before us. The Queen writes:—

‘After my return from Plombières, I took the first favourable opportunity of speaking to the Emperor about your painful situation. In a conversation of two hours, I failed to obtain anything satisfactory. I said all I could to elicit something which might give you better hopes for the future. The Emperor’s answers forbid any such expectations. I asked him as a favour to allow you to come and live in any part of France he pleased; to which he replied that you were king, and must be king as long as you lived. I said your situation was insufferable. He then appeared somewhat softened, and, without making any engagement, said that you must have patience. . . . In short I insisted so strongly on your wretchedness, that if there is not some improvement very shortly I fear it is hopeless. . . . I cannot too strongly advise you to couch your letters to your brother in very gentle terms.’*

Immediately after, M. d’Almenara arrived in Paris, and the Queen writes:—

‘He has seen your brother this morning, who repeated to him all he had said to me, adding, “The Queen knows what I am now saying to you.” . . . He (Almenara) thinks that the only probable result of all this will be our being stript of the provinces as far as the Ebro, and perhaps some compensation on the side of Portugal.’†

The Imperial family took a lively interest in Joseph’s troubles, and evinced a sincere sympathy with him. The Princess Eliza wrote to him:—

‘The state of your affairs deeply affects me. . . . everything is altered, and different from what it used to be. His Majesty insists on submission, and that his brothers should not consider themselves as independent kings, but only the first of his subjects. He insists also that they should blindly follow his system and conform to his will, and he is very angry at any deviation from this course. What shall

* August 22. 1810.

† August 24.

I say, my dear brother? You must yield to circumstances. The Emperor will never consent to your leaving your kingdom, and you must not make an *esclandre* like our poor Louis.*

The communications of Queen Julia were not calculated to comfort her husband; and not long after he had the mortification of learning that so far from restoring to him the administration of the Northern Provinces, Napoleon had resolved (in direct violation of the Treaty of Bayonne) to annex Biscay and Navarre (and at a subsequent period Catalonia) to France. Joseph continued to remonstrate and complain, without receiving any redress and seldom any answer. Nothing could be more deplorable than the statements of his destitution: he had sold the plate of his chapel and his jewels to obtain the means of subsistence.

‘MM. de Mazzaredo and Campo Alange are reduced to the necessity of begging for rations to support their families, which I have been forced to refuse, because all other *employés* would ask for the same. My ambassador in Russia is bankrupt, my ambassador at Paris has died in the last stage of misery, and I live here amidst the ruins of a vast monarchy which has only voice to cry out for bread to the unhappy wretch who is called their king.†

While Joseph was struggling against his manifold difficulties and perils, or bombarding the Emperor and his Ministers with unheeded remonstrances and complaints, his Queen remained at Paris, seeking to approach the Emperor, and to obtain some redress of her husband's wrongs, and some improvement in his condition. After several fruitless interviews, the Emperor in wrath forbade her to speak to him again about Spanish affairs. In the beginning of January Joseph desired her to see the Emperor on the pretext of asking his consent to the marriage of M. de Tascher and her niece; having been admitted to an audience, she begged him to listen for a moment to what she had to say about his brother. We publish the following remarkable letter from the Vittoria papers.

‘His replies,’ she wrote, ‘were very unsatisfactory. He merely said that you must have patience, be satisfied with commanding the army of the centre, and wait till circumstances permitted an amelioration of your position. All I could say to induce him to make some immediate change was ineffectual, and he treated with great levity the expression of your wish to quit Spain; and when I insisted on some final determination, he broke off the conversation and re-

* September 1810.

† November 10. 1810. Unpublished correspondence taken at Vittoria, March 1811.

tired. However I was not discouraged, and resolved to renew the assault, when, four days ago, the Duc de Cadore asked to see me; and, as far as I can remember it, this is what he said: "Madam, I am sent to Your Majesty by the Emperor. M. Clary is here, commissioned (as it is reported) to buy property in France for the King. The Emperor orders me to tell you that the members of his family can acquire no property in France without his permission; and as it appears that the King wishes to leave Spain and live at this estate, the Emperor commands me to inform Your Majesty that the King has no right to quit Spain, either asking, or as commander in chief of the army of the centre, without his permission; nor must I conceal from Your Majesty that if he did, he would be arrested at Bayonne. The Emperor complains that the King and all about him talk too much of his departure for France, which reports spread among the insurgents. . . . The Emperor thinks his brother will regret the throne, if he goes into retreat—that he wishes him to remain in Spain, but will not compel him; and if the King insists on retiring, he must previously come to an arrangement with the Emperor that no inconvenience may ensue.' . . . He has spoken to me with interest about the King, who he says is of all his brothers the one on whom he has always relied the most, but he desires me to assure you *que rien ne pouvait changer sa politique, et que tous les mouvements de son cœur se taient devant elle*. He thinks the King is too querulous, and talks to too many people; that he is continually saying he wishes for the independence of the kingdom, when he ought to reflect that this is impossible when 400,000 French are there. Then the Emperor sees in the King's letters a tone if not of menace, of bargaining, which he will not tolerate; and it is his firm resolution that every one, in whatever circumstances, should blindly conform to his policy. . . . I did not interrupt him, and when he had finished, I replied that certainly you had desired me to buy or hire an estate in Touraine; that your position became daily more intolerable; that you thought you were authorised after a certain time to come to France; and that the silence of the Emperor confirmed that notion. . . . But that if you thought the Emperor wished you to remain in Spain, I was sure you would deem it your duty and it would be a pleasure to you to conform to his wishes, but then your position merited the attention of the Emperor; that it had always been your greatest happiness to regulate your conduct in concert with him, as I had frequently said to the Emperor, but could never obtain any answer from him conveying any hopes to you. . . . Our conversation, of which I avoid the details, lasted two hours. The next day I went to the Emperor. He began by reproaching me with our intention of buying an estate and quitting Spain without his leave. I reminded him how often I had told him that your position compelled you to take that course, and that he seemed not to care what you did. He then said he was tired of the threatening and bitter tone of your letters, and that you wrote in the same strain to me, although you knew that he read your correspondence. That you must forget the treaty of Bayonne, everything in Spain being changed since then, and he considered himself at liberty to take such measures as might

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be advantageous to France—that such was his policy, which was unchangeable. . . . He preferred your staying in Spain, because he thought you would be miserable if you came away.’

The Queen in reply repeated to the Emperor what she had said to the Duc de Cadore, at the same time asking that her husband might be allowed to return to Naples. Napoleon totally rejected this plan, saying that Joseph had already resigned the crown of Naples, and that he was satisfied with Murat, who was the more popular of the two. He must either remain quietly in Spain, and obey the Emperor’s will, or return to France in the quality of a French prince, unless he preferred to reject both alternatives, and, like Lucien, seek an asylum in England. She advised him to write one more appeal to the Emperor before he made his final decision, and to think twice before he accepted the rôle of a French prince, with the daily *désagrémens* of attendance at court.

‘If you write to the Emperor, write in the submissive tone he exacts, and affect to be asking his advice. Say nothing to me you don’t wish the Emperor to know, for every word you utter is repeated to him. You are aware that it has long been his intention to take the provinces beyond the Ebro, and he told me he did not require your permission to do so. . . .’*

Joseph’s reflexions apparently led him to the conclusion that ‘*levius fit patientia quicquid corrigere est nefas*,’ and that it would be even less intolerable to continue to wear his thorny crown at Madrid than to dance attendance as a French prince at the Court of the Tuileries. His clever and devoted wife confirmed this view of the case; and a letter which was written to him by his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, contributed to deter him from his meditated abdication.

‘What will you do at Paris?’ wrote the Cardinal; ‘as a French prince following the court everywhere, summoned to all the ceremonies, bored by all the etiquette, and often compelled to obey the orders even of the chamberlains without venturing to make complaints, which would only render your position still more false and painful. If you were to refuse to discharge the functions of a French prince, violence would be employed to compel you, so that you had better do and suffer anything than engage yourself in a struggle, which would be unequal, dangerous, and certainly unsuccessful.’†

Joseph determined, however, to repair to France for a short time, in order by change of air and repose to recruit his shattered health, and to endeavour in personal intercourse to persuade the

* Jan. 18. 1811.

† Unpublished correspondence taken at Vittoria.

Emperor to consent to his wishes and demands; and his hopes were at this time raised by receiving a friendly (though formal) letter from his brother announcing the birth of the King of Rome, and asking him to be godfather to the Imperial heir. He accordingly set out from Madrid on the 23rd of April, passed some weeks at Paris, and returned to Madrid on the 16th July, 1811. He was gratified by his personal reception, and took back with him some delusive promises of pecuniary aid, but little satisfaction as to his other grievances; and accordingly his complaints, remonstrances, and offers to resign the crown soon began again, while he particularly insisted on the improved state of public opinion towards himself, and affirmed that he could now enlist great numbers of Spaniards in his service, if he had only money to pay them. The promises made to him were not kept, and instead of his complaints being listened to, the intention to annex Catalonia was persisted in, and the continued exactions and oppressions of the armies completely neutralised all his measures, ruined the country, and rendered his attempts to pacify it wholly abortive. One of his most serious annoyances proceeded from the arbitrary and impolitic proceedings of the Provincial Governors against the clergy. They had determined (without the King's consent or his being consulted at all) to confiscate the Church property, and make the clergy stipendiaries -- measures (as Joseph said) which would be useless to the finances of the state, and would deprive the clergy of any secure means of subsistence; for not one of them would be so blind as to suppose that he would be better paid than the civil functionaries, who were scarcely ever paid at all.

‘What influence can I obtain over the ecclesiastics, if a young man by a stroke of his pen can rob them without my knowledge? I say so with regret, but it is true that affairs in Spain are going on from bad to worse. There are as many despots as there are governors, generals, and intendants; every one does what he pleases; there is no unity and no combination. The people, vexed in every way, worn out and disgusted, will resume the last courage, that of despair.’*

‘Opinion, which was improving, is now getting worse again, and the shortest way would be to let me retire to Mortfontaine. Without power, money, or authority, I can no longer endure this strange position, for which I am not suited.’†

Instead of any satisfactory reply, Napoleon ordered the Duc de Feltre (Clarkc, Minister of War) to confer the command of the army of Catalonia on General Decaen, and to instruct

* Sept. 5. 1811.

† Sept. 16.

him and the Duc de Tarente (Marshal Macdonald) not to correspond at all with the King, nor to answer the letters of any of his ministers. Under the system so obstinately persisted in, every thing continued to get rapidly worse. At the end of the year*, Joseph urgently requested to be furnished with the pecuniary aid that had been promised him at Paris, stating that he was reduced to the most horrible misery, and surrounded by people in the deepest distress, his ministers themselves being without fire in their houses. The ill humour of the Emperor provoked by Joseph's complaints was still more exasperated by the disasters of his armies, which he attributed to the errors of his generals, but which were in fact much more attributable to his choosing personally to direct the operations of the war at a distance of many hundred leagues from the scene of action, and giving peremptory instructions to the generals without the possibility of knowing what the state of affairs might be when those instructions should reach them. The generals indignantly remonstrated against the reproaches he heaped upon them, and rejected the responsibility of disasters entailed by obedience to his positive orders.

In 1812 Napoleon was occupied with his preparations for the Russian war, and at length, apparently convinced that the system he had established in Spain was impolitic and ruinous, he determined to make a complete change, and to replace the whole military and civil administration in the hands of the King, in hopes that unity and concentration of command might prove more successful than the opposite system. Accordingly, on the 31st March, 1812, the King received a letter from the Prince de Neufchatel informing him that the Emperor made him Commander in Chief of all the armies in Spain. This announcement was accompanied by a note upon the state of the country, the direction to be given to the war, and a recommendation to convoke a Cortes which should frame a constitution, and concluded with a promise to respect the integrity and independence of Spain. These concessions had the effect of determining Joseph to remain; but he soon found that they were in great measure illusory, and that his condition was not materially improved. Although he was now nominally invested with the entire direction of affairs both military and political, and the Emperor enjoined him to insist upon being obeyed, Marshal Suchet continued to possess an independent and uncontrolled command over the Northern Provinces, which was formally renewed by the Emperor even after having conferred the supreme authority on the King.†

* 1811.

† April 24. 1812.

The generals in chief of the other armies continued to assert their independence, some alleging that they had no instructions from Paris, others taking no notice of the King's letters and orders, so that he was still obliged to appeal to the Emperor to enforce obedience to his authority.*

The Emperor Napoleon left Paris on the 9th of May to open the Russian campaign. Aware that it would be impossible to direct military operations in Spain from the interior of Russia, he had been induced, for the sake of unity and combination, to confer the supreme authority on his brother; but his distrust of Joseph's military capacity, and his personal antipathy to Marshal Jourdan†, caused so much hesitation and uncertainty in his mind, that he could not bring himself to make the King's command real and effectual, by giving peremptory instructions to his marshals and generals to take their orders from him, and there arose in consequence a continual state of bickering and discontent amongst them all, and an aggravation of all the evils which were rapidly destroying the French armies and ruining the cause of Joseph in Spain. That cause was in a not unpromising state; and if his civil and military affairs had been wisely and skilfully managed, and especially if the resources of France had been steadily devoted to the Spanish contest instead of being absorbed in the fatal Russian expedition, it is not improbable that he might have succeeded in establishing himself on the throne. The hatred of his person had been considerably mitigated by experience of his character and of his favourable disposition towards the Spanish nation. It was generally known that he had strenuously resisted the dismemberment of the monarchy, and was determined to abdicate rather than consent to the northern provinces being torn from Spain and annexed to France. The rabid democracy of the Cortes had filled with alarm and disgust many of the nobility and landed proprietors, while the Regency was generally odious from its despotism, injustice, and corruption. Indolence and lassitude prevailed throughout the country, and the enthusiasm which marked the beginning of the contest was dying away.‡ After all the drafts that had been made to swell the numbers of the Grand Army on the banks of the Niemen, there were still nearly 300,000

* 'Dorsenne denied it altogether. Caffarelli disputed even his civil power in the governments of the north. Suchet evaded his orders. Marmont neglected them. Soult firmly opposed his injudicious military plans.' (*Napier's Pen. War*, vol. v. p. 102.)

† Jourdan was *Major-General*, much attached to the king, and his military adviser.

‡ *Napier's Peninsular War*, vol. iv. App. p. 491.

French troops in the Peninsula, and the King had succeeded in enlisting a Spanish force of 40,000 men who served him faithfully, and fought with more vigour for him than their countrymen did against him.* Many Spaniards, little confident of a successful, and despairing of a speedy, termination of this desolating war, and thinking that the recognition of Joseph would alone preserve the integrity of their country, were inclined to accept him for their king. Many years after, when Joseph had probably ceased to care for royalty, he met General Mina in London, and he declares that in a long conversation, Mina told him that in 1812, he himself, Ballasteros, Infantado, and Montijo (all Spanish *Grandeess*) had determined to acknowledge him King of Spain, if the Emperor would consent to withdraw the French troops from the country.† All such designs, however, and all Joseph's better prospects, were swept away by the tide of the Duke of Wellington's victories; while the insubordination of the French generals, their continual jealousies and dissensions, and the disorganisation and even disaffection of their troops, led to repeated disasters, and rapidly brought about the ruin of their cause. Marshal Marmont earnestly entreated to be relieved from the command of the army of Portugal, which was left, he said, in such a state of distress from want of reinforcements and supplies, that nothing remained to him but the certainty of humiliation and disgrace, and he told the Prince de Wagram:—

‘To a man attached as I am to the Emperor, it is painful to see the revolution, with regard to him, which is working in the minds of the subaltern officers and the soldiers. Although they do not commit any actions which are positively criminal, there is a unanimity of complaint, as to the way in which this army is neglected, and a disgust in consequence, most injurious to the interests of the Emperor, and which it is my duty to make known to you.’‡

Joseph, although he occasionally wrote to Napoleon, had long ceased to receive any letters from him, and from the commencement of the Russian campaign, all communications between them passed through the Duc de Feltre.§ Of all the French generals, Soult was the one he most disliked, and of whose sturdy disobedience he most bitterly complained. At length their disagreements came to a crisis. The Duke of Dalmatia took umbrage at the King's sending some orders to the Comte d'Erlon,

* Napier's *Peninsular War*, vol. v. pp. 100—101.

† *Memoirs of King Joseph*, vol. x. p. 240.

‡ April 16th, 1812.

§ General Clarke, Minister-at-War.

one of his generals of division, and tendered his resignation in consequence.* The King persisted in his orders, and accepted the resignation of the Marshal.† Soult still retained the command of his army at the time the battle of Salamanca took place‡, after which his retirement seems to have been deferred, as Joseph continued to correspond with him as heretofore. Napoleon received the account of that action on the 2nd of September, a few days before the battle of Borodino.§ He was indignant with Marmont, and wrote to the Duc de Feltre:—

‘J’ai reçu le rapport du Duc de Raguse sur la bataille du 22. Il est impossible de rien lire de plus insignifiant ; il y a plus de fatras et de rouages que dans un horloge, et pas un mot qui fasse connaître l’état réel des choses.’

He reproaches Marmont bitterly for not having taken orders and instructions from the King, and for not having waited for the reinforcements the King was bringing to him.

‘Il y a là un cas d’insubordination qui est la cause de tous les malheurs de cette affaire. . . . En faisant considérer les deux circonstances, d’avoir pris l’offensive sans les ordres de son général-en-chef, et de n’avoir pas retardé la bataille de deux jours pour recevoir 15,000 hommes d’infanterie que lui menait le roi, . . . on est fondé à penser que le Duc de Raguse a craint que le roi ne participe au succès, et qu’il a sacrifié à la vanité la gloire de la patrie et l’avantage de mon service. . . . Vous ferez connaître au Duc de Raguse combien je suis indigné de la conduite inexplicable qu’il a tenue . . .’

The same day he directed that General Clausel’s account of the battle ‘en adoucissant quelques passages,’ should be inserted in the *Moniteur*.

‘Par là on verra clair dans ces affaires, et on jugera que l’échec du Duc de Raguse n’empêche pas les affaires d’Espagne d’être en bonne situation, puisque nous avons des armées victorieuses, et que les pertes de notre part et celles de l’ennemi ont été à peu près égales.’

Such was the way in which he vented his resentment on his defeated lieutenant, and endeavoured to deceive the French public, and perhaps himself, for he was never willing to admit the whole extent and the consequences of any calamity which befel him. He was ignorant too of the state of the defeated

* June 12.

† June 17.

‡ July 22.

§ The battle of Borodino was fought on the 7th.

¶ Sept. 2.

¶ Sept. 2. The allies lost 5,200 men. The French loss was never exactly ascertained, but 7,000 prisoners were taken, and while Marmont had certainly near 50,000 men at Salamanca, on the 18th August, less than a month after, Clausel could only muster 22,000.

army, which was described by General Clausel, who succeeded Marmont in the command, to be most deplorable:—

‘Il est ordinaire de voir (he writes), après un echec, des armées découragées; il est difficile d’en voir une dont le découragement soit plus grand; et je ne puis ni ne dois taire à V. E. qu’il règne dans celle-ci, et depuis bien long temps, un bien mauvais esprit; les désordres, les excès les plus révoltants, ont marqué partout nos pas dans notre retraite.’*

The dissensions between Joseph and Soult, which the disaster of Salamanca had silenced for a time, soon broke out again with fresh violence. The King ordered the Marshal to evacuate Andalusia and retire on Toledo. Against this order he strongly remonstrated; but Joseph insisted on its execution, and desired him, if he did not choose to obey it, to resign the command of the army. † Shortly afterwards an incident occurred which still more exasperated the King and envenomed the quarrel between him and the Marshal. Having been forced to abandon Madrid on the approach of the allied armies, he retired to Valencia, where he arrived on the 31st of August. On the 12th of September a merchant-vessel from Malaga put in at Grao; her captain was the bearer of a despatch from Soult to the Minister of War, which he placed in the hands of Marshal Suchet. The King, who had no news of Soult’s operations, determined to open the despatch, thinking it would inform him whether the evacuation of Andalusia had taken place. The letter (written in cypher) contained a formal accusation against the King, not only of misconduct in his military command, but of treachery to France and intrigues with the Spanish Regency. Soult had assembled the generals of his army, revealed to them the discovery he pretended to have made, and announced that he considered it his duty, as a subject of the Emperor and a French general, to watch over the interest of his sovereign and the honour of his arms; and, therefore, to refuse obedience to any orders by which in his judgment they might be compromised. ‡ The King immediately sent Soult’s letter to the Emperor, at the same time informing him that he had already recalled the Marshal, and demanding that he should be called to account and punished for his conduct. § These letters were carried by Colonel

* Aug. 6.

† Aug. 17.

‡ His communications by land being intercepted, Soult had despatched a vessel from Malaga charged with this despatch. The boat, being chased by an English corvette, threw itself on the Valencian coast, and the captain took his despatches to Suchet, who placed them in the hands of the King.

§ Sept. 9.

Duprez, who found the Emperor at Moscow. He did not reply to Joseph, but immediately wrote to the Duc de Feltre, that at such a distance he could do nothing for the armies in Spain, and desired him to inform the King and the Duke of Dalmatia that they must expect no aid, and that the position in which they were placed rendered their union indispensable in order to avert the misfortunes which threatened them.* The Duc de Feltre wrote to the King that the Emperor was obliged to shut his eyes to some things for a time at least, but that a moment would arrive when he might punish Marshal Soult, if he should think fit to do so, and he advised the King to temporise with the Marshal, especially as nothing could be done without further orders from the Emperor. This episode was not calculated to render Joseph's position easier; for, in addition to the difficulties which gathered around him, he had the mortification of being unable to obtain any reparation for the insulting conduct of Soult, who retained his command. Napoleon conversed freely with Colonel Duprez at Moscow on the affairs of Spain. He blamed Joseph's military movements after the battle of Salamanca, and, with regard to Soult's letter, said 'that he had already received it through another channel, but had attached no importance to it. The Marshal was mistaken; qu'il ne pouvait s'occuper de semblables pauvretés dans un moment où il était à la tête de 500,000 hommes, et faisait des choses immenses;' that the Duke of Dalmatia's suspicions did not surprise him, many of the generals in Spain taking the same view, and fancying the King preferred Spain to France; that he knew his heart was French, but that those who judged him by his language might well be of a different opinion; that M. Soult was the only '*tête militaire*' in Spain, and could not be withdrawn without great danger to the army. The Emperor went on to say that it was impossible for him at so great a distance to give any orders; that he was quite aware of the extent of the evil, and he regretted more than ever that Joseph had not taken the advice he had given him not to return to Spain. Towards the end of February, 1813, Soult was recalled, in order to be employed with the Grand Army in Germany; but the other generals do not seem to have been more inclined to obey the King, for we find him complaining to Clarke:—

'The ambassador of His Imperial Majesty incessantly repeats, "The King should enforce obedience." These words mean nothing; for how can I make myself obeyed by the generals commanding

armies, when you instruct them to conform themselves to the orders the King may think fit to give them, whenever such orders are not contrary to those you may have conveyed to them in the name of the Emperor?'*

While all energetic action was paralysed by this state of confusion and dissension, the French armies were materially weakened by the withdrawal of many thousands of the best troops, who were marched into Germany. Still Joseph did not despair, and flattered himself that if he could only gain a victory over the English, the Spaniards would again become the allies of France.† The battle of Vittoria extinguished all such hopes, and drove Joseph out of Spain. From that fatal field he escaped into France, still nominally commanding the armies, till superseded by Soult.‡ Joseph never heard from his brother, but continued to correspond with the Duc de Feltre, who still talked of 'resuming the offensive,' and 'I think I may venture to affirm to Your Majesty that there is no doubt whatever but that Spain will be reduced, and by force of arms;'§ but Joseph himself indulged in no such chimerical expectations. He wrote elaborate apologies of his own conduct, but declared his conviction that the contest was hopeless. 'As for me, I have told the Emperor, and I repeat again, that as long as I live, my life belongs to France. Must I re-enter Spain to conquer a kingdom for myself? I have learnt (too much at my own cost) the impossibility of commanding French armies organised and administered as they have been; that my capacities of King of Spain and Commander-in-Chief were mutually injurious; and that finishing by being neither the one nor the other, I should only injure both France and Spain by prolonging the struggle, when the sole object of my ambition was to be serviceable to both kingdoms. *The pacification of Spain by force of arms is impossible*, and I can only repeat what I said long ago.'|| Napoleon received the news of the battle of Vittoria on the 30th June, and he instantly despatched Soult as his lieutenant to take the command of his armies, and if possible to arrest the advance of the allies.¶ Soult reached

* April 1. 1813.

† June 5.

‡ On the 12th July.

§ July 9.

|| July 4.

¶ July 2. — Frenchmen, so long accustomed to be the invaders of all other countries, could not contemplate the invasion of France as an event within the range of possibility, though soon destined to see the tide roll over every part of its frontier. Clarke, writing to Jourdan on the means to be adopted to stop the progress of the enemy, says: 'I say nothing of the necessity of preserving the territory of the Empire from an invasion, which would be the greatest

the head-quarters at St. Jean Pied de Port, on the 12th July, when Joseph retired, first, to the Château de Poyanne, and afterwards to Mortfontaine, and there ended both his military and his regal career. He passed some months with his family at Mortfontaine in greater tranquillity than he had enjoyed for many years, but his retreat was embittered by his being the passive spectator of the disastrous campaign of 1813, and the decline and rapidly approaching fall of the Empire. Napoleon returned to Paris on the 9th November, but he does not appear to have taken any notice of Joseph, nor even to have condescended to inform him that he was negotiating with Ferdinand for the restoration of the Crown of Spain. A treaty was concluded between them on the 11th December; but as the Regency and the Cortes refused to ratify it, hostilities in that country did not cease, and Napoleon was disappointed in his expectation that his armies there would be set free, and become available for the ensuing campaign in France.

Some years had elapsed since any direct correspondence had taken place between the brothers, for though Joseph had from time to time written to the Emperor, he had never received any answers to his letters; but when he saw the impending invasion of the allied armies, and 'all the clouds which lowered on his 'house,' he did not hesitate to offer his services, and wrote to Napoleon as follows:—

'Sire, the violation of the Swiss territory has opened France to the enemy. In such circumstances I beg Your Majesty to be convinced that my heart is entirely French. Events having brought me back to France, I shall be happy to make myself of any use I can, and to undertake anything by which I may prove my devotedness. I know also what I owe to Spain. I see, and wish to fulfil, all my duties. My rights I am willing to surrender to the good of humanity, most happy if, by their sacrifice, I can contribute to the peace of Europe.*

'Mon frère,' the Emperor replied, 'j'ai reçu votre lettre du 29. Il y a trop d'esprit pour la situation où je me trouve. Voici, en deux mots, la question: la France est envahie, l'Europe toute en armes contre la France, et surtout contre moi. Vous n'êtes plus Roi d'Espagne. Je ne veux pas l'Espagne pour moi, je n'en veux pas disposer, mais je ne veux plus me mêler des affaires de ce pays que pour y vivre en paix et rendre mon armée disponible. Que voulez vous faire? Voulez vous, comme Prince François, venir vous ranger auprès du trône? Vous avez mon amitié, votre apanage, et vous serez mon sujet en votre qualité de Prince du sang. Il faut alors faire comme moi—avouer votre rôle: m'écrire

'of affronts to the armies. I will not entertain the idea that such an event is possible.'

* Dec. 29.

une lettre simple que je puisse imprimer, . . . vous montrer zélé pour moi et pour le Roi de Rome, et ami de la régence de l'Impératrice. Cela ne vous est il pas possible? N'avez vous pas assez de bon jugement pour cela? Il faut vous retirer à 40 lieus de Paris, dans un château de province obscurément: vous y vivrez tranquille si je vis, vous serez tué ou arrêté si je meurs. Vous serez inutile à moi, à la famille, à vos filles, à la France; mais vous ne me serez pas nuisible, et ne me gênez pas. Choisissez promptement, et prenez votre parti.'

Although this letter was very ungracious, Joseph embraced without hesitation the position therein offered, and from that moment Napoleon restored to him all his affection and confidence, and when he departed for the army* he appointed Joseph Lieutenant of the Empire, entrusted him with the arrangement of his most important affairs, and maintained an incessant correspondence with him up to the moment of the final catastrophe. The campaigns of 1812 and 1813 had exhausted the resources of France, and the supplies of men, material, and money, were very inadequate to the exigencies of Napoleon's situation. Money he could and did draw from his accumulated hoards in the vaults of the Tuileries; but the population had been so drained in the preceding years, that the decree for a fresh conscription of 300,000 men could not be enforced, especially as a large part of the French territory was occupied by the allied armies. The consumption, too, of military stores had been so enormous that the arsenals were empty, and it was found impossible to arm and equip the conscripts and the national guard. With such inadequate means did Napoleon prepare to encounter the hosts of his assailants, and to engage in that last and desperate struggle, in which he displayed all the energy and activity, as well as the consummate skill, of his earliest campaigns. The Emperor left Paris on the 25th of January, and began his operations on the 27th. At the same time the Congress had assembled, and negotiations for peace had been opened at Chatillon.† The allies had offered peace at Frankfort on the basis of the natural limits of France, that is, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, which Napoleon, without positively rejecting, had evinced no disposition to accept. He would now have been well pleased to obtain these terms. Caulaincourt was instructed to accept them, but nothing less. Meanwhile his first operations were unsuccessful. He lost the battle of Brienne, and though he did not acknowledge it in his letters to Joseph, he became alarmed for the safety of Paris. He arrived at Nogent on the

* Jan. 23. 1814.

† 9th Nov. 1813.

7th of February, when, besides bad news from all quarters, he learnt that Marshal Blucher was marching upon the capital; and at the same time the Duc de Vicence announced from Chatillon that the allies refused to give the terms of Frankfort, and that, to obtain peace, France must submit to be confined within her ancient limits. All these tidings filled the headquarters with consternation. Berthier, Maret*, and Bertrand† all implored the Emperor to give Caulaincourt *carte blanche*. After a stormy scene he reluctantly yielded, and authorised the Duc de Bassano to send him the necessary instructions, at the same time ordering that the conditions of the allies should be sent to Paris and laid before the privy council, who were commanded to report their opinion thereupon. Joseph meanwhile received letter after letter from the Emperor, urging the formation of an army of reserve at Paris, and the despatch of reinforcements. To which he replied that there was no deficiency of men, but that it was impossible to arm them; the minister of war having assured him he had not one musket to dispose of. Joseph had suggested to the Emperor to pay a month's appointment to some of the ministers, grand dignitaries, and others, who were in great distress, to which Napoleon replied, 'Nul n'est tenu à l'impossible: je ne peux plus payer aucun officier, et je n'ai plus rien.'‡ The next day Joseph writes:—

'Your Majesty will see that we are reduced to 6000 muskets, and therefore the formation of an army of reserve of 30,000 or 40,000 men is out of the question. Les choses sont plus fortes que les hommes, Sire, et lorsque cela est bien démontré, il me paraît que la véritable gloire est de conserver ce qu'on peut de ses sujets et de son territoire; et le parti de commettre une vie précieuse à un danger trop évident n'est pas glorieux, puisque il n'est pas avantageux à une grande masse d'hommes qui ont attaché leurs existences à la votre.'§

In this desperate state of his affairs, Napoleon conceived and proceeded to execute that series of magnificent manœuvres which brought back victory to his eagles, and for a moment promised to turn the tide in his favour. Thus he imparted his intentions to Joseph: 'Si je réussis ces deux ou trois jours à écraser l'armée de Silesie, je déboucherai sur Nogent ou sur Montereau. Je pourrai, avec nos réserves, avoir 80,000 hommes, et donner aux affaires une tournure inattendue.'|| While the Emperor was boldly marching against the Prussians, Joseph wrote to him from Paris:—

* Duke of Bassano.

† Gen. Bertrand had succeeded Duroc as Grand Maréchal.

‡ Feb. 8.

§ Feb. 9.

Feb. 9

‘There is nothing new here—no change in public opinion. . . . The rise in the funds is certainly owing to a letter from the Duc de Vicence, giving hopes that the negotiations may end happily. Everybody is convinced that there are no other means of restoring affairs; the condition of the treasury and of the arsenals being no secret; and whatever prodigies people may expect from the experience and ability of Your Majesty, they do not believe you can alone struggle against all the difficulties of your position. . . . I am obliged to admit that an immediate peace can alone save us, be the conditions what they may. I know nobody who thinks otherwise. Your most devoted servants are convinced that if we can only have peace, Your Majesty will soon find in the resources of your own genius, and the confidence of the nation, means of restoring affairs.’*

This letter found Napoleon, in all the exultation of three victories gained in three days, preparing to rush like lightning on the Austrians, and full of confidence that he should drive back both the allied armies across the Rhine. He little thought that those delusive successes would prove the cause of his destruction. He had sent full powers to Caulaincourt to close with the propositions of the allies. Caulaincourt lost no time in writing to Prince Metternich, and informing him that if his acceptance of *the ancient limits* would be immediately followed by an armistice, he was ready to signify it; before any answer could be given, the allied plenipotentiaries had suspended the conferences. On the 15th, Prince Metternich informed him that the plenipotentiaries had received orders to enter upon a discussion of his letter to the Prince of the 9th, and on the 17th the conference was resumed, when the project of a preliminary treaty was tendered to the French Minister on the basis of the ancient limits, hostilities being to cease as soon as it was ratified. Caulaincourt reserved his answer for another conference, but before that took place he received a letter from Napoleon, saying:—

‘I gave you *carte blanche* in order to save Paris, and avoid a battle which was the last hope of the nation. The battle has been fought, and Providence has blessed our arms. Sign nothing now without my order, because I alone know my own position. If they had accepted your proposals on the 9th, there would have been no battle. I should not have trusted to fortune at a moment when the slightest failure would have been the ruin of France. . . . Now, it is just that I should reap the advantages of my good fortune. I wish for peace, but I would not agree to any which imposed on me harder conditions than those of Frankfort.’†

On the 28th the plenipotentiaries demanded a categorical answer to their project of a treaty.‡ On the 5th and 6th of

* Feb. 11.

† Feb. 17.

‡ Delivered on the 17th.

March, Caulaincourt wrote pressing letters to Napoleon representing the danger of delay, the necessity of making sacrifices, and of making them in time. 'If we don't take care, the opportunity will slip away, as it did at Prague. . . . And if we do not give in a counterproject with modifications of the Frankfort bases, all is at an end. . . . The negotiations, once broken off, will never be renewed, and I implore Your Majesty to reflect on the effect this rupture will produce in France, and to weigh well its consequences.' The negotiations were spun out by the Duc de Vicence till the 15th, on which day he delivered his counterproject. On the 18th the plenipotentiaries declared that it departed so widely from the bases of peace which they had proposed, that they could only regard the course pursued by the French Minister as intended for the purpose of delay, and they therefore should consider the conferences at an end, and that they had been terminated by the French Government; and they added that the Allied Powers *did not make war upon France*. On the 19th the Conference met for the last time, when Caulaincourt put in an answer to the above declaration, but without making any further proposal; the plenipotentiaries then declared their powers to be exhausted, and that they should return to the head-quarters of their sovereigns.

All this time Napoleon was striving, by superhuman exertions of activity and military skill, to gain such advantages over the hosts opposed to him as might enable him to extort more favourable terms of peace, and he at the same time endeavoured to allay the fears and raise the spirits of the people of Paris by exaggerated accounts of his successes, and by false representations of the conditions of peace proposed by the allies.

Prince Schwartzenberg having proposed an armistice, the Emperor writes :—

'Je n'accorderai aucun armistice qu'ils n'aient purgé mon territoire. . . . Avant de commencer mes opérations, je leur ai fait offrir de signer sous la condition des anciennes limites, pourvu qu'ils s'arrêtassent sur le champ. . . . ils ont répondu négativement, en disant que même la signature des préliminaires n'arrêterait point les hostilités. . . . Vous concevez que me voyant à la veille d'une bataille dans laquelle j'étais décidé à vaincre ou à périr, et dans laquelle, si je cédaï, ma capitale eût été prise, j'eusse consenti à tout pour éviter cette grande chance. Je devais ce sacrifice de mon amour propre à ma famille et à mon peuple; mais dès qu'ils ont refusé, que la chance de la bataille a eu lieu, . . . et que toutes les données possibles sont pour moi, je dois à l'intérêt de l'Empire et à ma gloire, de négocier une véritable paix. Si j'avais signé les anciennes limites, j'aurais couru aux armes deux ans après, et j'aurais dit à la nation que ce n'était point une paix que j'avais signé, mais une capitulation. . . . J'espère faire une paix telle que tout homme

raisonnable peut la désirer, et *mes desirs ne vont pas au-delà des propositions de Francfort.**

Two days after he wrote angrily : —

‘Le Duc de Bassano vous enverra copie des propositions des alliés. Vous verrez par là combien vos sermons sont hors de saison, et que je n’ai pas besoin d’être prêché pour signer une paix honorable si elle était possible.’†

Joseph informs him of the eagerness there is for peace, and of the deplorable state of affairs everywhere.

‘Le Ministre de l’Intérieur, celui de la Police, et l’Archichancelier sortent de chez moi. Ils m’ont fait la peinture la plus désastreuse des choses à Toulouse, et à Bordeaux. . . . Je suppose que nous sommes à la veille d’une bataille; quel qu’en soient les résultats, l’état actuel ne peut pas durer. Les deux ministres m’ont déclaré que l’administration tombe partout en dissolution, que l’argent manque, et le système de réquisitions finit par neutraliser toutes les affections et isoler le gouvernement. Quelque dures que soient ces vérités, comme V. M. ne peut pas les entendre de la bouche de ses ministres, je n’hésite pas à m’imposer le pénible devoir de vous les faire connaître.’‡

‘Cette ville de Paris . . . n’est pas dans un état tel qu’on puisse espérer d’elle autre chose que fidélité et obéissance; elle a admiré votre génie, mais elle ne peut pas être mue, exaltée, que par l’espoir d’une paix prochaine.’§

Napoleon ordered Joseph to summon a council of the grand dignitaries and ministers, lay before them all the documents concerning the negotiation at Chatillon, and report the opinions of the members to him. The Council was convoked, and Joseph reported that the members were unanimously of opinion that the propositions of the enemy were very unfair, and they expressed unbounded confidence that His Majesty would give proper instructions to his Plenipotentiary; but they also thought the ancient limits ought to be accepted, rather than risk the occupation of the capital, which would be the end of every thing.|| Every day the peril increased; and the resources diminished. Conscripts ceased to come in; the near approach of the enemy spread fresh alarm in Paris, and credit was extinct.¶ On the 8th, the Emperor sends intelligence of his victory at Craonne the previous day, to which Joseph replies : —

‘Après la nouvelle victoire que vous venez de remporter, vous pouvez signer glorieusement la paix avec *les anciennes limites*. . . . Quant à vous, Sire, victorieux tant de fois, vous avez dans vous tout ce qu’il faut pour faire oublier aux Français, ou plutôt pour leur rappeler, ce que Louis XII., Henri IV., et Louis XIV. ont eu de mieux dans leur manière de gouverner, si vous faites une paix solide avec l’Europe, et si, trouvant dans votre caractère les traces primitives de

* Feb. 18.

§ Feb. 22.

† Feb. 20.

|| March 4.

‡ Feb. 21.

¶ March 7.

sa bonté naturelle, vous vous y laisser aller, et, renonçant à un caractère factice, et à de grands efforts journaliers, vous consentez enfin à faire succéder le grand roi à l'homme extraordinaire.' *

While danger encompassed Napoleon on every side, while the whole frame of Government was crumbling to pieces, and the allegiance of the people and the army beginning to falter, he presented the same majestic attitude, and spoke in the same imperious tone, as in the loftiest days of his power and grandeur.

'Je suis fâché (he wrote to Joseph) que vous ayez fait connaître au Duc de Conegliano ce que je vous ai écrit. Je n'aime pas tout ce caquetage. S'il entraît dans mes vues de mettre le Duc de Conegliano ailleurs, le bavardage de Paris n'y ferait rien. La garde nationale de Paris fait partie du peuple de France, et tant que je vivrai je serai le maître partout en France. Votre caractère et le mien sont opposés. Vous aimez à cajoler les gens et à obéir à leurs idées; moi, j'aime qu'on me plaise et qu'on obéisse aux miennes. Aujourd'hui, comme à Austerlitz, je suis le maître. . . Si le peuple s'aperçait qu'au lieu de faire ce que leur est utile, on cherche à lui plaire, il est tout simple qu'il se croit souverain, et ne conserve qu'une pauvre idée de ceux qui le gouvernent.' †

When this letter was written he was preparing for the famous operation in which he played his last stake, and by which the final catastrophe was brought about. Finding his strength unequal to oppose the immense masses of the allied armies when they were drawn together, and unable to prevent their junction, he resolved to throw himself on their communications, expecting that he should thereby frighten them into a general retreat. ‡

'Dès demain l'effet de mes dispositions aura lieu; car l'ennemi connaîtra mon mouvement, et dès ce moment cela influera sur toute son opération. . . Je m'attends à de grands résultats de mon mouvement, qui va jeter un grand désordre et une grande confusion sur les derrières de l'ennemi et sur son quartier-général.' §

This manœuvre on their flanks astonished and terrified the allied generals; but while they were hesitating what course to take, a letter from Napoleon to the Empress Marie Louise, in which he informed her of his plan, was intercepted. A council was

* March 9.

† March 14. Joseph had written (March 11.):—'Des bruits fâcheux commencent à se répandre dans la capitale; ils tendent à dépopulariser V. M. Par exemple, on parle du rapport du Duc de Conegliano, qui est aimé. . . V. M. doit sentir qu'il n'y a d'autre remède que la paix, et la paix la plus prochaine. . . La misère personnelle est à son comble, et le jour où l'on serait vaincu que V. M. aurait préféré la prolongation de la guerre à une paix même désavantageuse; il n'est pas douteux que la lassitude tournera les esprits d'un autre côté.'

‡ Schwartzenberg was already retreating.

§ March 17.

immediately held, and the resolution taken to march upon Paris. On the 29th, the Empress, the Imperial family, and the ministers quitted Paris; on the 31st the allied sovereigns entered the city; on the 11th April Napoleon abdicated, and the curtain fell on the grand drama of the Empire.

We have more than once heard the Duke of Wellington talk of Napoleon, and of his military genius, and say, he thought him by far the greatest general the world ever saw, and that his campaign of 1814 was the one in which he had displayed the greatest ability and the most extraordinary strategical art. The Duke's opinion was that the Emperor had been ruined by his impatience, and that if, instead of suffering the allied armies to get between himself and Paris, he had continued to fall alternately upon Schwartzemberg and Blucher with such wonderful celerity and vigour, and retaining his communication with the capital, he would in the end have succeeded. Such was the criticism of the highest authority on such a question; but if the Duke had lived to read these volumes he might possibly have changed his opinion: for the correspondence reveals to us the humiliating penury of resources of all kinds to which this once mighty potentate was reduced, as well as the general lassitude and discouragement which made the prolongation of the contest impossible. Now that the intense hopes, fears, and interests of those eventful days have long ago subsided, and the events themselves have passed into the domain of history, we may be permitted to regard, not without emotion and involuntary feelings of admiration and sympathy, the unshaken firmness, the genius, and the courage with which the last desperate struggle for his crown was maintained by the most formidable enemy we ever had to encounter; and the contemplation of that terrible contest makes us rejoice the more that the two countries, once such deadly foes, have forgotten their ancient rivalry, and are now knit together in the closest bonds of friendship,—and allied, not for any selfish or aggressive objects, but to redress the wrongs inflicted by unjust ambition, and to stand forth together as the guardians and protectors of the liberty and independence of mankind.

What remains of Joseph's career may be told in very few words. On the abdication of his brother, he retired to Switzerland, returned to France in 1815, and after the Cent Jours he went to America, where he purchased an estate (Point Breeze), and established himself for many years on the banks of the Delaware. In 1832 he came to England, where he remained till 1840, respected and undisturbed. In 1841 the King of Sardinia allowed him to go to Genoa, and a few weeks later the Grand Duke of Tuscany suffered him to take up his abode at Florence,

where he died, at the age of 76, in July, 1844. We well remember many years ago having one day met at Holland House a mild-looking old gentleman, with very courteous and dignified manners; on being presented to him, we became aware that we saw before us a man who had once been King of Naples and King of Spain, and who exhibited one of the most memorable examples of the inconstancy of that Fortune, which

‘Promotes, degrades, delights in strife,
And makes a lottery of life.’

Joseph left one daughter (Zenaïde), married to her cousin, Prince Charles Buonaparte, son of Lucien, and eight grandchildren. His daughter Charlotte, who had been engaged to marry the elder brother of the present Emperor of the French, died in 1839. La Reine Julie only survived her husband a few months.

We shall conclude our epitome of these curious volumes with a few remarks upon the character of the Emperor Napoleon in respect to its greatness. We agree with Dr. Channing that ‘a man who raised himself from obscurity to a throne, and ‘changed the face of this world, . . . has taken out of our ‘hands the question whether he should be called great;’ but that ‘*the highest order* of greatness did not belong to him.’ We think that notwithstanding his extraordinary genius and his wonderful exploits, a sound philosophy and a sound morality equally forbid his being placed amongst the most illustrious characters ‘whose names adorn the age in which they flourished, ‘and exalt the dignity of human nature.’ His principal characteristic was an insatiable and selfish ambition, to the gratification of which he sacrificed without scruple or remorse the interests and the happiness of all mankind. The good which he did bears no proportion to the misery of which he was directly or indirectly the cause: havoc, desolation, and death marked his terrible career, and in the prosecution of his designs and objects he trampled upon every principle of justice and humanity.

Yet there was nothing like cruelty in his disposition, and he was too enlightened not to entertain a decided preference for a wise and well-ordered administration, and for the prosperity and contentment of the nations he governed, so far as these were compatible with his restless schemes of conquest and domination. But it is difficult to discover at any period of his life instances of his having sacrificed or risked any purposes or interests of his own at the suggestion of honour and conscience, or for the vindication of right against wrong. His original propensities inclined him rather to good than to evil, and early

in his career, he regarded with disgust and indignation atrocities, at which he nevertheless connived, when he thought connivance in them would be useful to himself. Of this, his conduct upon the coup d'état of the 18th Fructidor* furnishes a striking example. The Directory violated the independence of the legislative bodies, and with circumstances of enormous tyranny and cruelty, arrested and transported many of their best and most respectable members. Bonaparte (then the all powerful commander-in-chief of the army of Italy) hated and despised the Directors, and viewed their conduct with an abhorrence which in his familiar conversation he took no pains to conceal; but because it suited his purpose that they should render themselves odious and unpopular, and he did not think the time was arrived for putting himself in opposition to the government, he had the meanness and hypocrisy to associate himself by his public acts with their atrocious proceedings, and officially to approve of all that had been done. He refused to stretch forth a hand to save men whom he esteemed and pitied, and suffered them, without resistance or remonstrance, to be sent to perish in the pestilent swamps of Sinamary.† We have said that Napoleon was not cruel, but he had no sympathy with his fellow creatures, and regarded them with such profound contempt, that he was indifferent to human suffering and reckless of human life. It was not from any pleasure in shedding blood, but in order to strike terror into the royalists, that he caused the Duc d'Enghien to be kidnapped and put to death. When the deed was done he recoiled from the odium to which he saw that it would expose him, endeavoured to shift it on his instruments, and to cast the blame upon their precipitate zeal, imitating the behaviour of Queen Elizabeth in respect to the execution of the Scottish Queen. Although he became a mighty monarch, he never was animated by the feelings and sentiments of a *gentleman*—he was never moved or restrained by any principle of honour, and he had a total and habitual disregard for truth; his treatment of the Royal Family of Spain was a tissue of unparalleled perfidy and deceit, and his admirers are so conscious of its infamy, that they have endeavoured (as in the case of the Duc d'Enghien) to throw the discredit of it upon Talleyrand and others, by whose counsel they pretend that he acted: but none can doubt that the nefarious scheme was planned 'in the recesses of a mind capacious of such things,'‡ and that he was alone responsible for a deed so base

* Sept. 1797.

† See Barante, History of the Directory, vol. ii. book vi.

‡ Burke.

and treacherous, as to stamp the memory of its perpetrator with indelible disgrace. If no other examples were forthcoming, his testamentary approval of the attempt to assassinate the Duke of Wellington is alone sufficient to deprive him of all claim to the praise of magnanimity. Really great men who have been enemies, have always esteemed and honoured each other, and it was reserved for Napoleon to reveal to the world the vindictive spite which rankled in his mind to the last against his great conqueror, by the bequest of a sum of money to his assassin. To a character tarnished with such defects, stained by so many crimes, and not elevated by any moral dignity, a career crowned by complete and enduring success must be considered an indispensable condition of the highest order of greatness, and not only was this wanting to Napoleon, but his decline was even more rapid than his rise; and he seems to have been raised to the pinnacle he reached, only

‘To fall beneath misfortune’s blow,
With louder ruin to the gulph below.’

If by consummate ability he was the artificer of his stupendous fortune, it was by the ungovernable excesses of his own pride and obstinacy that he brought down the ruin that overwhelmed him. We think then that Napoleon cannot be compared with the most conspicuous of the men who in various ages of the world have been accounted the greatest, and who were testators to posterity of immense benefits, or crowned with immortal fame; he is not to be ranked with Cæsar or Charlemagne—with Cromwell or Washington, all of whom played their respective (but very different) parts with not less pre-eminent glory, and with far more complete and more lasting success.

The class of papers and documents to which the correspondence of King Joseph with his extraordinary brother belongs are by far the most authentic and instructive materials for the history of this eventful period. No less than 40,000 letters written or dictated by Napoleon Bonaparte are said to be in existence in the archives of the French Government and in private collections of papers. The present Emperor of the French has given orders that this vast mass of documents should be classified, and, as far as possible, published; and, if we may judge from the style and character of the letters now before us, the complete correspondence of the Emperor will be a striking monument of his genius, and an invaluable contribution to the history of his times.

- ART. II.—1. *The North China Herald*. 1853, 1854. Shanghai.
 2. *The China Mail*. 1853, 1854. Hongkong.
 3. *The Books of the Taipingwang Dynasty*. Shanghai: 1853.
 4. *The Visions of Hungsiutsiuen and the Origin of the Kwangsee Insurrection*. By the late Rev. THEODORE HAMBERG of the Basle Evangelical Society. Hongkong: 1854.
 5. *Papers respecting the Civil War in China*. Presented to the House of Lords by command of Her Majesty. 1853.
 6. *Captain Fishbourne's Impressions of China and the present Revolution: its Progress and Prospects*. London: 1853.
 7. *The Chinese Missionary Gleaner*. London: 1853, 1854.

THE authentic information which has been received and published in Europe down to the present time with reference to the political disturbances of the last few years in the Chinese Empire is limited in amount, and attempts have been made to supply the deficiency from many incorrect or inadequate sources. These statements have chiefly reached the public through the translations of Chinese documents and the distorted medium of the Anglo-Chinese press. The publications now before us (most of which have been printed in China) will enable us to present our readers with a more connected narrative of these remarkable events; and to these sources of information we shall add some materials drawn from the reports of the Protestant missions in China, where more than eighty foreigners are now prosecuting their labours as Christian Ministers to the people of that vast empire.

The political disturbances which have recently agitated various parts of the Chinese dominions, while they have some points in common, are distinct and unconnected in their leaders, in the claims asserted by them, in the objects they avow, and in their respective creeds. For the sake of convenience we shall divide the various disturbances into two distinct narratives.

To begin, then, with what may be termed the lesser disturbances, although they are in point of date the most recent. Along the line of coast from the port of Canton to the mouth of the Yangtze-Kiang, extending over eight hundred miles, there have been, within the last two years, three seditious risings among the natives; one at each of the three seaports of China most famous for native traffic, and for foreign trade and commerce. The ports we mean are Amoy in the province of Fuhkien, Canton in that of Kwantung, and Shanghai in Kiangsoo.

Although this spirit of insubordination burst out in the month of May 1853, it had long been fermenting upon the eastern coast of the empire. In no other quarter indeed has the reigning government had to deal with more perpetual annoyances. Nor have foreigners anywhere met with insults of so aggravated a character as they continually have encountered along this coast. Perhaps this is not to be wondered at. The spirit of daring independence, adventure, and knavery has long been growing among this maritime population, born upon the sea-coast or on its rugged islands, bred up among fishermen, sailors, smugglers, and pirates, trafficking with foreigners or engaged in the opium trade; and of late, especially since 1840, when the power of England exposed the weakness of the native government, this tone of defiance has risen to a pitch beyond precedent. It will not escape observation that two of these seats of insurrection are ports opened by the Treaty of Nankin to foreign intercourse.

Of these maritime disturbances, the first broke out at Amoy, on May 18th 1853. This walled city, after a slight resistance, fell into the hands of the rioters, a gang composed almost exclusively of natives of the Fuhkien province, all professedly of the 'Triad Brotherhood' or 'the Small Dagger Society.' Shortly after the capture of Amoy, the Imperialists drove them within the city walls and besieged them. On the 11th of the following November, Amoy was retaken by the Mandarin troops. The unruly bands were expelled, and betook themselves to a piratical life on the sea-coast, or joined other bandit forces collecting about the shores of Canton to disturb the peace of that port and province. Ever since the recapture of Amoy, public security has increased there, trade has revived, confidence in the people from the west has been growing, and foreign intercourse is extending.

At a distance of about 600 miles north of Amoy, a serious riot broke out in Shanghai on the morning of the 7th of September, 1853. The leaders of this sedition consisted of a club of Canton, Fuhkien, and Shanghai men; but the reins of government here were very shortly assumed by a Cantonese named Lew, at one time a sugar-broker in Shanghai, who henceforth figured under the title of 'great generalissimo having command of the cavalry and infantry throughout the empire, under the great Ming dynasty.' The main force under this chieftain consisted of Canton and Fuhkien men out of employ and bent on plunder, or of ruffians hitherto engaged in opium smuggling and piracy upon the sea-board. Several persons among them have also been recognised, who at one time had been table-

servants and horseboys in the service of English and American merchants. Some likewise had been born and educated under the British flag in the Malayan Straits; and one or two, who took a prominent part, had in early life been pupils in the English schools at Singapore.

During the first fortnight after the fall of Shanghai into their hands, this disorderly mob overran the surrounding districts, pillaging whole towns and villages, and throwing great terror among their peaceable and industrious occupants. But, at the approach of the Imperialist troops from the interior, these marauders had to retreat within their hold at Shanghai. They were not driven out of that city until after a siege of eighteen months. The Imperialists had mustered a strong force of 10,000 or 13,000 men. Yet, although from the date of their arrival in the beginning of October, 1853, there had been a perpetual series of bombardments and assaults, the Imperialists were unable to effect their object till the middle of February of the present year, when the city was retaken, and the authority of the Emperor restored, greatly to the delight of the native population. 'The North China Herald,' which had not long before exulted in the victories of the rioters, stated on April 7. of 1855, 'that the recapture of the city and its reoccupation by the Imperialists have been followed by general tranquillity in this district. An important end has been effected, the city although a ruin, has been regained, and, now, we hope that confidence having been restored, and little prospect of any harm coming from without, the internal resources of the country will be developed with increased facility, and peace and happiness continue in this vicinity for many years to come.'

During the eighteen months of the siege of Shanghai, the presence of the two belligerent parties was the occasion of incessant uneasiness to foreign residents on the spot, and more than once it almost led to serious differences between the Chinese and the foreign authorities at that port. Indeed, in the month of December last, the city of Shanghai was declared to be in a state of siege, by the French admiral. The 'casus belli' was an insult by the rebels in possession of that city to the French flag, for which they would offer no apology. This, it appears, was aggravated by some indiscreet advice or conduct, on the part of foreigners in the European settlement who were in league with the band of rebels in the city. The notification of the French Admiral ran as follows:—

‘Shanghai, 14 December, 1854.

‘SIR, — The rebels persisting in the ideas of resistance which are suggested to them by foreigners unworthy of all protection on the part of the consular authorities of their respective countries, and circumstances having compulsorily led us singly to protect by force of arms the foreign settlements, I have to beg you will notify to your colleagues of England and America the state of siege which I declare in existence from this date, between the rebels and the French, in order that they may warn their countrymen of the danger they may incur in continuing their relations with the besieged. Receive the assurance, &c.

(Signed) LAGUERRE.

‘To the Consul of France,
Shanghai.’

This step on the part of the French Admiral may have assisted, though not materially, the recapture of the city by the Mandarin troops. We have mentioned the fact to illustrate the offensive tone which these rioters had assumed towards foreign authorities, and the severe measures to which these authorities have felt themselves compelled to resort in defence of the honour and the dignity of their flags. In support of this hostile message an inadequate party of French marines was landed, and repulsed by the rebels; and we believe that the measures taken by Admiral Laguerre were not approved by the French Government, inasmuch as they were a departure from the system of non-intervention wisely adopted by other foreign States.

We now come to the disturbances at Canton. For a long time measures had been taken by the native officers to check any turbulent risings in that city. This will in some degree lessen our surprise that, with the disposition to anarchy and confusion, so prevalent upon the south-east coast, Canton had so long escaped the contagion, — particularly as it may be considered the head-quarters of idle vagabonds from all parts of the south of China, and it was well known that whole gangs of banditti had been hovering about, ready at the first opportunity to excite all classes of malcontents to deeds of violence and bloodshed for no other object than booty and pillage. In the month of June, 1854, however, they had collected a strong party and succeeded in seizing the wealthy town of Fuhshan, twelve miles above Canton. After this, they made various attempts to take the provincial capital and blockade the port. But all proved ineffectual, except to disturb the public peace, break up the native traffic, and stop foreign commerce. In the beginning of February last, they met with some most disastrous reverses. The consequence has been that they have not dared to take the field again, and the majority

have returned to their piratical life. Fortunately the confidence of the citizens of Canton in the Imperial power has been restored, and both the native and the foreign markets are revived. But had that city fallen into the hands of those ruthless marauders, who can tell the scenes of disorder and calamity that would have been entailed on a capital so large, rich, and populous?

The foregoing epitome presents, in as close and connected a form as the facts will admit of, what we have designated the lesser disturbances, or the state of anarchy in some of the principal districts upon the coast of China.

We have now to bring under review the greater and more important revolt, which has often been emphatically designated by foreigners, either 'the revolution in China,' or 'the Nan-king rebellion.' To give it the former designation, however, imposes on it a universality to which it has no pretensions; and to name it by the latter, conveys an erroneous impression as to the original site of the outbreak. More properly, it should be spoken of as 'the Kwangsee insurrection,' that province having been the nursery of the rising, and the hotbed where the combustible elements that had been smouldering in the south and south-western parts of China, since 1842, were collected. Upon the termination of the war with England in that year, when amicable relations with foreign Powers were restored, it is unquestionable that the national executive fell back into more than its usual self-satisfaction and security. Military authority and municipal surveillance became exceedingly relaxed. It is equally certain that the hardy, independent, and turbulent among the people, eager for opportunities to realise their political projects, had perceived the late exposure of the impotence of the Imperial Government, and watched with pleasure the progress of that languor which ever since had been creeping over the various boards of the administration.

While the Emperor Taoukwang still lived (he died in 1850), various riots and extensive robberies, 'occasioned by certain 'banditti belonging to the Kwangsee province,' were reported to his Majesty, as noted in the Peking Gazette. These were looked upon by 'the Great Eye,' as trivial affrays, to be put down by a puff of the Imperial breath, or extinguished by one stroke of the vermilion pencil. But down to the middle of 1851, those bands continued to occasion no little annoyance in Kwangsee, spreading disorder beyond the boundaries of that into the adjoining provinces, Kwangtung (*i. e.* Canton) and Hoonan.

The agitation then began to assume the more decided form of an irruption. From the mountain lines of Kwangsee, it crept northwards through the heart of the empire. As this invading force advanced, its leaders endeavoured to adopt something like an organised plan of campaign,—proclaiming the foundation of a new dynasty as their prime object. High-sounding claims were announced. Violent complaints against the existing monarchy were raised. Thrilling appeals were made to all classes, in one form most inviting, in another most appalling. These demands gained currency through the press, a medium not idle among the Chinese, and in some respects the most popular and effective instrument in that country. Passing from city to city, from province to province, the quiet and peaceable natives were startled and cowed. The Imperialist soldiery, whether composed of ‘tigers’ or ‘village braves,’ was before these ‘rebels’ in most instances little better than the wooden regiments that amuse the children in our nurseries. The crowds of idle and indolent vagabonds which infested the rural and suburban population found proper aliment in this commotion and joined the movement in gangs. Still, this threatening insurrection took eighteen months to pass out of Kwangsee, through the Hoonan province up to the banks of the river Yangtze, — a distance not exceeding 700 miles. Its approach created great alarm everywhere. Although the local authorities must have heard the wild rumours that floated on long before the actual appearance of the invaders, yet it does not appear that even the more cautious and courageous of the Imperial servants made any timely and vigorous preparation for resistance. The consequence was, that at the approach of the formidable host, whose numbers, large as they were, were enormously exaggerated by a timid and flying mob, numerous villages and walled towns were at once deserted by their inhabitants, and almost as speedily by their grotesque militia, after a show of military manœuvres,—which they took care to exhibit at a convenient distance from the enemy.

As it is not our purpose to weary our readers by a minute itinerary of the line of march pursued by the insurgents, we shall take them at once to Nanking, which fell on the 19th March, 1853. Early in the morning of that day the insurgents sprung a mine, which caused a breach of thirty yards’ width under the wall of the city, near its northern angle. The assault was then made, and, after a slight resistance, the rebels entered, took possession of the capital, and have ever since made it their head-quarters. Near the close of the same month, they made for the citadel of Chinkiangfoo, at

a distance of fifty miles from Nanking, where the English in 1842 met with a stout opposition from the Tartar garrison, but which the native foe occupied unresisted, some 400 Mantchoos having fled without firing a shot. In the beginning of April, the conquerors proceeded to the two walled cities, Kwachou and Yangchou, nearly opposite to Chinkiang upon the northern bank of the Yangtsze. These likewise fell without defence. Having taken possession of these important cities on the two banks of the river, they got complete command of the great channel of communication between the north and south of China by way of the grand canal, called by the natives 'the transport grain canal' from its chief uses. Before advancing farther up the country, they took the precaution to establish a sort of regular government at 'the heavenly capital' as they name Nanking, and to strengthen the various fortifications there as well as in the other cities upon the north and south banks, with the evident intention of permanently occupying these important heads of the canal. Besides, it has since been ascertained that, in these various places, they stored up immense quantities of rice and other provisions, to supply the invading force, some say for six or eight years, others for one or two. But, while the insurgents were engaged in these precautionary measures, the Imperialist hosts came down upon their headquarters,—pitching their tents, however, at a respectful distance from the Nanking walls, on the west, south and eastern faces, and anchoring flotillas eight or ten miles both above and below the capital, so as to command the main channel of communication from west to east by way of the Yangtszekiang, whose waters flow along the northern face of Nanking. It appears, however, that the greater part of this besieging army has been lying here for nearly the space of two years,—as if with no other object than to keep the insurgents within the stone walls of the 'heavenly capital,' and prevent them from marching forth in masses to ravage the surrounding country. But, in spite of this parade of the Imperial forces, the insurgents, after some delay, managed to elude the besiegers and sent detachments, according to all accounts large and strong, to the south, the west, and the north. The division intended for the north moved leisurely and for some time unimpeded through the province of Shantung. It crossed the Yellow River, and penetrated the Chihli province till within 100 miles of Peking, the metropolis of the empire. At last the rebels found they had 'gone too far north,' for there nothing but a succession of reverses awaited them. Their hitherto victorious bands now met with a continued series of defeats. Their battalions were repulsed, broken up, and dis-

persed. . . Whole companies were cut to pieces, and the survivors fled whither they could. The same fate befel the southern and western detachments. 'The Shanghai Journal' of December 9. 1854 informs us,

'It now appears that the northern, western, and southern detachments of Tai-ping-wang's army have all failed in the errand on which they were sent. These repeated reverses will necessitate the adoption of a new line of policy on his part, but we shall probably have to wait for its development till the campaign of the ensuing year.'

But with the opening of spring their cause does not appear to have revived. Their chief force seems to be confined to the occupation of Nanking and the neighbouring fortress Chinkiang, within which walled cities the leaders of the rebel armies are at present besieged by the military and naval armaments of the Mantchoo Emperor who still occupies the dragon throne. 'The China Mail,' (which unquestionably is the most correct and able journal of the Anglo-Chinese press), of the 15th of April last, announces that —

'Nothing is heard of the rebels at Nanking; and it may be inferred they are not in a very flourishing state. The bands in the northern and central provinces have been defeated in every recent encounter with the Imperialists, except in the one instance of Hankow, which has been retaken by the insurgents. Their cause is, however, evidently on the wane, though, as is found at Canton and Shanghai, tranquillity will not probably be immediately restored on their discomfiture and dispersion; for, descending from their position of rebels, they will take to, or rather resume, the career of pirates and highway robbers.'

In the course of this summer very large numbers of the insurgents have fallen into the hands of the Imperialists, and have been brought down to Canton for execution; as many as 150 a day of these unhappy wretches have been publicly put to death, with that atrocious indifference to human life and human suffering which is characteristic of the Chinese.

It is very evident that the prestige of the pretender, Taiping-wang, is declining. Nor is it by any means probable that it will ever revive. It has frequently been surmised that the present generation of Chinese are predisposed for a revolution. There is, however, a want of sufficient evidence to warrant this conclusion. Taking into account the vastness of the territory of China, — its population, and the extreme weakness of the government, it is marvellous how things are kept together as they are, and that, in this enormous mass of social machinery, there are not more screws loose. Yet that China needs reform

in every shape, particularly in her government of the people, cannot admit of a doubt. Her monarchical authority is trembling, her executive is everywhere corrupt, her army weak and imbecile, and the administrative boards throughout the country thoroughly rotten. There are among her grandees some men who are sagacious enough to see and deplore all this; and it is even said there are high-minded censors about court with courage enough to warn the Imperial Majesty and to open their patriotic views to the 'Son of Heaven.' But that these men, or that the bulk of the people, are ripe for a revolution, is an assumption not supported by the evidence now before us. In the first place, we are assured that the movement headed by Taipingwang and his assistant chiefs is unpopular among the Chinese. In token of its popularity it is absurd to point to the four or five hundred thousand camp-followers, that are reported to have joined his ranks. Half a million of rebels is not an enormous body in relation to a population numbering above 300,000,000, especially as they are said to consist of idle vagabonds, ready at any moment for money and bread, plunder and booty, to join any leader who may call them to his standard. The actual number of fighting men belonging to the rebellion is stated by another Anglo-Chinese authority at only 50,000, but this is probably far below the truth, as we shall presently show.

It is reported that, 'at their approach the people and the retainers of the old administration are every where appalled, 'and fly like chaff before the stormy wind.' But this can be no sign that the revolution is one harmonising with the views of the million in opposition to tyrannical mandarins and despotic emperors. It denotes the powerlessness of the government to protect its subjects, but not that the people are ready to welcome the rebels to their homes and hearths as their deliverers. We know, that while they were *en route* to Nanking, the inhabitants of some populous and wealthy cities at a distance collected vast sums (in one place about 70,000*l.*), to be paid as ransom money, to bribe or buy off the invasion. More recently too, in many of the principal cities, besides enrolling militia men, the gentry have contributed most liberally towards the support of the Imperial army and fleet. Such instances of constancy and loyalty in the people belie the assertion that they are universally adherents of the Kwangsee insurrection. The insurrection has not spread among the upper classes of society.

The late disturbances at Amoy, Canton, and Shanghai cannot be adduced in support of the notion that the revolution conducted under Taipingwang is popular. Those commotions

had no connexion with each other; and they were unconnected with the rebels now at Nanking. Indeed, had this greater rebellion been successful in the north, and attempted to carry its victorious arms southward, it is more than probable that the Kwangsee chiefs would have met with more formidable opponents in those Shanghai, Amoy, and Canton rebels than they had previously encountered,—from the daring and ferocity of men, who, if for no other reason, would unquestionably dispute to the knife any authority which should presume to combat the passion for opium and destroy that trade. We repeat, therefore, that we have no reason to suppose that the reform attempted by king Taiping has anything in it that really satisfies the wishes of the great mass of the Chinese.

It is true that, when this adventurer of Kwangsee started up first, he had the advantage of the Imperial power, and bade fair to overrun the provinces, break down the cities, and annihilate the Mantchoos. At that time the Imperial government was unprepared for such a contest; yet, even at such a juncture, when the dragon was taken by surprise, the triumph of the insurgents was not so easy or so complete as has been supposed. For instance, it is known —

‘That Changsha, the capital of Hoo-nan, resisted the whole insurgent force, in September and October of 1852, for more than sixty days, when the siege was raised; Nanchang, the capital of Kiang-see, successfully withstood a siege of ninety days, in June, July, and August of 1853; and after making a breach in the walls and burning some of the suburbs, being worsted in several engagements, they finally abandoned the siege on the 22nd of September. And the siege of Kaifung, the capital of Ho-nan, was raised by the rebels, after suffering great loss, in June 1853; the city of Hwai-king, department in Ho-nan, sustained a siege of sixty days in July and August 1853, by the northern army; and more lately, Woo-chang only fell after eighty days’ siege.’

These events occurred when the administrative government had scarcely been roused to the conflict. At length that executive has been alarmed and the resources of the empire are employed to put those insurgents down; and the result of it is said to be that nearly all of the rebels are driven from the north, south, and west, to cage themselves within the stone walls of Nanking and Chinkiang.

It is impossible for us to predict the future course of politics in China; but it is not improbable but the result of the Kwangsee insurrection and the other disturbances we have noticed may ultimately contribute to the complete disorganisation of the empire and the breaking up of China into a number of states

never to be reunited under one sovereign ; this however will be a work of years, and meantime foreign elements will be introduced, which will only increase the complications already threatening. But it is certain that Taipingwang will never succeed in establishing a dynasty, nor that he can ever secure the hearts and confidence of the nation to support him in carrying out such principles and projects as are proposed in his scheme of government. Not to mention his violent iconoclasm, which offends the superstition of myriads, or his coercive prohibition of the sale and use of the opium drug, which alone repels crowds in the maritime provinces from joining him, or his making tobacco in its mildest form contraband, which is enough to disgust the entire family of Chinese, male or female, with whom its hourly use has become an invariable and universal habit,—what shall we say when we hear of his separating the female from the other branches of the family, wives from husbands, mothers from sons, daughters from fathers and sisters from brothers, imprisoning the women in one part of the camp or ‘the heavenly city,’ and even forbidding intercourse between man and wife under penalty of death ! This separation of sexes, some apologists (we see) have tried to extenuate on the plea that it is but a temporary expedient for the organisation of the insurgent hosts. But, put what construction on it you please, the Chinese public revolt at this, and can never be reconciled to it. The unbounded reverence of the son for his mother, and the extreme jealousy of a husband or of a father, will never tolerate the thought of joining a sect on such conditions.

Nothing is more curious in the tenets of this singular leader than the systematic degradation of the female sex considerably below the rank they have hitherto possessed in Chinese society. Women have little else to look for under the Pretender than to be set to drudgery work, patrolled as recruits, and quartered as soldiers in the cities. In a pamphlet issued by the Insurgent Cabinet about the beginning of 1854, containing ‘an official statement of the Heavenly Father’s descent into our world’ on the preceding Christmas, it is given out that the services in which women are to be employed are the various operations of erecting palaces, digging moats, throwing up banks, and sweeping the imperial gardens, which must all be attended to by female officers. Speaking of woman in the campaign opened by Hung-siutsuen we may here quote a singular extract from one of his edicts, published March 3rd, 1853, in relation to the ladies of his own harem. The paragraph from his manifesto reads thus :

‘They are to be generally termed ladies, and ministers must be

especially careful not to speak of the names and surnames, rank and station of the inmates of the harem; these must on no account be talked about or discussed; should any offend in this particular they shall be beheaded without mercy. No subject is ever to look upon the face of any of the inmates of the harem: let every one hang down his head, and cast down his eyes, not daring to lift them up from the ground, for whosoever glances at the faces of the inmates of the harem shall be beheaded without mercy. What is said in the harem must never be reported outside: should any subjects or female officers dare to report outside what is said in the harem, they shall be beheaded without mercy. What is said by any subject must not be reported inside: if the speech of any subject is reported inside, then the person reporting it shall be beheaded without mercy, and the subject who uttered the speech shall also be beheaded without mercy. We sincerely announce this to you. To keep the harem distinct is the foundation of good government, and honest morals; it is not that we are desirous of making severe restrictions, but we wish to carry out the holy will of our heavenly Father, and celestial elder Brother (Jesus Christ), in beheading the lewd and sparing the correct.'

The numerical strength of the insurgents, as we have said, is extremely doubtful. Though it be concentrated at Nanking, which has been visited by foreign officers during the last two years, no authentic calculation of the real force has been made. The French Minister, on his return from that city, in December 1853, reported, on the authority of the rebels themselves, 'The number of the women alone in Nanking is stated 'at the enormous sum of 480,000, while that of the men would 'be no less than from 5 to 600,000.' The French account proceeds: —

'Incredible as these numbers may appear, they are not in contradiction to what was observed by the French visitors in the parts of the city through which they passed; and may be moreover accounted for, as far as regards the women at least, by the fact of their having been gathered together from all the towns taken possession of by the insurgents.'

Another eye-witness, who visited the same city six months later, observes, as to its present population: —

'They form a very heterogeneous mass, having been brought together from several different provinces, principally from Nganhwui, Kiangsee, Hoopoh, Hoonan, Kwangsee, and Kwangtung. The finest men we saw, were from the hills of Kiangsee; and those from Hoonan were the meanest and the least warlike. All the people we saw were well clad, well-fed, and well provided for in every way. They all seemed content, and in high spirits, as if sure of success.'

The most novel and ludicrous part of the scene is that which women are called to play. Hear our French visitors again:—

‘The women decidedly live in a separate quarter, which was perceptible even in passing through the streets; they are formed, like the men, into brigades of 13,000, having officers of various ranks of their own sex, but each brigade under the superintendence of a chief, who alone corresponds with the higher authorities. A part of this organisation, a body of 10,000 Kwang-see women, are said to be quartered as soldiers in the Tartar city.’

The following is a translation of their ‘Book of Army Regulations,’ relating to duties in the camp.

‘Ten important rules to be observed in a settled camp:—

‘1. Carefully obey the celestial regulations.

‘2. Make yourselves thoroughly acquainted with the commands of Heaven, and the form of worship, with praise and thanksgiving, to be used every morning and evening; as well as the orders issued by the sovereign.

‘3. Cultivate good morals; avoid the smoking of tobacco and the drinking of wine; be just and mild: do not conceal offences, nor indulge partialities, nor comply with inferiors at the risk of disobeying superiors.

‘4. With united heart and effort obey the requisitions of officers; do not conceal the number of military weapons, nor hide gold and silver ornaments.

‘5. Observe the distinctions between the camp of the males and that of the females; let not men and women give or take from each others’ hands.

‘6. Make yourselves familiar with the signals given for the assembling of the troops by means of the gong, horn, or drum, whether by day or by night.

‘7. Do not without necessity go from one camp or legion to another, lest you should throw into confusion public arrangements.

‘8. Learn correctly the proper title of officers and the terms to be used in addressing them.

‘9. Let your arms and accoutrements be always in order, and ready for immediate service.

‘10. Do not falsify the laws of the state, and the regulations of the sovereign; do not wrongly communicate the military signals, or the regimental orders.’

The arms and accoutrements of the insurgents are quite after the old fashion of the Chinese; and in the military department the only characteristic that at first made them conspicuous was the superior energy and vigour of their operations.

As to dress, it is not much altered, and if at all changed, it is with some affectation of an older style. They are said to flourish ‘red and yellow turbans;’ but what they enforce as a uniform and essential mark of distinction between themselves and ‘the im-

‘pish fiends’—that is, all who are against them—is the natural growth of the hair without the platted tail. On this account they have gained among their antagonists the denomination of ‘the long-haired rascals.’

In one of their earliest proclamations, professing to detail certain grievances under which their countrymen lie as long as the Mantchoos retain the throne, the first two relate to the style of dress. Thus, 1st. ‘The Chinese from the first had their own form and fashion; but these Mantchoos have compelled them all to shave off the hair of their heads and to drag a long tail behind, so that they are made to look like animals.’ 2nd. ‘The Chinese had their own style of raiment and caps; but these Mantchoos have stuck buttons on their heads, made them wear Tartar dresses and monkey-bonnets, as much as possible to do away with the original fashions of dress, and make them forget their ancestry.’ As to this charge against the Tartar government, it must be observed, that at its commencement, it only adopted the rule of almost all other dynasties in China at their foundation—the introduction of a slight alteration in the attire of the male population. The grievances here alleged might have been felt with some show of reason, and indeed in some places were avenged with great fury, by that generation of Chinese which had first to submit to wearing the tail, a badge of subjection under the sceptre of the Tartar conquerors, now adopted both by Chinese and Mantchoos. But, after a term of 200 years, to bring up these as the *first* and *second* in their list of grievances, sounds much like an effort to inflame the pride and animosity of the populace. This indeed cannot be denied when we read their appeal in another part of their proclamations: ‘Ye Chinese, *We* do most earnestly wish to save you. The majority of you are Chinese; yet how can you be so silly and stupid as to shave off the hair of your heads in submission to these Tartars and adopt their style of dress? how can you be content to remain the slaves and dogs of the Mantchoos,’ &c.?

In China, a revolt to secure popularity must have the indispensable requisite of something like *scholarship* to command the respect of the million. But the deficiency of the insurgents on this score degrades them in the eyes of the educated classes. Their books and state papers afford abundant data for the natives to draw any but a favourable conclusion of their literary character. They lay claim, indeed, to superior purity of language, and accuse the Imperialists of debasing the tongue of their forefathers, as an Anglo-Saxon thane might have done two centuries after the Norman conquest. The sixth head of accusation reads: ‘The Chinese had at one time their own language. But

' these Mantchoos have formed a metropolitan lingo and altered ' the sound of our language,—wishing by their barbarous phrasology to cheat and hoodwink the natives of the empire.' It is not unlikely that the Peking dialect, as it now exists, may have been formed by the Mantchoo court that has resided there for two centuries. The basis of it is, however, the native dialect of the province in which Peking lies, and a local variety of a language spoken in all the other provinces of China. This ' Peking Mandarin,' as it is called by foreigners, has become the standard language of the empire. It is the medium of constant intercourse throughout the province of Chihli among a population of 30,000,000. It is the fashionable language among the higher classes and in the various departments of government. It is used in daily intercourse among merchants from different parts of the empire, and can be understood by most persons in the middle classes. As the natives themselves say, ' Should a ' student profess not to be able to understand the Peking dialect ' he will certainly be laughed at by the people. They will say ' of him, " He has never gone from home; he has never seen ' " anything of life. He cannot be a student ! "'

The following quotations from another of their pamphlets, recently brought down from Nanking by H. M. steamer ' Rattler,' may serve to undeceive those who have been misled by the supposed administrative ability of the insurgent government. It would seem, in fact, that their tenets and laws form a species of Chinese communism.

' Having fields, let them cultivate them together, and when they get any rice, let them eat it together ; so also with regard to clothes and money, let them use them in common, so that every one may share and share alike, and every one be equally well-fed and clothed. As soon as harvest arrives, every vexillary must see to it that the five-and-twenty families under his charge have a sufficient supply of food, and what is over and above of the new grain he must deposit in the public granary. This must be done with respect to wheat, pulse, hemp, flax, cloth, silk, fowls, dogs, and money.'

As further evidence of their inability to legislate with mercy and justice, we can mention only in passing their prohibition under the penalty of death of opium-smoking, with other vices they class as violations of the seventh commandment of the decalogue ; their beheading without mercy whosoever glances at the faces of the inmates of the harem ; and their adjudging the punishment of death for the intercourse between man and wife !

Alike irrational and detestable is the wild frenzy with which this insurrection has taken measures for the extermination of

the Tartar race. The principal object from the first avowed by the Pretender was to destroy the Mantchoos root and branch, without distinction of age, sex, or rank. Of this savage treatment of the Mantchoos we have undoubted proof that it was unbounded. According to their own account, given with the greatest satisfaction and coolness, to one of the first foreign visitors in the service of our own Government,—

‘ Only 100 escaped out of a population of more than 20,000 ; the rest, men, women, and children, were all put to the sword. “ We killed them all,” said the insurgents with emphasis,—the recollection bringing back into their faces the dark shade of unsparing sternness they must have borne when the appalling execution was going on,—“ we killed them all, to the infant in arms : we left not a root to sprout from.” The bodies were thrown into the Yang-tsze.’

This is confirmed by the following statement (which has appeared in one of the *Ultra-Gangetic Papers*), made by a refugee from Nanking, who during his confinement had been employed in the Registry offices of the insurgents, and was there at the time of this fearful massacre.

‘ As the restrictions of the rebels were exceedingly severe, particularly with regard to the extermination of the Mantchoos, every place of retreat and concealment was ransacked, and whatever Chinese was found guilty of harbouring and sheltering Tartars was at once sentenced to be beheaded.

‘ Partly with this view the registration system was conducted, to aid in ferreting out any of the concealed Tartars ; and when any man was brought up on suspicion of being of that race, the method of detecting him was the following : The root of his tail was examined (Tartars and Chinese both wearing this appendage) ;—if, under the root of the tail, the protuberance on the occiput were roundish or flat, the man was set down as a Mantchoo ; but if sharp, he was a native Chinese.* On the 23rd of March all the women in the Tartar city at Nanking were taken and put into a large empty building, which, after sundry recitations of a kind of prayer, was set on fire. The whole pile within and without was thus destroyed by fire—not a soul escaped.’

Considering that these rebels of China affirm positively that their Tartar rulers are of a foreign stock, — their menacing attitude towards them suggests the suitable inquiry, what may be their bearing towards other foreigners? A plain solution has

* The reason alleged is, that ‘ the Tartar generally from infancy sleeps lying with his face upward and his head reclining on a hard pillow — perhaps a brick or a slab. This is not the case with native Chinese.’

been given to this question by the reception with which each successive visit of English, French, and American Plenipotentiaries has been met at Nanking since April 1853. The pamphlets of the insurgents contain sentiments which encouraged us to hope that their views of foreign people had improved, their national prejudices had declined, and their intense conceit was subdued. But in this respect there has been great disappointment. The arrogance exhibited, both in their official correspondence and in intercourse with foreigners, has been most remarkable.

From the 'Papers respecting the Civil War in China,' laid before the House of Lords in 1853, we learn that the claims of the Insurrectionary Chief were put forth with unblushing effrontery upon the visit of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, Sir George Bonham. His officers attempted in writing to explain to the English Minister, that 'Taipingwang is the true Lord: he is the Lord of the whole world, and all people in the whole world must obey and follow him: he is not merely the Lord of China: he is not only our Lord: he is your Lord also.' At an interview it was declared by them respecting the British Plenipotentiary, 'however high his rank may be, he cannot be so high as the persons in whose presence you now are seated.' This entire visit was marked by superciliousness on the part of the rebel leaders, which placed the English deputation in a very difficult position.

Six months afterwards, when the French visited them, the Minister of France, Monsieur Bourboulon, could not obtain an interview with Taipingwang, and found it difficult to arrange a meeting even with his minister. At length, in consequence of the assumed superiority of that individual, a private conference was appointed; but, even in carrying out this arrangement, the French officials were detained for a considerable time at the city gates and then on entrance kept waiting, before being introduced to the Grand Councillor in the Pretender's Cabinet. The French visitors state that the conduct of the insurgents 'during the stay of the Cassini at Nanking was marked with more indifference, either real or assumed, than by any great desire of communication with foreigners; though polite, they were not cordial, and in their reception of the French Minister, they seemed inclined to put forward those arrogant pretensions which at all times have been the characteristics of Chinese officials.'

Nor do they appear to have improved in their bearing towards the American Commissioner, who visited them in June 1854. The Chinese secretary of that legation conveys his view of them in these words:—

In everything that was said by their high officials in the celestial Capital, a tone and a spirit of high assumption were too extraordinary—too far from the simple dictates of all reason—to be passed by unheeded as idle vaunting. They draw the conclusion, that as all nations ought to obey and worship the only one true God, so ought they to bow submissively, and respectfully bring tribute—rare and precious gifts—to their Heavenly king, even to Hung Siu-tsiuen. Some of the great men of the realm were specially concerned lest their “brethren, from a foreign land,” should not at once and fully comprehend the oneness of the true doctrine, but should imagine that there really were such distinctions that we might speak of this kingdom and of that kingdom, and of my sovereign and your sovereign !

The religious creed of this singular people has excited the curiosity and interest of Christendom more than any thing else. From original documents upon our table we find that, among their articles of faith, they recognise the primary truth that there is but one God and beside him none else; they declare that idolatry in any shape is derogatory to the honour of the Supreme Being and a violation of his commands; that the ten commandments as delivered in the Mosaic dispensation are obligatory upon all people; that Jesus came into the world to save sinners; that the future lot of the wicked is eternal damnation, but the righteous have the bliss of heaven in reserve for them; that the Holy Spirit influences men’s hearts: and that to the Trinity, God the Father, the Son, the Spirit, solemn worship is due. Besides these, the following Scripture facts are mentioned in their writings: the creation in six days, the deluge, the giving of the decalogue, the miraculous and divine interpositions in behalf of the Israelites; the descent of Jesus into our world, his benevolent mission, his death on the cross, the sun being darkened at his crucifixion, his resurrection, and his presence in heaven.

In the same pamphlets we meet with phrases such as ‘the old serpent the devil,’—‘idols which have mouths but speak not, ears but hear not’ &c.,—‘thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven,’—‘ask, and ye shall receive,’ &c.,—‘circumcised or uncircumcised,’—‘through the merits of Jesus Christ,’ &c. In one of their manuals there is the Christian ‘Doxology,’ word for word as it was prepared and published by a missionary not now in China. They have the decalogue also, not in full but abridged. They profess faith in the existence and the validity of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, portions of which (*e. g.* the Pentateuch, Judges, Joshua, and the Gospel of Matthew), as printed and distributed by themselves, have fallen into the hands

of their foreign visitors. The insurgents are reported to have 'said in their interview on the "Hermes," (Her Majesty's ship, of which Captain Fishbourne was Commander) in April 1853, that the Sacred Volume had been taken to Peking about a thousand years ago, and that it was thence the people got a copy, which they had multiplied.' If this be not a foreign exaggeration of a native statement, it is a mistatement made up for the occasion by the Chinese speakers; for these copies of the Pentateuch, &c. are mere reprints of the imperfect version, now almost obsolete, which was known under the appellation of 'Gutzlaff's version.'

There are in this sect one or two marks of peculiar promise, apart from the fact that they hold some of the leading truths of the Christian faith. Thus, in their calendar there is the unqualified repudiation of judicial astrology in every shape. Astrology with the Chinese is intimately connected with times, seasons, and observances, so that without reserve they might be said to be 'too superstitious.' But this science is abolished among the insurgents, who make the recognition of the providence of the One Great God supplant the belief that the heavenly bodies have power of good and evil over human affairs.

Hitherto they have been anti-idolaters of the strictest sect, and iconoclasts of the most violent and fanatical order, discarding Buddhism and Taoism, — upsetting images, demolishing shrines, ransacking temples, suppressing convents, disbanding the priests, destroying the curious contents of their monastic libraries, defacing by fire the interior and exterior (for they could not pull down the pile itself) of the Crystal pagoda of Nanking; altering funeral and marriage ceremonies, and prescribing aids in the performance of the religious worship of the Great God. The following extract from their 'Book of Heavenly Rules for Human Conduct,' may interest our readers:—

'A prayer for a penitent sinner:—

'I, thine unworthy son or daughter, kneeling down upon the ground, with a true heart repent of my sins, and pray thee, the great God our heavenly Father, of thine infinite goodness and mercy, to forgive my former ignorance and frequent transgressions of the divine commands; earnestly beseech thee, of thy great favour, to pardon all my former sins, and enable me to repent, and lead a new life, so that my soul may ascend to heaven; may I from henceforth sincerely repent and forsake my evil ways, not worshipping corrupt spirits, nor practising perverse things, but obeying the divine commands. I also earnestly pray thee, the great God our heavenly Father, constantly to bestow on me thy Holy Spirit, and change my wicked heart; never more allow me to be deceived by malignant demons, but perpetually regarding me with favour, for ever deliver me from the evil one; and every day bestowing upon me food and clothing, exempt

me from calamity and woe, granting me tranquillity in the present world, and the enjoyment of endless happiness in heaven: through the merits of our Saviour and heavenly brother, the Lord Jesus, who redeemed us from sin. I also pray the great God, our Father who is in heaven, that his will may be done in earth as it is done in heaven. That thou wouldst look down and grant this my request, is my heart's sincere desire.'

Among their religious rites and observances, every seventh day is 'a worship day,' and corresponds to our Saturday. Observers on the spot report:—'Our Saturday we found observed 'by them as a Sabbath day; but they appeared not to have any 'houses for public worship, nor any Christian teachers, ministers 'of the Gospel, properly so called.'

They do not seem to practise — nor do they appear even to know — of any Christian ordinance, but baptism. In their prescription to the penitent sinner, it is ordered, — 'After prayer, 'take a basin of water and wash your whole person all over; 'or, which is preferable, bathe yourself in a river.'

In their list of twenty-four books, prepared, printed, and published by the authority of 'the great peaceful Heavenly 'Kingdom,' and bearing its insignia on the covers, — we find some copies of the Chinese version of the Pentateuch and St. Matthew's Gospel: one pamphlet purports to convey special information on religious matters; two or three profess to inculcate morality, and intermix Scripture facts with their lessons; several are made to bear only on secular, military, or political affairs; — but the rest are interspersed with fables of so silly and blasphemous a type as to be revolting.

Some have endeavoured to trace Roman Catholic influence in this religio-political revolt, connecting it with the instructions of the early Jesuits or their modern missionaries. But there is no ground for this opinion. In their decalogue the second commandment is unaltered, whilst the Chinese Romanists substitute the third in its place, and divide the last into two in order to fill up the number of 'ten commandments.' In their books mention is once made of 'the Heavenly Mother,' by which is intended the mother both of Jesus and Taipingwang, but not of the 'Virgin Mary;' there is no record of any of the saints, and not a hint of the Pope. The term Shangtee, which they have adopted for 'God,' differs entirely from the Romanist word Tienchoo, sanctioned in 1715 by Clement XI. to the exclusion of Shangtee.

It admits of no doubt, that the originators of this insurrection have at one time, probably during their years of obscurity, been partially under the religious teaching of more than one Protes-

tant missionary, or at least have been in possession of Christian books, from which they have derived their scriptural information and borrowed largely.

A letter appeared in print not long ago, purporting to have been addressed by the chief at Nanking to the Rev. I. J. Roberts, an American Southern Baptist missionary, to invite the presence and instruction of that gentleman; who, it is presumed, was (if not the only one) one of the religious teachers of Hungsiutsiuen, before that insurgent captain thought of embarking on so hazardous an adventure as that in which he is engaged. In compliance with the wishes of the chieftain, the missionary made two bootless attempts to reach the insurgents' head-quarters at Nanking. And it was erroneously stated, not many weeks since, that this gentleman had been appointed 'chaplain general to the 'insurgent forces,' and had entered upon his official duties in the city of Nanking.

Some of these facts have appeared to warrant the belief that the new sect in China are not only radically opposed to the grossest superstitions and idolatry of the Chinese, but that they might prove the means of diffusing, in one form or another, the fundamental doctrines of Christianity through the empire. It must be confessed, however, that their notions of Christianity are of a very loose and confused description.

In their acts of divine worship, performed with chants and prayers, 'offerings of animals, wine, tea, and rice are presented 'to the mighty God.' A foreign missionary who chanced to visit one of their encampments, 'saw tables placed with bowls 'of various kinds of food as offerings to the Supreme Being, 'among which were three bowls of tea, one for each person of 'the Trinity.'

Although the bible of our holy religion is spoken of with a degree of respect, the books of Confucius are put on one and the same footing, and equal deference paid to the one as to the other.

The insurgent chief, speaking in his 'three character classic' of one of his visits to heaven, describes the spectacle he had of the 'Heavenly Mother,' and conveys his impressions of her thus,—'The Heavenly Mother, that is of Jesus and of the 'chieftain, was kind,—very gracious and affectionate; delicate 'in attentions and noble in conduct, and in everything incomparable.'

In the same publication he writes about the wife of Jesus:— 'The Spouse of his heavenly brother [Jesus] is an honourable 'lady, very prudent and thoughtful, and always advising (her 'husband) the elder brother to be particularly cautious in his 'movements.'

'The Eastern King,' as the head of the emperor's own staff is called, has begun to personate the Holy Ghost, and claims to be the comforter of the church and enlightener of the world. The dignity of this personage is constantly before the public, as his name and titles are prefixed to all the state proclamations; thus:—

'Yang, the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, the universal provider, the redeemer from maladies, Commander-in-Chief of the forces, and Eastern King of the truly heaven-ordained, extremely tranquil Heavenly Empire.' The same individual is in the doxology named as the third person, the Holy Spirit. The appointment of this man to so high a position in the Church and State of the insurgent hosts occurred about Christmas of 1853, in consequence of certain revelations that were communicated through him (they say) from 'the Heavenly Father' to 'the Celestial Sovereign' of the sect. The rebel king was so mightily pleased with him, that he thought proper to announce that this Eastern King could be none other than the Holy Ghost. In the language of the 'official statement,'—

'The celestial king said: "All that which you, my brother Tsing, have stated, may be considered as important specifics and precious remedies, every word of which is consistent with the highest reason, and fit to be preserved as a rule for successive generations. When our celestial elder brother Jesus, in obedience to the commands of our Heavenly Father, came down into the world, in the country of Judea, he addressed his disciples saying, 'At some future day the Comforter will come into the world'; now I, your second elder brother, considering what you, brother Tsing, have reported to me, and observing what you have done, must consider that the Comforter and the Holy Ghost, spoken of by our celestial elder brother, is none other than yourself."

Each of the other kings has also assumed a high-sounding title, and is entitled to his meed of adoration along with the Divine Being, as appears from the following form of doxology issued:—

'By the favour of the Heavenly Father, the Heavenly Elder Brother, and the Heavenly King, that all soldiers and people under heaven may celebrate praises in accordance with it;

'Praise the Supreme Ruler, who is the holy Heavenly Father, the only one true God.

'Praise the Heavenly Elder Brother, the Saviour of the world, who lay down his life for men.

'Praise the Eastern king, the Holy Divine Breath (i. e. the Holy Spirit), who atones for faults and saves men.

'Praise the Western king, the rain teacher, who is as high as heaven honourable man.

'Praise the Southern king, the cloud teacher, who is as high as heaven upright man.

'Praise the Northern king, the thunder teacher, who is as high as heaven benevolent man.

'Praise the Assistant king, the lightning teacher, who is as high as heaven righteous man.'

'The Heavenly King,' or Chief of the movement, Hung-siutsuen, is said to be 'the second son of the Father in Heaven.' In the first books that fell into the hands of foreigners, he was called 'God's Son;' which some well-meaning people thought was to be interpreted in its scriptural and spiritual sense, as 'a child of God,' 'sons of God,' &c. That meaning, however, it has been discovered, was never intended by the Rebel Chief; for, in conversation, and especially in their writings, this man is said to be 'the second Heavenly Brother,' Jesus being the first. He is 'the greatest man on earth, for our Heavenly Brother Jesus 'is our Heavenly Father's first-born son, and the Heavenly 'King is his second son.' It has been said by others that this extravagant presumption has begun only of late to exhibit itself. But there is reason to believe that the same tone of blasphemy has existed from the first; for, from 'the Papers respecting the 'Civil War,' laid before Parliament in 1853, immediately after the first visit of the British Legation to the insurgent citadel, it appears that, in the interview of the Chinese Secretary in Sir George Bonham's suite with the northern Prince, it was explained in writing by that Prince to the English Ambassador, 'that Taipingwang, the Lord of China, is the second son of God, 'and all people in the whole world must obey and follow him.'

Their higher authorities profess to have held repeated conferences with the one living and true God. They are considered by their adherents to receive divine inspiration. Indeed, both chiefs and people represent as literal truth, that the Deity repeatedly descends from heaven, to announce his will to the insurgent hosts, either directly or through these inspired individuals.

They have publications which relate several miraculous interpositions of the Almighty on their behalf, and instructions given directly from the mouth of God himself. Besides which, there are documents that bear the highest official insignia of their court, and profess to narrate particular and faithful accounts of various revelations, made in person by 'the Heavenly Father' and his Son Jesus Christ, since the enterprise first opened in 1848.

For instance, 'The collection of the decrees of heaven, &c.,' published in 1852, announces the remarkable personal manifest-

ations of God the Father and Supreme Lord, made with numerous signs and miracles in the third moon of Taoukwang's twenty-eighth year (or April 1848), and of Jesus the Saviour of the world, made also with many miracles in the ninth moon (September) of that same year. It includes the chief communications directly made to the followers of the rising monarch by the mouth of the Great God or of his Son Jesus. There are nine such occasions, extending from 1848 to the beginning of 1852. These communications are said to have been orally addressed to the people, six of them by God the Father, and three by Jesus. They were for the most part given for the purpose of warning the soldiery against desertion, cowardice, and selfish schemes during the war.

'For instance, in No. 3., Jesus is represented as warning them, "If you retreat when led into battle, do not be surprised that I issue orders to have you put to death." In No. 4., Jesus is reported to have made his appearance purposely to blame and reproach them for concealing property that ought to have been given up to the public service. According to No. 5., God appears among them to encourage them to go into battle without shrinking or fear. He urges on them the consideration that they are eating his provisions, and that their Brother Jesus is leading them on. In No. 6. God reminds them that Jesus suffered much on earth, why then should they not be ready to endure anything in the warfare? The 7th communication was made to them after the Almighty had slain a certain renegade whose name is given. Their God most earnestly warns the troops not to flinch, but to fight and conquer.'

It is impossible to overlook the fact, that, while Jesus is reported in this 'collection of heavenly decrees,' to have appeared again and again among the insurgent masses, and addressed them, not one word of the Gospel of Peace and Salvation escapes his lips, and that the mysteries of the Incarnation are invoked merely to encourage these fanatics to carnage and bloodshed! A second publication of the sect is 'a record of communications made by the Heavenly Father on his descent into this world' on 21st December 1851. It appears from the prefatory remarks to this pamphlet that, to secure an accurate and satisfactory account of the event on this occasion, the self-styled 'Heavenly King' called upon two of his officers at once to put it on record. About four days after, the narrative was laid before His Majesty for approval. Being satisfied with its correctness, he gave instructions that it should be published in the present form for the use of his subjects. The following is an epitome of the story.

During the winter campaign of 1851, while the rebels were in possession of the city Yung-an in the Kwangsee province, a private in the insurgent camp (whose name is given, Chau-sih-nang,) applied for leave of absence and obtained it, on the plea of visiting his native village for the purpose of bringing back his whole family with him. On his departure, however, this fellow visited the Imperialist camp and entered into a conspiracy with the enemy, concocting a scheme to betray the Insurgent forces into the hands of the Imperialist general. At the expiration of his furlough,—

‘ It appears that the traitor, on his return to the camp, reported his arrival at head-quarters, and his success in securing the services of his native clan (in the district town of Po-pah), of which some 190 men and women had promised allegiance to the new Emperor, and that they would be with them in seven or eight days. This news reached the ears of the Emperor’s chief ministers, who met in council next morning (December 21.), with the view of recommending that their Imperial master should reward Chau-sih-nang for his meritorious services. But, as these High Princes were seated in council, “suddenly the Heavenly Father came down, and commanded that Chau-sih-nang should be put in fetters,” along with his two accomplices Chü-pah and Chin-wu, inasmuch as these had treacherously plotted together to betray the forces into the hands of the enemy. The Great God meanwhile returned to Heaven until the orders were executed. That same night he reappeared and commanded that Chau-sih-nang should be brought up for trial.

‘ As, however, Hung-siu and his ministers acknowledged their inability to discover this secret stratagem, and that they must depend on the gracious assistance of the Omniscient, the Great God is then represented as instituting a strict cross-examination of the chief culprit (Chau-sih-nang). He opens the trial by urging upon the prisoner the serious fact that he was standing in the presence of the Almighty, whom he could not deceive, and before whom he dared not utter a falsehood; to all which Chau-sih-nang freely assented.

‘ After various attempts on the part of the traitor to conceal each fact, his guilt is bit by bit brought to light, and step by step he is made to confess his crime. Having thus far been made to acknowledge his own share in the plot, the prisoner is next urged to discover his chief accomplices. Here too he shows his determination to conceal the real facts by subterfuges; all which he at length finds to be of no service, as they only aggravate his crime and punishment.

‘ The military registrar and the police superintendent are then brought up for examination. Their evidence exposes more the guilt of the traitor, but also involves them in the charge of remissness, for not informing the chief authorities of the particulars of the plot. For this neglect of duty they are each condemned to receive 100 or more blows, and to carry the cangue at the palace gate.

'Next day (December 22nd), the sentence of "the Heavenly Father" is given and executed upon Chau-sih-nang, his wife, son, and nephew, and also upon Chü-pah the chief instigator. They are hacked to pieces in presence of the people and the army of the new Emperor Hung-siu-tsiüen.'

Another publication has lately been received from the insurgents at Nanking, entitled 'The official statement of the 'Heavenly Father's descent upon earth' on a more recent occasion. This narrative purports to set forth a visit of the 'Heavenly Father' in person on a Christmas morning, when he came down into the world and summoned four of the female ministers of state in the service of the prince, who are severally named. Through these ladies, and also the Eastern Prince, who was at the same time specially inspired, instructions of a peculiar nature were conveyed to the 'Celestial Sovereign.' Generally they are very elaborate; none of them refer to doctrinal or moral subjects. They bear upon the management of the rebel king's court and household, and the administration of government. The king is blamed for 'being too impetuous 'in disposition,' and for not treating the female officers around his sacred person with the indulgence and consideration they deserve. He is advised to be more thoughtful in his actions, and kind in his deportment towards his attendants, particularly the ladies, whom 'you must treat gently, and not kick with 'your boot on.' As a sort of expiation for his past delinquencies on this score, it is appointed by 'the Heavenly Father' that this Celestial Sovereign (of whom the Divine Being is reported to have said during this lengthened interview, that 'he is of 'the same nature as myself'), 'must be beaten with forty blows 'of the bamboo.'

It has from the first been prominent in the proclamations and publications of the Taiping dynasty that the prime object of these writings is to set forth the lofty assumption and claims of the pretender. His kingship is connected with Divinity; it is invariably insisted that the Father in Heaven, the high and mighty God, took him up to Heaven, set him apart to the work of destroying the Tartar race and founding a new government, put him under a system of discipline and education preparatory to his arduous undertakings, and, when duly qualified for the high commission, sent him back into the world with authority from God himself and with royal badges significant of the sanction and favour of Deity; and it is constantly kept in view of the people that the Divine Being sustains him in his kingship by his protection, communications, and assistance, claims for him the reverence due to him as his own

Son sent down to be the Emperor of China, and warns his adherents and his adversaries that being aided and authorised by God himself, nothing can withstand the power of the new sovereign, at whose disposal too are placed the awards of Heaven and Hell.

The high and presumptuous claims of Hungsiutsiuen no where appear in so strong and offensive a form as in 'the three-character classic,' a kind of poem divided in eighty-eight verses. Twenty-nine of these verses give a running sketch of the dealings of God with Israel in Egypt, and their deliverance under Moses. Seven touch on the mission, sufferings, and glory of Jesus. Sixteen verses are occupied with the decline of the worship of God among the Chinese people, until the present date. A writer in one of the Anglo-Chinese journals observes:—

'The whole of the epitomised narrative of the decline of the Chinese nation from the worship of the true God "during the last 2000 years" is, however, but an introduction to the following nineteen verses, which set forth the object for which the insurgent chieftain has arisen among men, and the divine commission he has received to commence and carry on his work. But here we must own our conviction that the brief narratives selected from the Old and the New Testaments, concerning the legation of Moses as the deliverer of the Israelites, and of Jesus as the Redeemer of the world, have been given for no other purpose than as instances parallel to the case about to be introduced to the notice of the people, that of the revolutionist chief, appearing amongst the Chinese with a divine warrant to undertake the office of saving his country.

'Thus in the verses proclaiming his divine ordination or appointment (of which we annex a translation), the designation "God's own Son" is used not in application to Jesus Christ, but to the revolutionist chieftain alone:—

'Men have for 700 years been sinking deeper and deeper in error, so that, if one now speaks to them of God, they know nothing of him, for the Prince of Darkness hath beguiled them. The Supreme God has a measure of benevolence profound as the ocean; but the devil so injures men that they cannot act as human beings ought. Now God in his indignation at all this, had sent his own Son [the rebel chief] ordering him to descend into the world, first of all with the view of studying the histories of China. But in the year 1837, he was taken back to Heaven. There the affairs of Heaven were clearly explained to him. The Supreme God himself taught and instructed him,—entrusted him with a book of Odes, and revealed to him the true doctrine. Furthermore, God presented him with a seal and a sword, and endowed him with great might, and such authority as it is scarcely possible to resist. God likewise gave him orders, along with his elder brother Jesus, to expel all fiends and devils. The angelic spirits were ready to assist him. But the red-eyed (*i. e.* malign-

nant) Prince of Darkness acted with extreme malice ; this is the serpent devil. However, the Almighty God, who is infinite in skill and power, taught his Son [the rebel chieftain] how to put down that fiend, and in the contest with him, to show him no mercy. Upon this that red-eyed demon's courage cooled. [The rebel chief] God's Son then fought and conquered him ; and, after this, returned to heaven, where the Mighty Supreme conferred vast powers on him. But the Mighty God, who still pitied the world as before, gave orders to his own Son [the rebel chief] to descend to the lower world, and in conducting him down said to him, "Fear no evil, for I am with thee "to manage all things." And when he [the rebel chief] was in deep trouble in the year 1848, the Supreme God again appeared, bringing Jesus along with him into the world. On this occasion he gave his Son [the rebel chief] instructions how he should bear his heavy duties. God appointed him to continue for ever and ever, and (gave him authority) to defeat all evil machinations, to display his majesty and might, to judge mankind, to separate the wicked and the righteous, to allot to the one class the miseries of hell, and to assign to the other the joys of heaven. As heaven is superintending all matters, and as heaven is lending its support and aid, Oh, all ye people under heaven, together come and pay homage to this monarch !'

It is impossible to read these assumptions of superhuman power and of divine authority, without feeling that Hungsiutsiuen deserves to be classed among the grossest fanatics or impostors who have appeared in the world, and that all attempts to palliate his frauds are futile and mistaken. Is his assumption of being in a peculiar sense 'the second Son of God,'—of having many visions and divine revelations, or of holding repeated intercourse with the Divine Being, in colloquies and special interviews,—but a venial offence ? Is his claim to universal homage, on the plea that he has been anointed to his sacred kingship by the hands of God, and has received direct orders to that effect from the lips of the Eternal, to be regarded merely as one of his 'tolerabiles ineptiæ' ? Can the good though imperfect passages in his writings be brought forward as outshining those that are thick with darkness and full of blustering blasphemy ? It is true, he has the reputation of being a fierce iconoclast, he publishes some Christian truths, and is said to distribute portions of our Scriptures : but his imperfect acquaintance with the religion of Jesus, is not sufficient to counterbalance the frightful pretensions which are unblushingly made throughout his own books and proclamations.

The only consistent and straightforward explanation of the case is to put the chief of this movement down as in every respect a Pretender. It has been very positively affirmed by

some writers and speakers, that, 'as far as Hungsiutsiuen and his 'followers are concerned, the insurrection originated in religious 'persecution.' Strange enough, however, there is not a word in their writings, which we have examined, to suggest the idea or encourage the statement, that intolerance on the part of the government, against a people zealous for the Christian faith, was the moving cause of the rebellion.

There is little doubt but the movement was from the first, in its chief aim and objects, political, or, more properly, a grasping at power and property. A form of religion was invented as a mere accessory, and this profession of something less than a semi-christianity has been assumed to facilitate their ambitious projects. Of the various insurrections (some very limited) that have disturbed the interior of China under the present dynasty, most of them have had some religious novelty, or superstitious element introduced as an aid to invest them with interest and importance. The insurgents of Kwangsee have, strangely enough, gone to foreign sources for a religious name to their rebellious designs. But these leaders could not be ignorant of the remarkable doings and influence of the western nations, during the last fifteen years, especially in warfare; they must be aware that the superior tactics and power of foreigners in commerce and in arms are accounted for by their countrymen on the ground that foreigners 'belong to (the Yesoo Kiau), the 'religion of Jesus;' and it is more than probable that the grand chieftain of this expedition has hoped that, by the infusion of this religious system, with its novel tenets, practices, and writings, into his administration, he might achieve similarly wide and wonderful successes, as those by which western people have recently excited the attention, dread, and respect of the native Chinese. In Mr. Hamberg's notices of the early history of the insurrectionary leader, derived from the relatives of the chief, we find that when the Christian tracts fell into his hands, which contained many portions of the Holy Scriptures, —

'He often applied the pronoun "you" or "he" to himself when the meaning suited his views, as he considered the whole of these tracts specially written for him and given him from heaven. Often when he observed the word Tsuen* (*whole, all, complete*) he thought his own name was referred to. He liked exceedingly the 19th and 33rd Psalms, which he used to recite in a loud voice. The third verse he would understand, "Their voice is gone out to the whole "world (the country of Tsien;)" the ninth and tenth verses he would

* Tsien is one part of his name, Hungsiutsiuen.

read, instead of "altogether righteous," "Tsiuen is righteous, more "to be desired than gold." The twelfth verse again he would read, "Who can understand, so as Tsiuen, his errors," and so on.'

Whether the Imperial Government succeeds in crushing this rebellion, or whether the final success of the Taiping government is the result, it is impossible not to foresee serious and novel difficulties before the missionary in the propagation of Christianity in China, altogether unexpected by those whose favourable conclusions from this insurrection have been over sanguine and hasty. The movement has identified itself from the outset with a new religion, tainted with egregious errors in doctrine and practice, which are not set up as in opposition to truth, but mixed up with facts and tenets of indisputable verity and importance. To aggravate the evil, this extraordinary jumble of truth and error is adopted in the creed and ritual of a new religion, to be founded and established by law as national. What reception then will such a people give to the pure gospel, or the messengers that carry it to them? Is it to be expected that the professors of these strange and mixed dogmas, when elated with success, and confident of heavenly honours, as the reward of their valour in battle with the Mantchoo soldiery, will listen with patience to statements by the minister of Christ regarding heaven and the way to heaven, opposed to the fanatical and sanguinary opinions of the creed, in these words of their leader's manifesto,

•High Heaven has commissioned you to kill the impish fiends,
Our heavenly Father and celestial elder Brother have their eyes upon
you.

Let the male and female officers all grasp the sword, and look to
heaven,

Where there are golden tiles and golden houses, all glorious to
behold.

In heaven above you may enjoy happiness and dignity in the ex-
treme :

The very meanest and smallest will be clothed in silks and satins ;

The males will be adorned with dragon-embroidered robes, and the
females with flowers.'

At first sight this religious system appeared to be tinged with the traditions, if not with the principles, of our own faith ; but on more accurate investigation this gross and blasphemous imposture proves to be only another instance of those delusions which have so often been made the disguise and the instrument of ambition and intolerance. Yet if, as is probable, the cause of the Pretender fails, and his followers are dispersed, it

may be feared that the real teachers and disciples of Christianity will suffer from the persecution which will follow the defeat of so formidable a sedition and so daring a heresy.

The history of modern Europe is not altogether devoid of examples of similar outbreaks of religious and social fanaticism. The mystical sects which swept over the Continent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries left no vestiges of their tenets, and the sanguinary traces of their excesses have long since disappeared: but they were, unquestionably, eruptions of human resentment against the stern institutions of the feudal system, the intolerable condition of society, and the exactions of a rapacious and superstitious clergy. The great outbreak of the Anabaptists in the sixteenth century was a still more conspicuous example of the same tendency; and the attributes with which the fanatics of Munster invested their prophet remind us in many particulars of the inordinate and blasphemous pretensions of Tai-ping. There is the same confusion of Christian traditions with human extravagance—the same incentives to the passions,—the same menace against the rights of property, and the sanctity of marriage—the same claim to direct inspiration from the Deity. Under different climates, amidst different races, and in different ages, the course of fanaticism is marked by the same phenomena, for it acts upon the universal credulity and the sufferings of mankind: but the reign of these evils is transient; and we entertain a hope that they prepare the way for more permanent improvements in the state of society, and for purer views of religious truth.

But this extraordinary revolution has not yet been consummated, nor is there much prospect, according to the information we at present possess, of the Kwangsee rebels winning the prize. *Vincit qui patitur*. For a revolution to be effective in China,—effective in reforming every branch of the government and in improving all classes of the people—we believe it will have to call in the aid and the influence of the foreigner. The limited freedom, which has been secured to foreign visitors on the soil of China during the past twelve years, is itself a change which, as we have already shown, has probably had no small influence on the country, and there is reason to hope that its results are not unwelcome to the people. We have before us the correspondence of an honoured and laborious missionary in China, from which it appears that since the outbreaking of these troubles, the mandarin authorities themselves have a growing disposition to assist our countrymen in their excursions inland. It is stated that ‘the members of our mission have lately taken to itinerating into the country,

‘ sometimes to the distance of one or two hundred miles. In
‘ all these excursions we have gone in the foreign dress, sporting
‘ the English flag and preaching openly wherever we went.
‘ In almost all our journies, we have fallen in with mandarins
‘ who have shown no obstacles in our way, and in some instances
‘ they have hospitably entertained us, and helped us on our
‘ journey with coolies and sedans, both to and from the places of
‘ our destination. They seem to have come to the conclusion that
‘ the foreigners do no harm, that it is no use to prevent them
‘ getting into the country, and that the best plan is to take
‘ them by the hand and give them guides and guards. Be the
‘ reason what it may, fear or love, we are helped on our way,
‘ and by this means the country is getting opened more effec-
‘ tually than could be done by plenipos or generals.’ If China
be thrown open to foreign intercourse, whether by Imperialists
or Insurgents, Lazarists or Baptist missionaries, it will be a
long stride towards self-dependence and general advancement.

ART. III. — *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Education.*
England and Wales. Report and Tables. London: 1854.

FOR the purposes of the Census, England and Wales were divided into 30,610 separate plots or districts, each of which was the sphere of an Enumerator, who in his turn was under the direction of a Registrar of Births and Deaths, of whom there are 2190 in England and Wales. The Census was made under the authority of an Act of Parliament. The information which it supplies as to the statistics of religious worship and of education was not, however, collected under the authority of that Act, in the same sense in which the population returns were. The penal sections of the Act were found to be inapplicable to it; and it is to be received as the result of inquiries instituted by the Registrar-General through the medium of the Enumerators of the Census, but answered voluntarily by the parties to whom these inquiries were addressed. The Enumerators were directed to prepare, in the week preceding the 30th of March, 1851, lists of all public and private schools; specifying the schoolmasters, or other official persons competent to give information in respect to them; and they were to deliver to such persons in the course of that week, schedules of inquiries provided for that purpose; collecting such schedules in the course of their rounds on the Census-day, Monday, the 31st of March, 1851. When the schedules so returned had been

but we know that *there* the ranks of juvenile delinquency are filled up.

The following table contains the ultimate results of the census, with reference to the children at school, as well in day schools as Sunday and evening schools:—

	Day Schools.			Sunday Schools.	Evening Schools for Adults.
	Total.	Public.	Private.		
Schools - -	46,042	15,518	30,524	23,514	1,545
Scholars - -	2,144,378	1,422,982	721,396	2,407,642	39,783

The word school is to be understood, so far as the census is concerned, in a conventional sense. It does not mean a group of children assembled for instruction under one teacher (assisted, if need be, by others), or collected in one schoolroom. The distinction of school from school is not made with reference to the means of instruction, but of management. That is a different school, according to the census, which is supported by a different body of subscribers, managed by a different committee, and (which is the source of the error) has a different correspondent; and if there be a boys' school, a girls' school, and an infant school, supported by the same subscribers, managed by the same committee, and having the same correspondent, these appear in the census as one school. How often this is the case may be seen by reference to the following table (extracted from the returns to the Committee of Council on Education, for the year 1854), of the schools visited by H. M.'s inspectors, in which such schools are enumerated separately (Minutes, 1853-4, vol. i. p. 71.):—

Number of Schools, <i>i.e.</i> Institutions held in separate Buildings and separately managed.	Number of School-rooms in which separate (principal?) Teachers are employed.				
	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Mixed.	Total.
2,961	1,140	1,079	522	1,600	4,341

The last column contains the actual number, 4341, of schools visited, the first, 2961, the number of schools as they would have appeared in the census. If a like proportion between the separate schools and groups of schools under one management be supposed to run through the whole enumeration of the public schools, their number, as given in the census, must be increased from 15,518 to 22,750, or by 7232 schools.

The average attendance in each of the schools inspected by the Committee of Council (Minutes, 1853-4, vol. i. p. 71.) is 79, and is probably higher than in other schools*, for the schools so inspected are confessedly the best. Assuming the number of schools in England and Wales to be that given by the census, the average would be 91 scholars to each. Correcting for the number of schools, as explained above, the average becomes 62. The private schools are nearly twice† as numerous as the public schools, taking the number of the latter as given in the census. But correcting it, out of every 100 schools, 57 appear to be private and 43 public ones.

It was not until 1818, when Lord Brougham had become its advocate, that Parliament appears to have thought it worth while to inquire into the state of public education. The educational returns of that year, and those obtained by Lord Kerry in 1833, were, before the present census, the only official records of its progress in this country. The general results of these three returns are collected in the following table‡:—

Date.	Day Schools.			Sunday Schools.		
	Schools.	Scholars.	Proportion of Scholars to Population.	Schools.	Scholars.	Proportion of Scholars to Population.
1818	19,230	674,883	One in 17·25	5,463	477,225	One in 24·40
1833	38,971	1,276,947	11·27	16,828	1,548,890	9·28
1851	46,042	2,144,378	8·36	23,514	2,407,642	7·45

A comparison of the dates at which existing public day-schools were established, affords evidence of the progress made in education in different periods.

These dates were ascertained by the census, and the following table § has been collected from them:—

* If the schools of the Committee of Council had been enumerated in the same way as those of the census, they would have given an average attendance of 116.

† The numbers are, according to the census, 30,524 and 15,518.

‡ The two first, probably, represent the education less than it was; Lord Kerry's, Mr. Mann thinks, is not less than 10 per cent.

§ The number of existing private schools established in the same periods is stated in the same table of the Report on the Census, p. xxi., from which the above is taken. The duration of such schools is dependent on so many causes other than the progress of education, and they are all of necessity so short-lived; that no result of importance can be gathered from their dates. The most notable fact with reference to them is, perhaps, that so many as 487 should have survived upwards of fifty years!

	Period.						
	Before 1801.	1801 to 1811.	1811 to 1821.	1821 to 1831.	1831 to 1841.	1841 to 1851.	Date not spe- cified.
Number of existing Public Day Schools established in each Period.	2,876	599	1,120	1,265	3,035	5,454	1,169

There is no more remarkable feature in the rise and progress of elementary education in this country, than that, first taken up by the religious communities, it has always remained almost exclusively in their hands; and that, although nothing can be more certain than the impossibility of making the religious knowledge of children really denominational, no zeal has ever been manifested in the cause of education except under the form of denominational activity. From a tabular statement given by Mr. Mann, of the proportions in which different religious communities contribute to the education of the people, it appears, that of the children whose education is provided for, either in part or wholly, by the voluntary contributions of such communities, the Church educates no less than 78 per cent., the Independents 4 per cent., the Wesleyan Methodists $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the Roman Catholics $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the undenominational schools of the British and Foreign School Society educate 7 per cent. The twenty-three other religious denominations enumerated in the census together send to school the remaining 4 per cent., not one of them—not even the Baptists—contributing so much as 1 per cent., that is, one child in every hundred children who are at school.

On this immense preponderance of Church education Mr. Mann makes the following pertinent observations:—

‘It is clear that dissenting bodies are not likely to be represented in proportion to their numbers by the day schools which their small comparative wealth will enable them to raise and carry on—exposed, too, as many of them must be, to the competition of schools aided by the public funds. . An interesting problem, therefore, is before us,—“How is the education of poor children of dissenting parents to be provided for, in order to secure religious liberty?” At first sight it appears inevitable that in course of time the mass of the population, educated of necessity in Church of England schools, must gradually return to that community; but, in opposition to this natural anticipation, is the curious fact, that—while for many years past at least *four-fifths* of all the children who have passed through public schools must have been instructed in the schools of the Church of England—concurrently with this, a very considerable augmentation has (accord-

ing to the tables of Religious Worship) been proceeding in the number of Dissenters; so that now they number very nearly half of the total population. This appears to prove, that either the education given by the Church has been administered on very tolerant and liberal principles, or else the sectarian and doctrinal instruction of the day school is extremely ineffective in comparison with those religious influences which the scholar meets elsewhere.'

The Census seems, indeed, to show that a large proportion of the children of Dissenters receive whatever education they are fortunate enough to get, in Church schools. This remark applies, however, only to day schools. As it regards Sunday schools the case is reversed. The Dissenting bodies have many more* children in their Sunday schools than the Church has, so that the greater proportion of the children of the poor go to the Church day school and to the Dissenting Sunday school. What a poor ignorant child retains of the religious instruction it receives at school is not, probably, the *sectarian* part of it. If the Dissenters have reason to complain that their children are taught Church principles in the week-day school, they have, at any rate, the opportunity of unteaching them in the Sunday school. The real reason of the success of Dissenting Sunday schools as compared with those of the Church lies in the fact that the organisation of dissenting bodies is better adapted to *lay agency*, which is the life of the Sunday school, than that of the Church is.

The fact that no less than 30,524 of our schools are private schools, and that they teach more than half the children who are under instruction, affords ample field for speculation.

The 29,425 of those private schools which sent Returns are classified (roughly) in the census as follows:—

1. Superior classical boarding, proprietary, ladies, &c. &c.	4,956
2. Middling (commercial schools, teaching arithmetic, English grammar, geography, &c.)	7,095
3. Inferior (principally dame schools; only reading and writing taught; the latter not always)	13,879
4. Undescribed	3,495
	<hr/> 29,425

These private schools are not upon the increase. At the time of Lord Kerry's returns in 1833, they numbered 29,141,

* The total number of Sunday school children is 2,369,039, of which only 935,892 attend Church Sunday schools.

and had 732,449 scholars. Now they number 30,524, but have only 721,396 scholars. The children taught in them, then, were 1 in 19·6 of the population. Now they are only 1 in 24·8. This change has probably taken place chiefly in the third class of schools above enumerated.

The important function exercised by the private commercial or middle schools (7095 in number) in the education of the people of this country, appears not to be duly appreciated. These are the schools in which the children are educated who are to constitute the commercial and manufacturing strength of the nation, and to whom is to be entrusted the chief political power. In the mind of a mechanic such private schools rank above National or British schools, however skilfully conducted. When he is beginning to look up in the world, rents a house with a knocker on the door, abstains from the beershop, is able to pay his way, and begins, perhaps, to save something, wears decent apparel, and takes his children with him on Sunday to church or to his chapel, the artisan begins to think neither the National nor the British school good enough for his children. He knows that these are frequented by children taken from the streets, and he fears with reason the association of such children with his own. He is not, moreover, altogether without the pride of respectability, and is attracted by the title of a Commercial Academy.

The teachers of commercial academies have rarely, however, had the same opportunities for acquiring a knowledge of their profession as the trained and certificated teachers of elementary schools. Thus the children of the middle classes are worse taught than those of the lowest. The agency of the religious communities — the only one available — and which in respect to elementary education may be said to have succeeded, has failed to provide for the education of the middle classes. Except in large towns, no community is sufficiently numerous to constitute its own middle school; and it is not easy to unite different communities for such a purpose. Yet more operative, however, than this cause is the fact, that in any such action of the religious communities the independence of those to be benefited by the school is not consulted. Men submit their judgment to others in the matter of the education of their children as unwillingly as in everything else. To meet this difficulty training schools might be established for the education of private teachers; and we may perhaps venture to suggest that as Knellar Hall is no longer to be employed for the training of workhouse schoolmasters, it could be put to no better use than this.

The numbers of children of each age, from 3 to 15, returned

in the Householders' Schedules as at school and at work, and neither at school nor at work*, were collected in respect to 253,425 children taken so as to represent the whole, and arranged in a table†, and from them were calculated the numbers per cent. under each age. The result of this table may be stated in the following terms. It appears that if we select from the different classes of the population a group of 100 children in the same proportions in which those classes severally constitute the whole population; and if we follow them from year to year from their third year to their fifteenth, we shall find, when they were three years of age, 17 of them at school and 83 at home. When they had attained their 5th year, 50 of them would have gone to school and 50 would be at home. At 7 years of age, 64 would be at school, 1 would go to work, and 35 would be at home. From this age fewer would attend school every year. When they had reached their ninth year, 6 would have gone to work, 62 would be at school, and 35, neither at school nor at work. At 11 years of age, 20 would be at work, 49 at school, and 31 neither at school nor at work. At 13, only 28 would remain at school, being probably the contribution to the group of the middle and upper classes of society, that being about the proportion which those classes bear to the whole community; 48 would be at work, and the remaining 24, representing, probably, the lowest section of the group, would be neither at school nor at work.

These children, who are neither at school nor at work, are the Arabs of the streets. Every child added to the school is one less in their number. It is worthy of observation in the table, how stationary this class is, as compared with the school children. Passing the eye down the two columns, of the scholars and the unemployed, beginning from the age of 9 years, it will be seen that the numbers of the scholars diminish from year to year rapidly; those of the unemployed slowly. It is from the former, rather than from the latter, that the increasing progression of the employed supplies itself. Labour fills its ranks not from the idle and ignorant, but from the industrious and educational.

The efforts of the friends of education have of late years been chiefly directed to the perfecting of the teaching in schools. They have been accustomed to believe that as the schools became better, parents would not only be tempted to send their

* That is, neither returned in the schedules as *scholars* or *employed* in the spaces severally allotted for those returns.

† Report, p. xxvii.

children to them who had not heretofore sent them to any school, but that the parents who now send them would be induced to sacrifice for some little time longer than they now do the wages their children might earn by being sent to work, and send them longer to school. It is not to be concealed that this last hope has been disappointed. There is, indeed, reason to believe that in many cases the result has been the very reverse. Instead of sending their children a longer, they have sent them a less time to the school,* because they have been better taught. They have reasoned that the school being now so good, the children could get their learning (that is, all the learning they think necessary for them,) quicker than heretofore, and therefore they have taken them away sooner.

Applying these facts to the entire population, and considering it as divided into two classes, one of which does not altogether ignore the school and the other does, it appears that the hold it has even upon the former class is so slight, that of 241,708 * children sent to school between seven and eight years of age, not less than 42,081 must be taken away before they attain their eleventh year, and 104,522 before they attain their thirteenth.† After that age, practically, there are very few labourers' children left at school. Those who remain are the children of the class above that of the workman. If a labourer's child remains at school after twelve years of age it is to be looked upon as an exceptional case‡, for which some special reason is to be assigned.

Now, let any one but consider what progress in education

* 134,492 boys, and 107,216 girls (Census Table, p. xxviii.).

† These numbers, be it remembered, do not measure the whole educational abandonment of the people. These are the shortcomings of the class who set some value upon education. There are, besides, the class who set none, and never send their children to school at all. These have 171,730 children at home between the ages of seven and eight years. Which number of children — unemployed at school or in remunerative labour — has only diminished to 150,685 by the time they attain their eleventh year, and to 147,163 when they reach their fourteenth year.

‡ The following fact may be taken as an illustration in respect to large districts of the counties of what has been said of the early age at which children are taken from school. The Northampton Church of England Society, proposing to itself the establishment of industrial schools in that county the profits of which should be paid in wages to the children to induce them to attend school, does not contemplate the probability, even with this inducement, of being able to keep the boys at school beyond the age of ten years.

one of his own children has made at from ten to eleven years of age, by which time 42,081 children of the working classes have been taken away from school, or between eleven and twelve, by which time 76,492 have gone; and what chance there would be of his child turning any little knowledge he might by that time have got, to good account in after life; what religious impressions, of which he had then been made the subject, he was likely to retain; or what moral training could yet have reached that strength and maturity in the child, that it could be expected to remain with the man? Or to complete the picture of cruelty and wrong, let him imagine his own child taken at that early age from school, and sent daily at sunrise to a factory, and placed there side by side with dissolute companions until sunset; or made to travel all day alone round a field to drive away birds from the growing crops; or to sit in the dark in the level of a coal pit to open and shut a trap-door. If he can imagine this condition of his child, he will see a reason for the contrast which in this country the degradation of the masses of the people presents when placed side by side with a material prosperity and social well-being of its upper classes, hardly paralleled in any other.

We are accustomed to believe the great social problem implied in this contrast to be in process of solution by what is being done for the education of the people. The Census comes to disabuse us. It tells us that little more than half the children in the country are at any time attending school at all; and that of those of the labouring classes who do, the greater number leave before they are eleven years of age, and almost all before they are twelve. What can be expected of a labour thus robbed of half its allotted time—of seed rooted up when scarcely it has begun to shoot? We may provide an adequate number of schools, and we may perfect them to any extent. *That* seems to be in our power. The Committee of Council is, in point of fact, doing it, by its inspection, and by the support it gives to normal schools for teachers. But that any result should be attained coextensive with the evil to be remedied, supposes that the people of England should avail themselves of the opportunities of instruction offered by the schools. This the Census plainly shows they do not, and are not likely to do. So long as what we are gaining by providing for the poor more and better schools is lost by their taking away their children earlier from school, the aggregate of ignorance will remain the same, and the good results of education accomplished in regard to the few, will be lost in the neglect of education by the many. This is the hopeless side of the question.

In the letters to Lord John Russell which Mr. Baines published some years ago to persuade the people of England that enough was done for the education of the poor, and that the educational movement ought to stop where it then was, he made a notable attempt to formularise the amount of school attendance, with which, whenever it should be attained, we ought to be content, and the proportion he fixed was one-ninth. The Reporter on the Census has, unkindly, we think to Mr. Baines, reminded us of this calculation, and claims for it a general acceptance.

‘To Mr. Edward Baines,’ says he, ‘belongs the merit (?) of having brought about a pretty general concurrence of opinion on this point. Before the discussions which took place in 1846 upon his estimates, some very extravagant ideas were afloat on this subject. This gentleman then estimated, after an apparent careful course of reasoning, that if out of every *nine* individuals in England one were found to belong to some day school, the proportion would be quite as high as the condition of society in England would permit.’ (*Report on Census*, p. xxi.)

This is a remarkable passage. For nothing can be more evident than that the census demolishes Mr. Baines’ proportion. We have got the one-ninth it speaks of,—nay, more than a ninth, we have nearly an eighth,—and yet the great majority of the children of the labouring classes are left without any education at all after ten years of age*, and almost half of them without any, after nine years of age! It would have been difficult to have deprived Mr. Baines more effectually of any credit which he may have acquired in bringing about a general concurrence of opinion in respect to his formula, than the reporter has done by referring to it in his Report.

With *us*, in England, where mothers can get remunerative employment if they can but get their children taken care of, school attendance begins to reckon from two years of age. In Prussia it begins from *seven* years of age. *There* children begin to go to school at the age when, with *us*, they begin to leave it. A given proportion of the population at school in a country where children begin to attend from two years of age, and the

* This is calculated as follows:—assuming the 28 children out of a hundred who are at school after 13 years of age to represent the children of the upper and middle classes, those of the labouring classes at school at 10 are found from the table by subtracting this number from 55; they are, therefore 27; but those *not* at school of that age are 45 in number.

like proportion in another where they begin to attend at seven years, do not represent equal degrees of educational efficiency in the two countries. Very different educational areas must be covered in the two cases*; different, approximately, in the proportion of 8 to 5. The elder children must be sought in families which might have been passed by in search of the younger, or in employments where they would have been left.

The value of a school attendance, beginning from seven, as compared with one beginning from three years of age, in giving to education a greater extension and a wider grasp on the community, is as nothing when compared to the increased power and intensity which it derives from operating on the intelligences of children of maturer years.

In truth our elementary schools are all of them passing rapidly into infant schools. It is impossible to enter one of them and to look at the group of little children which form its highest class without feeling that it is the work of a mistress rather than a master to teach such a school, and that if we are to rest contented with such schools, the public money would have been expended better and more economically in training women rather than men as their teachers.

At this stage of our educational history, when all the hopes which had been formed of the poor keeping their children longer at school, if good schools should be offered them, have ended in disappointment, and matters seem to be getting worse rather than better—the question of obligatory education has forced itself on men's minds.

It is alleged that the poor, having no experience of the advantages of education—having, indeed, handed down to them from the upper classes and from bygone years traditions unfavourable to it—cannot be expected of their own accord to make the sacrifices they would have to make in sending their

* The following table will show the contrast between the state of education in Prussia in this respect and that in England:—

	Whole Number of Children between 7 and 14 Years of Age.	Number of Children between 7 and 14 Years of Age who were at School.	Number per Cent. of the Children between 7 and 14 Years of Age who are at School.
Prussia in 1843 ¹	2,992,124	2,328,146	77
England and Wales in 1851	1,394,188	701,345	50 ²

¹ 'Education of the People.' By Joseph Kay, vol. ii. p. 240.

² Of these 50 boys 34 are under eleven years of age.

children to school; and it is alleged further that the parent thus failing in a duty to his child, the discharge of which is necessary to the well-being of society, society should intervene to protect itself and the child from the results of the parent's neglect.* Education, thus self-imposed by the nation through its representatives, is, moreover, alleged to be in no other sense compulsory than the obligation, self-imposed, to any other duty is so. If the question is one of principle, involving the liberty of the subject or the authority of the parent, it is said to have been conceded, by successive Acts of Parliament, which compel the attendance at school, for half their time, of all the children, 17,834 in number, between eight and thirteen years of age, who are employed in cotton and print works. If it be a question of expediency, the admitted success of that experiment is adduced, and the right of other children is asserted to the protection which the Legislature has extended to these. Why Parliament should make education obligatory in cotton factories and in print works *only*, we are indeed unable to comprehend, unless it be that the evil to which the Commission on the Employment of Young Children bore testimony lies there more in lump than elsewhere; for cruelty and wrong to children employed at too early an age, and for too many hours a day in other occupations than cotton-spinning and calico-printing, is surely not less to be deprecated. The 24,000 boys employed in collieries under fifteen years of age, the 80,000 of the same age employed out of doors in agriculture, and the 30,000 who live in farm houses, have the same right to be protected from the cupidity of their employers as the factory children have; and if, by an Act of the Legislature, the provisions of the Half-time Bill were extended to the whole community, and education were thus made obligatory on all, there is no reason to believe that it

presented himself as —
 'seignement Obligatoire.' We are glad of an opportunity of directing attention to the educational works of this writer:—

'Mais que le père deserte son rôle naturel, qu'il dédaigne la pratique de ses premiers devoirs, la société par l'organe de ses représentants, intervient pour sauvegarder dans l'âme de l'enfant les conditions de la vie morale. La société, qu'on y songe, agit alors au nom d'un double droit; au nom du droit du faible qu'elle prend sous sa tutelle; au nom de son propre droit, car il s'agit de l'un de ses membres. Où est l'oppression, où l'abus de la force? et cette intervention de la puissance publique n'est elle pas le plus éclatant hommage qui puisse être rendu, dans une société Chrétienne, à la dignité de l'âme humaine?' (P. 16.)

would be submitted to less willingly by other parents and employers than it has been by the parents and employers of children in cotton and print works; or, in the end, with a less general experience of the advantages resulting from it. The attendance of every child at school between the ages of eight and thirteen would thus be ensured during half its time, and all the children in the country would be taught. The choice of the school would be left to the parent, provided only that the State were certified, through its Inspector, of the reasonable efficiency of the instruction and the good character of the teacher. Thus the rights of conscience would in every case be respected. The administration of the law would be rendered comparatively easy; for it is the selection of a particular class of the community to apply it to, which affords those facilities for evading the Half-time Act, against which so many precautions have now to be taken. Make it universal, and the Parish Register and the School Register would be all the machinery required to detect evasions of it.

The first educational result of such a measure would be, to send to school upwards of *two millions* of children, who appear from the census not now to attend school. The next, to double the number of children between eight and thirteen at present employed in *remunerative labour*. For those children having to go to school half their time, their places would have to be supplied for half the day by others who are not at present at work.

The 24,000 boys who now drag waggons along the tramroads of coal-pits, or who weary out the day alone in the dark opening and shutting traps, would for half the week at least see and feel the blessed light of the sun, and would not be left wholly without that humble culture, suited to their station, which is their birthright not less than ours. But whilst they went to school, other boys must be found to take their places. The 5463 children sent into the fields, when still almost infants*, to scare birds from daylight to sunset, and the 100,000 other children under fifteen years of age, employed in agriculture, would for half their time not be without wholesome instruction. But whilst they were at school, the farmers would have to find 105,463 other children to do their work.

For 600,000 children employed in remunerative labour, the number would thus become 1,200,000; the fresh recruits to the ranks of industry being taken, some of them, perhaps, (for half their time), from the schools which they now attend, but chiefly from the streets. Thus the work of industrial and ragged

* Census, p. cxi.

schools would be done. The vagrant children of large towns would be swept into the schools. A large proportion of them would find remunerative employment for half their time (a better training to industry than that of the industrial school), and all would find education. Were there no other good, to drag the misery of these poor children into the light of the school would be something.

If in certain localities children could not be found to supply the new demand for child-labour, other children might be transferred from town districts to homes provided for them in connexion with the schools, the erection of which might be aided, as the schools are, by public grants. The school-fees of children at work would, by the provisions of the Factory Bill, be paid by the employers. In respect to the children, *not* at work, of paupers and others considered too poor to pay, the fees might be paid by the parish. In respect to the rest, by the parents.

As regards the efficiency of the teaching in schools, the advocates of obligatory education argue that the interest which now in most parishes is taken in the welfare of the school would be greatly increased when an older class of children crowded for admission to it. That with this new responsibility thrown upon them, the friends of education everywhere would make new efforts; that, with a task before it which is no longer hopeless, the school would receive a new life; that with more faith in his work, the schoolmaster would work with a better will; and that the subscribers would contribute more readily when they saw that more good was being done. So that although in some localities schools would have to be created, and in many more to be improved these results would be more easily accomplished than heretofore; and that judging by what, under less favourable circumstances, has been done, we are justified in believing existing agencies, under these new circumstances, to be sufficient for the accomplishment of all that is required.

They allege further that the religious question, now at rest as it regards education, would not again be raised by such a measure, or that if ultimately raised with reference to localities where sufficiently good schools were not on the voluntary principle provided, it would be raised as to a far less number of cases than heretofore, and under circumstances more favourable to the settlement of it.

Among the children at school, there were, in 1831, 38,067 in workhouses. To these children the State may be said to stand in the place of a parent. She has the care of them—to feed, clothe, and educate—from early childhood, and often from infancy,

until they are of an age when it is thought expedient to send them to work. The number of these children had increased in 1852 to 40,557, giving an average of 68 to each workhouse. There are 21,038 of them who are orphans or deserted, or the children of parents permanently disabled, being 52 per cent. of the whole. These, made children of the State by the providence of God, and by the common consent and practice of all ages and nations, and those others made destitute, for a longer or shorter time, by the vices or the misfortunes of their parents, the State has adopted. In respect to them, the Legislature has everything in its power. They are not taken away from school, as other children are, before there is time to complete their education; for 25 * per cent. of them are above twelve years of age, whilst in ordinary elementary schools only 9 per cent. are above that age. No indifference of parents has in respect to them to be counteracted; no home-influence unfavourable to the work of the teacher interposes an insuperable bar to their moral and religious culture, for the State provides the home; and there is no poverty of the school to be contended with, for the State holds the purse. It is a remarkable example of the defects of our administrative system, that Parliament, claiming to administer the whole education of the people, has made of this part of it, which with unlimited control it does administer, a deplorable failure. For these orphan and deserted children it has to provide homes; and the absence of every demoralising influence would seem to be as necessary a condition of such homes, as light and ventilation, and food and raiment are. It places them in the workhouse, of which Mr. Hall thus speaks (in his Report to the Poor Law Board on Berks and Oxfordshire, 1835):—

‘ There are two obstacles to the establishment of satisfactory schools in workhouses that operate everywhere under the present system. One is the mixture (which seems unavoidable) between the children and the adult paupers. This is especially detrimental among the females. *The girls are set to work in the kitchens, the sleeping-wards, and the washhouses, with young women of depraved character.*’ And Mr. Bowyer, reporting (in 1849) to the Committee of Council on Education, says, that in ‘ more than seventy workhouses in his district, the children were not separated from the adult paupers; and that even in the better description (where the separation is supposed to exist) opportunities of contact continually arise.’ When it is borne

* Minutes, 1847–8–9, Schools of Parochial Unions, p. 43. (Mr. Ruddock’s Report.)

'thirteen children whom I found in one workhouse, says Mr. Bowyer (1848), 'being nursed by the girls, nine were the bastard children of mothers of this class.' As to the homes it provides, the nurture which the State gives to these children is, it must be admitted, that of a stepmother.

But acting in the interests of the public, by whom, if they are brought up to be paupers, they will have afterwards to be maintained, whatever may be practicable is surely done by the Legislature to depauperise them. No: they are made to live always among paupers,—the workhouse is their *home*! Pauperism is associated with their earliest recollections, and with all their experiences. They associate it with their idea of life, and it becomes to them a second nature.

'A boy educated in perhaps the best (workhouse) school in my district,' says Mr. Bowyer, 'being ill-used by his master, ran away, and brought a complaint against him before the magistrate. The magistrate, knowing him to be a friendless orphan, asked him where he intended to go? "Home, sir," said the boy. "But, my lad, you have no home," said the magistrate. "Oh, sir," was the reply, "I mean the workhouse."' Thus pauperism passes down from father to son, like an hereditary taint. 'The same family names' (says Mr. Symonds, 1848), 'continue for a century in the rate-books.' 'We have seen,' (said Mr. Chadwick in 1833, before the reform of the Poor Laws,) three generations of paupers—the father, son, and grandson—with their respective families at their heels, 'trooping to the overseer every Saturday for their weekly allowance.'

The State undertakes not only to provide homes for these children, but schools also; and a voice having been allowed to the Committee of Council on Education, in this matter, when Sir James Kay Shuttleworth was its Secretary, nothing was omitted which lay within the power of that department of the Government. The workhouses having been given to the children for homes, Knellar Hall was erected for the training of workhouse schoolmasters. And there Mr. Temple has ever since been labouring to form a body of teachers to whom there might, with some probability of success, be entrusted the task of awakening in the minds of the children of reckless and profligate parents a sense of their duty to God and to their neighbour, and, of placing again in the ranks of industry, outcasts and vagrants—children whose earliest associations are those of

sloth and mendicancy, and with whom pauperism is hereditary.

He has failed, and the explanation is not difficult. The control of the workhouse school is vested in three distinct authorities, whose concurrence is necessary to its success. First, there is the Board of Commissioners of the Poor Laws; secondly, the Committee of Council on Education; and, thirdly, the Board of Guardians. So much of the control of the school as is vested in the second of these departments was taken out of the hands of the first, by Act of Parliament. Whether the relations of the two departments have been cordial, and their co-operation harmonious, it is not for us to say; but it was clearly against the probabilities of the case that they should be so. As to the Boards of Poor Law Guardians, whoever is acquainted with them, will probably concur with us in reckoning upon their indifference to the work of a teacher, if not on their active hostility. This much is necessary in explanation of what we are about to state of the position of the schoolmaster in a workhouse.

He receives an education quite equal, if not superior, to that given to the national schoolmaster, or to that of the master of a British school; he passes the same examination, and an equal and often a higher certificate of merit is awarded to him. But, as a condition of the education he receives at the public expense, he takes upon himself the obligation, subject to a penalty, of labouring for a term of years in a workhouse school at a lower salary than he would receive in a national school.

This salary fluctuates with the number of scholars, and is curiously arranged to fluctuate the wrong way. For it is plainly his duty so to educate the children as to fit them for service, and thus to get them out of his school; and his best efforts ought to be directed to this end. But the more he does so, the more he diminishes his salary. And what makes this the more remarkable, is, that the rule is not applied to the salary of any other workhouse officer. The salary of the governor, for instance, remains fixed, however few the inmates. The schoolmaster's relation to the boy should represent the parental relation of the State, and he could not act in this relation more effectually than by exerting himself to find for the boy employment out of the workhouse. But for every such act of duty he would be mulcted of some portion of his hard-earned salary.

'The children form, on the average, a clear moiety of the number of inmates in workhouses; the spirit of the internal regulations is, however, mainly directed to the government of the adults; nor can it well be otherwise, so long as the two are united under the same roof.' (*Mr. Ruddock's Report on*

the Southern District, 1847-48.) This fact at once constitutes an anomalous position for the schoolmaster. He must be in subordination to the governor of the workhouse, and yet their duties have nothing in common. Nor can their characters be alike: the one chosen to control an adult community inured to indolence and vice; the other to form the minds of children, to bestow upon them the care and love of a parent, and to bring them up to industry and the fear of God. 'The arrangements are all made,' says Mr. Temple, 'with reference to the adults; but children are totally unlike adults in their faults, their needs, and their chance of being reclaimed.'

Points of collision between the governor and the schoolmaster are found everywhere.

The one acts under the authority of the Poor Law Board and the Board of Guardians; the other, of the Committee of Council on Education. The schoolmaster has been carefully educated, the governor is generally an uneducated man.

'I would gladly,' writes a workhouse schoolmaster, 'take a school with an inferior salary to get a rational person to serve under. The Governor completely robs me of all authority over the lads.'

'The Governor,' says another, 'wants me to take my turn with the porter and baker in charge of the front door.'

'I have *one hour* a day allowed me for recreation,' writes a third: 'yesterday, Sunday, the duty was as heavy as on ordinary days; in the evening I made application to go to church: this was denied.'

These quotations render any description of the inner life of the workhouse, in its relation to the schoolmaster, unnecessary; and he cannot but contrast* it with the life of the national schoolmaster, and be a dissatisfied man.

Kneller Hall formed part only of the scheme for the education of pauper and criminal children, as proposed by the Committee of Council on Education, and sanctioned at every step by Parliament. That scheme included the erection of District Schools, to serve as homes for the children, distinct and far removed from the workhouses, and under other control. The establishment of these schools has been twice sanctioned by Acts of Parliament, and every year since 1841, the reports of the Poor Law Board have insisted on the necessity of fulfilling the inten-

* How great is the contrast in a social point of view, and—taking that word in its highest and best sense—of the workhouse and the national schoolmaster, any one will learn from an authentic source who reads the excellent tale of 'Walter the Schoolmaster.'

tions of the Legislature. Those Acts of Parliament, and those reports, have, however, alike been inoperative. Very few districts have yet been, or are likely to be erected.

In its original form the plan cohered in all its parts. There was provision made for the training of efficient teachers; and there were proper homes provided for the children, in which the duties of the teachers could be discharged efficiently. The failure lies in the execution of one part only of the plan. We are not, however, prepared to speak of it as the best possible plan.

There is this defect in the principle of ragged schools and pauper schools, and reformatory schools of all kinds; that they aggregate the evil which it is their object to remedy, and deal with it in the lump.

There seems to be in the nature of the case no reason why ragged children should be collected together and have no other companions than children as ragged as themselves, in order that they may cease to be ragged; which is, we presume, the object had in view in a ragged school. Nor is it necessary to the reformation of young criminals that they should have no other associates than of those of their own class. This principle of aggregation has indeed been found practically to be fraught with evil. The public opinion of a large school is more powerful than the authority of its teachers, and unless the teachers succeed in winning it to their side, it will defeat their object. In the ragged school it has a tendency to be in favour of rags, and in the reformatory school of thieves. Nor are the resources of a systematic control, having reference to one object to be accomplished in respect to all, or the influence of a course of discipline ever on its guard against a common evil, equivalents for that additional strength which is given to the evil with which we contend, by companionship and combination. It is indeed worthy of consideration at what point any system which, by artificial means, would form and mould the human character to a definite end begins, by the restraints it imposes—for objects however laudable—to impair the moral energies and to dwarf the moral stature. It is not, perhaps, well for the vigorous and healthful growth of the human character, under any circumstances, that the volition of one man should be lost in that of another, or his individuality in a system. Breathing space is not more necessary to the health of the body than of the mind, and, under favourable circumstances, to stand in some degree alone and self-dependent.* This is the principle which lies at the founda-

* The following fact appears curiously to illustrate this principle. Of the juvenile delinquents committed to Bridewell, those who chose

tion of the expedient of grouping the children of reformatory schools together into families which has succeeded so well at Mettray. Whatever is true of it in respect to crime is emphatically true of pauperism. The strength of pauperism lies in early associations and in the public opinion of the class to which the pauper belongs. In a pauper school these are both arrayed against the objects of the school. Its pauperism breeds, therefore, in and in. The public opinion which controls men is not that of the whole community, or of the best portion of it or the worst, but of that section of it to which they themselves belong.

Our efforts at depauperising the children of paupers would probably be more successful if the process were not carried on in the lump (in district schools, or, still worse, in union schools), but in fragments, and not alone, but with other elements tending to neutralise it. We would suggest, therefore, that the pauper children of each parish might with advantage be distributed among the national schools, the British schools, or the other schools connected with religious communities in the parish; or, at any rate, this arrangement might be made in respect to that permanent class (half of the whole number) who are orphans or deserted.

The teacher's house might be enlarged by the aid of grants from the Committee of Council on Education, so as to afford accommodation for the lodging of the children. Their Lordships' Minutes provide for the supply of assistant teachers, who might help the master or the mistress in the care and the in-

were admitted to an institution formed by the governors in the neighbourhood of Bethlem Hospital called the 'House of Occupations,' where they were fed, clothed, and instructed in useful knowledge and in trades. In this House of Occupations they might remain until situations were provided for them, or they might leave it when they chose. Inquiries were made as to the conduct of all who had been inmates after they left, and the results were from time to time recorded. Now the remarkable fact is this (we give it on the authority of the officers of the institution themselves, from whom our inquiries were made): those who in the majority of cases conducted themselves well after they left,—in respect to whom the objects of the institution were accomplished, and who were reformed,—were not those who subjected themselves to its discipline and remained in it, but those who were refractory and left. That pliancy and facility of character which made it easy to subordinate them to the discipline of the House of Occupations, incapacitated them from breasting the difficulties they had to contend with when left to themselves—the very props they had been accustomed to, disabled them from standing alone.

struction of these children, and their clothing and dietary might be placed under the control of the guardians. We believe that this arrangement would not be more costly than the present one of workhouse schools or, than that of district schools, but less so. In respect to the cost of instruction there would be an obvious economy; and probably there would be an economy, in many cases, in the cost of the children's food. For experience has shown that there is an aggregation of eaters beyond which the cost is not less, but greater per head.* It offers, moreover, the advantage of associating children to be depauperised with others who are not paupers, in numbers sufficiently small not to control the public opinion of the school, but to be controlled by it. And it offers the yet greater advantage of bringing these poor children, in many instances, under the eye of kind and benevolent people, of whom some are to be found in every parish, ready to devote themselves to any good work for which an opportunity is afforded them, and who would often exercise a watchful care over the children, and, when they were of age, seek for them some respectable service, and, as long as they behaved well, render them afterwards their countenance and support. This, if anything, would come in the place of a home to the pauper child and, of friends.

We do not speak altogether without information on this subject, or on the authority of those who are without the means of forming an opinion upon it, when we say that there are evils of the system at present pursued in respect to the children in workhouses which are of such a nature, that some change in it is not only expedient, but involves a moral obligation—evils to which we can only advert; but which have reference not only to the discipline of the workhouses, but to the disposal of the children when they leave them, and to their fate afterwards. These evils the plan we have proposed would go far to remove.

To the statistics given in the Census of the amount of instruction which children are receiving in National and British Schools, we attach no value. They have reference, not to their attainments, but to what is professed to be taught to them, and they are furnished by the teachers themselves. The best test of the state of the education of a country is to be found in the knowledge of which its adult population affords the evidence; and no opportunity of applying the educational test to it ought to escape

* In the tables given by the Committee of Council of the cost of board in the training schools for teachers, it will be seen that the cost per head is not less in the more numerous institutions, but often greater.

us. Mr. Mann quotes the following particulars from the Registrar General's Eleventh Report.

'At a marriage, the bride and bridegroom are required to write their names in the Register Books, and if they cannot write, their names are written for them, and they place crosses against them.' Now the number per cent. of such marks in 1839 was 41·6, in 1840 it was 42·0, and in 1841 it was 40·8; whilst in 1851 the proportion had declined to 38·0. So that, judging by this test of penmanship, education had advanced about 2 per cent. in 10 years. The improvement, if such it can be called, was equal in the two sexes; for while the number of marks of the men had fallen from 33·7 in 1849 to 30·8 in 1851, that of the women had fallen from 49·5 to 45·3. The average age of marriage being 25 years, the onus of this bad schooling falls upon a period 10 years antecedent to the dates of these marriages. That is, upon a period antecedent to 1841. But the registers of 1851 supply information which is not more satisfactory with reference to a later period. There were 31,987 minors married in that year, and of these no less than 52·6 per cent. were unable to sign their names, being 42·7 per cent. of the males, and 55·8 per cent. of the females.

This confirms the view we are ourselves disposed to take,—that the men and women of this country, of the labouring classes, are not growing up better educated than heretofore; for that the poor effectually defeat all the efforts made for that end by taking the children away from the schools earlier, now that they are better taught. The Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education for 1853–4 supply us with a yet more striking illustration of this fact. The Rev. Mr. Mitchell, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the Eastern Counties, reports (vol. ii, p. 323.) as follows: 'conceiving that an approach to some data respecting the education of the country working classes might be ascertained through the militia composed almost entirely in these counties of the labourer, I requested each commanding officer to be so good as to give me the information. My thanks are specially due to the colonels, and the adjutants, and the sergeants-major, for the polite attention paid to the application. I have tabulated the results in the following form: It only applies to those who can write their names.'

A supplementary report of one of the regiments shows that there were 576 men in it who could neither read nor write. Let this be compared with the educational statistics of the Prussian army as furnished by the military authorities. In 1852 no less than 75 per cent. of the soldiers are reported to

have received 'ample school education;' 20 per cent. defective education, and only 4 per cent. without any education. In Berlin there were of amply educated 94 per cent., of defectively educated, 5 per cent., and without education, 1 per cent.

The returns from the militia regiments of the Eastern counties are as follows:—

Regiments of Militia.	Total Number.	Who can write their Names.		Who cannot write their Names.	
		Number.	Number per Cent.	Number.	Number per Cent.
Cambridge - - -	812	276	33	536	67
Essex, West - - -	882	287	33	595	67
Essex Rifles - - -	846	400	45	446	55
Huntingdon Rifles - - -	296	95	32	201	68
Norfolk, East - - -	806	308	39	498	61
Norfolk, West - - -	798	263	33	535	67
Suffolk Artillery - - -	487	221	46	266	54
Suffolk, West - - -	750	201	27	549	73

From the evidence of the marriage registers as collated by Mr. Mann, and of the militia returns made to Mr. Mitchell, it appears to be proved that *more than one half of the adult population of England and Wales cannot write their own names.*

We leave to the consideration of Mr. Henley, and the gentlemen who support him, this fact, to the proof of which nothing seems to us to be wanting. The inference to be drawn from the recent debates on education in the House of Commons seems to be, that the half of the people of this country who are unable to write their own names are to remain in that state of ignorance which this fact indicates, so long as the party which Mr. Henley represents can have its way in Parliament. That party has always found its spokesman, and it has never been more worthily represented than by Mr. Henley. It is perhaps, however, worthy of the consideration of that gentleman and his friends, whether by their policy of obstruction they will not permanently injure the cause they advocate, by subjecting those who may hereafter represent that cause to the necessity of accepting harder terms than might now be obtained. To Sir John Pakington a tribute of admiration and gratitude is due from every supporter of education. Standing apart from his friends, he depicted to unwilling hearers the educational destitution of the people of England, when introducing his bill, in a speech which for manliness, public spirit, and ability, has rarely been surpassed,—a speech to which Mr. Henley

has replied, but which he has failed to answer. No other point in that speech bore more conclusively on its argument than that in which the monstrous inequality was described, which the voluntary system entails upon the distribution of the Parliamentary grant for the support of education. Parishes where education has friends (and which, in so far, do not want help) get helped liberally; whilst parishes which have no friends, and which want help, get little or none. Clerkenwell, St. Giles's, Shoreditch, and Shadwell — friendless parishes — with a united population of 138,900 souls, divide amongst them 12*l.* 8*d.*; whilst St. Michael, Chester Square; St. Barnabas, Kentish Town, and Kensington, parishes with a joint population of only 50,000, but which have friends, take from the public grant 3908*l.* annually. Nothing can be more unjust than to impute this gross mal-administration of the public funds to the Committee of Council on Education. It is simply a condition of that aid and support of local and voluntary efforts which is the express object of the grant, and of the rule imposed by Parliament on the administration of it. To deviate in the least from that rule would, indeed, be to annihilate the voluntary system altogether. Of two parishes, in one of which the education of the people is provided for, because it has friends, and the other of which is educationally destitute because it has no friends, to select the latter as the preferable object of a public grant, would be effectually to cool educational zeal and to dry up the liberality of the friends of education in the former. If we *will* have the voluntary system in education, there is no help in the public purse for friendless places. An educational rate offers the only means of giving to places where education has friends, and those where it has none, equal shares in the public aid, and it is the only means of placing the burden of supporting education evenly on the shoulders of the community.

Nor is it probable that the education of the people will ever become popular in the country whilst it continues to depend on voluntary support. The farmer knows that if he once yields his assent to the school he must *subscribe* to it; and the tradesman cannot but reflect that the project for getting a trained master — which implies the giving of a higher salary — would compel him to raise his subscription. He hates therefore the additional learning which makes a new claim on his purse. Nor is the squire altogether superior to the consideration that he cannot give his concurrence to the views propounded to him by the vicar on the education of the poor, without placing his own contribution for the support of the school on an equality with

his. The unpopularity of the school among the middle and upper classes in a parish, is not unfrequently to be traced to the school-begging-box, which is annually passed round, and (may we venture to add it?) to the sermons by which the cause of education is annually recommended to the charitable consideration of the parish. If by objecting to the school it were impossible to escape from supporting it; and if the cost of supporting it were lightened by dividing it more equally in the parish, its claims would be considered at any rate with less prejudice. The clergyman would take a more active part in it, if it were in his power to make a good school of it without subscribing more to its funds than from his slender means he is justified in doing; the parishioners would like it better when their approbation no longer involved an annual payment; and the poor would have more confidence in it, when it no longer doled out education to them as a charity. Voluntary efforts are necessarily *partial* and *variable*. It is contrary to their nature that any result, universal and permanent in its operation, should be effected by them. Were it otherwise the voluntary principle would have sufficed for the maintenance of the poor. The hungry would have been sufficiently fed by it, the naked clothed, and the old and infirm cared for. But they were not; and it was for that reason that it was found necessary to impose poor's rates. The necessity for an educational rate rests on similar grounds. They are necessary because the efforts of private benevolence for the education of the poor are not sufficient to educate them; because they are partial in their operation and fluctuating, and because it is an injustice that a burden, which ought to be borne in common by all, should be allowed to rest on the shoulders of a few.

The plans for an educational rate which have been discussed in Parliament have failed in some instances from their extreme complication presenting a large surface of attack, and many vulnerable points. This is the characteristic weakness of all measures of compromise. Bolder plans have a better chance of success because they offer fewer points of attack. In preceding numbers of this Review the plan of a 'school rate' has been advocated, to which we think it the more expedient to recur, as the same plan, *mutatis mutandis*, has recently been proposed as a solution of the problem of 'Church rates,' under high ecclesiastical sanctions. 'The State* is, according to this plan, 'to provide that there be a Church school in every parish or 'school district, maintained by the fees of the children and by

* Edinburgh Review, No. cxcviii.

local rates, and governed according to the provisions of the management clauses (the substitution being made of rate-payers for subscribers); which school might, with the consent of the majority of the subscribers, be the national school of the 'parish.' It could not, however, be thus maintained by rates paid by the whole parish, unless it were subject to these two conditions:—1. That no child attending it, not being a baptized member of the Church, should be taught the Church Catechism. 2. That no child should be instructed in the Catechism, or otherwise in the distinctive doctrines of the Church, if his parents objected to his being so instructed. The fulfilment of these conditions being placed under the safeguard of the rate-payers, the Dissenters would probably in many parishes require no further concession. In any parish where they did, it should be competent to them to form a separate school, or to unite with the Dissenters of other parishes (within prescribed limits) in forming such a school, for the maintenance of which they might be rated instead of being rated to the parish school, which school might be an existing school, a 'British' school for instance, or the school of any particular dissenting community, as the Wesleyans. Schools, to which Dissenters were so taxed, should, like the Church schools, be open to all, with the condition that no child should be taught the distinctive religious doctrines of the school, if its parents objected to its being so taught. It should be a further condition, that all schools, whether Church or Dissenting schools, maintained by rates, should be taught by certificated teachers adequately supplied with assistant or apprenticed pupil-teachers, and with books and apparatus, and open to Government inspection.*

* With reference to the proportion in which the different religious communities contribute to the education of the people, which we have alluded to at p. 381., we beg to add the following calculation, based on two of the elements of the Census, which leads to a very remarkable result; for it demonstrates that, although the dissenting bodies have been foremost in opposing the measures of Government for the advancement of National Education, they have done scarcely anything upon their own voluntary principle for the permanent establishment of schools amongst themselves.

If a comparison be made of the numbers of poor children educated in day schools by the several religious denominations with the numbers of sittings in their respective places of worship, it will be found that there is 1 church scholar for every 5 sittings in a church, 1 congregationalist scholar for every 21 sittings in a congregationalist chapel, 1 baptist scholar for every 81 sittings in a baptist chapel, and that the other religious denominations taken together yield 1 scholar for every 41 sittings. In other words, if we suppose all the places

ART. IV. — *The Private Life of an Eastern King.* By a Member of the Household of His late Majesty, Nussir-u-deen, King of Oude. London: 1855.

GIBBON speaks of 'the deep and dangerous question how far 'the public faith should be observed, when it becomes 'incompatible with the public safety.' In India, at the present day, the public safety is happily not in peril; but still the British Government is in a state of chronic dilemma with respect to the question "how far the public faith should be observed." It has bound itself to native princes by solemn treaties, rendered the more obligatory by the circumstance that a heavy price in the double form of cession of territory and sacrifice of independence, was paid in each instance for the protection of a power felt to be irresistible; and the lamentable experience of the many years which have passed since these treaties were severally entered into, has demonstrated, to the conviction of all intelligent observers, that faith can be kept with the representatives of the princes in question only at the expense of perpetuating the most atrocious misgovernment, involving the misery of millions, throughout some of the fairest provinces of Hindostan.

Oude has long held a bad preeminence among the states thus situated. The sovereign enjoys the guarantee of the British Government, which has undertaken, for a large territorial consideration, not only to guard his dominions against aggression from without, but to protect him from all the consequences of misrule which might be expected to result from the indignation and violence of an oppressed people. It is said that there is no word to signify 'a republic' in any Asiatic language. Any constitutional limitation of the power of the sovereign is equally unknown. The only practical check is this:—when tyranny becomes utterly intolerable, the nobles, or the people, as the case may be, (for sometimes the one class, and sometimes the other, are the principal sufferers,) take the law into their own hands, act with all the promptitude and vigour of Judge Lynch, destroy the oppressor, his instruments, and it may be also, all the male members of his family, and then quietly submit themselves to the

of worship on the day of the Census to have been filled, then the degrees of support given to the cause of education by the worshippers may be estimated by the fact that, whilst every 5 of the churchmen were providing for the education of 1 poor scholar, it took the united efforts of 21 congregationalists, or 81 baptists, or 41 dissenters of any other denomination, to effect the same object.

like despotic rule exercised by the lucky adventurer whom circumstances have raised up to reign in his stead. Thus Nadir Shah, the conqueror of Persia, of Afghanistan, and of Western India, was murdered by the principal commanders of his army on his return from the sack of Delhi. Thus in countless other instances, tyrants, who have played a less conspicuous part on the stage of general history, but whose crimes and cruelties have worn out even Asiatic powers of endurance, have suffered the just punishment of their enormities, inflicted either by the victims of some special outrage, or by a general outbreak of popular indignation.

But the King of Oude is safe — as far as human power can protect — from all penal consequences of misgovernment. A considerable British force is cantoned in the immediate vicinity of his capital; his subjects are well aware that thousands more of the same irresistible troops are stationed close at hand, ready to support their comrades; and though these troops have been carefully restrained, of late years, from all interference in the internal administration of the country, such as the enforcement of the payment of the land revenue, or the execution of any acts of rapine or violence which it may please the king or his ministers to order, they have a rabble soldiery of their own sufficient and well qualified for such duties, and they know, and the people know, that if resistance be carried beyond a certain point, the aggressors need only to cry out ‘Treason,’ and to invoke the assistance of the British Government under the treaty. The result is, that the hateful yoke of the worst Asiatic tyranny is fastened upon the necks of the hapless people, by the gigantic strength of a well-organised European Government, with a gripe which excludes the slightest hope of deliverance. In no other country, we believe, has there existed — for many centuries, at least — such a combination of an evil will and of absolute power to give it effect.

It is probable, indeed, that this world — the scene of so much misery — has never witnessed such a government as that of Oude, unless it be thought impossible that any tyranny should surpass that of Nero or Domitian. But in ancient Rome we believe that the doctrine laid down in Goldsmith’s well-known lines was verified; that the provincial governments were sufficiently strong, in spite of the horrible oppression exercised in the capital, to afford considerable protection to the great body of the people; and that those ‘remote from courts,’ suffered comparatively little from the atrocities even of the

‘*Monstrum, nullâ virtute redemptum*
A vitiis.’

But Oude. is a small and very compact country, with a

central capital; and the system of land revenue which prevails there, as throughout India, has this strong characteristic, that according as it is well or ill administered, it conduces more directly and intensely to the happiness or to the misery of the people than any other fiscal scheme. Nine tenths of the population are in the position of the cottiers of Ireland. The possession of land is to them a necessity, the very vital element: — if they have it not, they starve, with their wives and little ones. It is no wonder, therefore, that they cling to it with the same desperate tenacity which distinguishes the peasants of Connaught, submitting to any amount of extortion and wrong, rather than abandon it. Sorely is this tie strained in Oude. The several districts are either farmed out, or are managed by Amils, who regard their offices only as a means of amassing wealth from the difference between what they can extort from the Ryots, and what they are compelled (for the process is often one of compulsion) to pay in to the royal coffers. Where there are Zemindars, the only difference is that another screw is interposed between the farmers general or amils, and the actual cultivators of the soil. The zemindars often exact payment from their ryots, and then hold out in their mud-forts against the amil, until the contending parties can arrange, after a certain amount of battering and a sufficient number of parleys, the exact sum which will satisfy the royal exchequer, and leave a suitable balance for the benefit of the amil. Between such millstones as the amils and zemindars of Oude, the unhappy ryot is of course ground to powder. Besides growing the crop and paying the revenue, he is impressed by the zemindar to fight his annual battles against the amil, whose rabble retainers spoil his goods, and devour or drive off his cattle. The battles in question are of every day occurrence. A member of the House of Commons recently stated in his place, that whilst marching through Oude some years ago, he had heard the sound of artillery, either on the one side of his road or the other, on each of the first nine days of his journey. That was and is the ordinary mode of collecting the revenue from landholders of power and courage sufficient to resist the authorities, rather than patiently submit to be plundered. When the end in view cannot be effected by these which we have truly called ordinary means, still stronger measures are resorted to without scruple. Within the last ten years, an amil sold a thousand men, women, and children into slavery, in order to make good a deficiency of revenue from the proceeds of the sale.

The same despotic lawlessness pervades every department of the government, — if a state of things so wretched be worthy of

such respectable terms. Very recently, the king appointed one of his fiddlers chief justice of the realm. Probably, the judge was upon a par with the Court. Police there seems to be none for the prevention of crime; Government exists for the collection of revenue. Men are shot down in broad daylight close to the gates of Lucknow, and the murderer replaces the pistol in his belt, and deliberately walks off, without question or hindrance from any one. We are indebted to the surgeon of the British Residency, now a member of the Medical Board, for the following anecdote:—He had been out into the country to attend a patient. On his return to the city, he heard a pretty brisk fire of musketry, but such sounds were too common to excite any great surprise. After passing the gate, however, he found that two regiments of the king's infantry having quarrelled, each corps had taken possession of the houses upon one side of the principal street, across which they were keeping up a smart fusillade. When the officer, whose person and equipage were well known, approached the scene of action, a chief combatant of one of the regiments rushed into the middle of the street, and bawled out at the top of his voice, 'Stop, stop! wait a minute till the Doctor Sahib has gone by!'

The curious volume which has called forth these remarks purports to be written by an Englishman, formerly in the service of a late king of Oude. We see no reason to doubt the genuineness of the work. If the narrative be not true in every particular, it is, at least, '*vraisemblable*.' Every fact which it relates might well, we think, have happened at the court where the scene is laid; and there is nothing out of character in any word or deed attributed to the several actors. The work is anonymous, and we have no means of ascertaining more as to the authorship than the author has told us. 'Five European members of his household,' he says, usually attended the king's private dinners. 'His tutor was one of the king's friends; his librarian was another; his portrait-painter was a third; the captain of his body-guard was a fourth; and last, but by no means least, his barber — his European barber — was a fifth: of these five I was one.'

That tastes differ is a proverbial truism; but how any one, with the spirit and feelings of an Englishman, could have endured the degradation and the unspeakable disgusts of such a service, as long as there was a wet ditch to be dug, or a heap of road-metal to be broken in this country, or the roughest drudgery of an indigo factory to be performed under the burning sun of India, we are utterly at a loss to understand. But as it has been proved to demonstration that Boswell's

folly and meanness and shamelessness preeminently qualified him for that work of biography, which he fulfilled with a degree of excellence beyond the powers of far abler and better men; so no one who had not partaken of the childish or cruel amusements, and submitted to be the tool or butt, and wallowed in the filthy orgies of King Nussir-u-deen, could have depicted with adequate minuteness such scenes as some of those described in the volume before us. We are told by the author in his preface,—if we had needed such an intimation,—that the scenes described were by no means the grossest which were witnessed. It is but justice, however, to say, that the indignation of the well-paid and much-enduring courtier was at last so excited by the abominable cruelty of the king to one of his uncles,—a helpless old man, whom he delighted to insult and torment—that he voluntarily threw up his appointment. We hope to satisfy our readers, however, that some of the *tableaux* which the narrative exhibits, though barbarous as becomes the Court of an Oriental Potentate, have a certain wild interest which redeems them from disgust. On the whole, therefore, both as a matter of curiosity, and as good may, perhaps, be eduved from the evil exhibited, whilst no harm can possibly result from the example of such a life, it might have been regretted if the words and deeds of King Nussir-u-deen (those, at least, which will bear publication), had perished from the same cause that has condemned to lasting darkness the brave men who lived before Agamemnon.

Of course, Nussir-u-deen, brute as he was, took the liveliest pleasure in the combats of animals. All sorts and sizes of animals, therefore, from quails to elephants, sometimes like with like, sometimes one creature with another,—as a man-eating horse with a tiger,—at all times, and in all places, in the open park by the side of a river, (into which the discomfited elephant plunged and found safety,) in an arena, encircled with palisades, and on the table at the palace after dinner, fought to the death for the amusement of his Majesty. The mutually inflicted wounds of partridges or antelopes are purely pitiful, but here is a vivid account of a battle between two specially ferocious tigers.

‘ There was a famous tiger—a monster of a tiger—named Kagra, who had triumphed at Lucknow on several occasions. He was certainly one of the largest I have ever seen; and beautifully streaked was his glossy coat, as it moved freely over his muscular limbs and long back. The connoisseurs in sport had despaired of finding a fitting adversary for Kagra, when news arrived that a tiger of enormous size and strength had been taken uninjured in the Terai,

the long strip of jungle-land between Oude and Nepaul, just at the foot of the Himalayas. It was anticipated that there would be glorious sport when this new monster was brought face to face with the redoubted Kagra.

'The signal was given—the bamboo railing in front of the cages rose simultaneously on either side—the doors of the cages opened. Terai-wallah sprang with a single bound out of his cage, opening his huge jaws widely, and shaking from side to side his long tail in an excited way. Kagra advanced more leisurely into the arena, but with similar demonstrations. They might have been fifty feet apart, as they stood surveying each other, open-mouthed, the tails playing all the time.

'At length Kagra advanced a few paces; his adversary laid himself down forthwith upon the court-yard, where he stood, facing him, but with his feet well under him, not extended, evidently quite prepared for a spring. Kagra watched his foe intently, and still advanced slowly and cautiously, but not in a straight line, rather towards the side, describing an arc of a circle as he drew near.

'The Terai-wallah soon rose to his feet and likewise advanced, describing a similar arc on the opposite side, both gradually approaching each other, however. It was a moment of breathless suspense in the gallery. Every eye was fixed on the two combatants as they thus tried to circumvent each other; it was enough to arrest the attention, for the tigers were unusually large; both were in beautiful condition, plump and muscular; the colour of the Terai-wallah was somewhat lighter than that of Kagra, a more yellowish hue shone between the black stripes. Both were very beautiful, and very courageous, and very formidable.

'At length, as they thus advanced, step by step, very slowly, Kagra made a spring. His former victories had probably made him a little self-confident. He sprang, not as if it were a voluntary effort of his own, but as if he were suddenly impelled aloft by some uncontrollable galvanic force which he could not resist. The spring was so sudden, so rapid, so impetuous, that it had quite the appearance of being involuntary. The Terai-wallah was not unprepared. As rapidly as Kagra had hurled himself up into the air, so rapidly did he jump aside; both movements seemed to be simultaneous, so admirably were they executed. Kagra alighted, foiled; but before he could recover himself, before he could have well assured himself that he *was* foiled, the Terai-wallah was upon him. The claws of his adversary were fixed firmly in his neck, and the horrid jaws were already grating near his throat. It was the work of a moment. We could scarcely see that the Terai-wallah had gained the advantage—we could scarcely distinguish his huge fore-paws grasping the neck, and his open mouth plunged at the throat—when Kagra made another spring, a bound in which he evidently concentrated all his energy. The Terai-wallah was dragged with him for a little; the claws that had been dug into his neck were torn gratingly through it; the open mouth snapped fiercely but harmlessly at the advancing shoulder, and Kagra was free. His neck and shoulder, however,

bore bloody traces of the injury he had received; and no sooner did he feel that he had got rid of his assailant than he turned with greater fierceness than ever to assail his foe.

"Shavash! Kagra—bravo! I'll make it two hundred gold mohurs," said the king, turning to his prime-minister.

"The asylum of the world commands it—two hundred let it be," replied Rooshun, as he took out his tablets anew.

But the interest of the contest in the arena was too intense to admit of attention being withdrawn from it. It was but for an instant that the two tigers stood surveying each other, open-mouthed, after Kagra had shaken off the grip of his antagonist. With distended jaws, the ample mouths opened to their utmost limit, their beautifully-streaked skins starting from their forms in excitement, their eyes distended as they watched each other, the ends of the tails moving once or twice, as if with convulsive twitches, they stood. Kagra was the first to attack again. This time his opponent was too near to try his former stratagem of slipping to one side. He met him boldly. They stood at that moment near the centre of the arena; and, as the sharp claws moved incessantly, and the huge mouths tried to grasp the neck on either side, it was impossible to distinguish the attack from the defence; all was so rapid.

Drawing gradually nearer as they thus fought with claws and mouths ferociously, uttering fierce snarls as they did so, both seemed to have succeeded in gripping their antagonist. With their mouths buried in each other's throats, and their claws dug deeply into the neck, they rose at length to the contest on their hind legs—straining and tugging, and wrestling, as it were, with each other, each with his utmost force and skill. It was a spectacle of startling interest, that; and however you may turn away, good madam, and exclaim horrible! or savage! believe me there were many elements of the sublime in that contest; and doubtless such contests often take place in the jungle.

They stood more than six feet high as they thus grappled with each other, elevated on their hind legs, in a sort of death-struggle; their round heads and glaring eyes surmounting the muscular pillars of their long bodies beautifully. It was wonderful to see how firmly the claws were fixed into the neck on both sides. There was no shifting of position, no further grasping either with claw or mouth. It was now a contest of life or death. Both were bleeding freely, and it would chiefly depend upon strength as to which should be thrown under the other, and thereby probably lose his hold.

These things take long to describe, but they occurred very rapidly. There was deep silence in the arena and in the gallery, as the two wild beasts thus stood confronting each other on their hind legs—deep silence and earnest gazing on all sides and from all quarters; even the very breathing was suspended in many as they watched the contest. Not for long, however, as I have said. Kagra, more skilful or more impetuous than his antagonist, overthrew him at length, and the two rolled over on the arena; the Terai-wallah on his back beneath Kagra above.

“Shavaash, Kagra!” uttered the king again, well pleased. “Kagra has the advantage,” uttered more than one voice in English.

But the advantage was only momentary. The hind claws of Kagra were being plunged into the belly of his foe, when the Terai-wallah, who never let go his hold for a moment with his mouth, struck one of his fore-paws over the face of his antagonist. His claws evidently pierced Kagra’s eyes; one of them was torn from its socket; and uttering a howl of pain or despair, the mutilated beast relinquished his grip, and would have torn himself from his antagonist. This, however, he was not permitted to do. The Terai-wallah clung pertinaciously to his throat. His teeth were deeply infixed. He was dragged for a few paces over the arena by Kagra, who tried to release himself in vain; and then, all at once leaping from his prostrate position, the Terai-wallah hurled himself on the top of his assailant.

‘The contest was virtually at an end. Kagra, now fallen beneath his foe, and fast losing blood, was incapable of regaining the advantage he had lost. The Terai-wallah, thrusting one paw under his lower jaw, forced back the head further until he infixed his teeth still more deeply into the throat. Kagra did battle ineffectually with his claws, tearing the skin of his antagonist here and there; but he had lost the hold he had obtained with his mouth, and was evidently fast sinking under the victor’s grasp and bite.

“Kagra is beaten,” was uttered in Hindustani and English in the gallery above.

“He is,” said the king, as he gave orders to the servants below to open Kagra’s cage, and drive off the Terai-wallah.

Red-hot rods were thrust through the bars of the enclosure, and the successful tiger was cruelly burnt before he would relinquish his hold. It was the most barbarous part of the exhibition; and yet it was the only way to save the life of Kagra. At length the Terai-wallah was driven off, his jaws dropping blood as he went. Kagra’s cage was opened, and he made for it immediately, with all the marks of the conquered about him; he left his track on the arena in blood-stains, whilst his tail hung flaccidly between his legs; yet, though he was flying, he fled stealthily, as it were, not vigorously and upright as a horse would have fled, but with stealthy, creeping, cat-like agility. The red-hot rods were held before the Terai-wallah to prevent him from pursuing. He still faced towards, and glared after, his beaten foe; and ere Kagra had reached his cage, he sprang high above the rods to attack the flying tiger once more. He fell short of his victim, however. Kagra quickened his steps, reached the cage, and buried himself in its furthest corner, cowering like a whipped cur.

‘As for the Terai-wallah, he watched his defeated antagonist steadily to the last, never once taking his eyes off him; and then, shaking himself two or three times, he licked his paws, rose majestically from his crouching posture, and walked deliberately towards his own cage, which was open to receive him; his torn shoulders, and

the large drops of blood which fell from him as he walked, proclaiming how dearly he had won his victory.'

There is another equally graphic account of a battle between a man-eating horse and a tiger, a special pet of the king, called 'Burrhea,' from a village at the foot of the Himalayas near which he had been taken. No one who has never been in India can form an adequate conception of a really vicious horse; yet we suspect that the story of the feats of this 'man-eater,' in clearing the streets of the city, and driving the inhabitants to take refuge on the house-tops, is a little highly coloured. The result of the conflict was that the tiger's jaw was broken by a kick of the ferocious horse; that the king, enraged at the defeat of his favourite, ordered another tiger to be let loose, who, having been recently fed, refused to attack the 'man-eater;' and that then three wild buffaloes having been brought into the arena, the horse was, for the third time, the conqueror.

"I shall have an iron cage made for him," exclaimed the king, "and he shall be taken care of. By my father's head, but he is a brave fellow." He *had* an iron cage made for him—one twice the size of many modern London dining-rooms; and there, roaming round the walls of his iron house, the man-eater exhibited his teeth to admiring visitors, snapped at them valorously, and often showed how he had assaulted the ribs of the buffalo, by playing the same tune on the bars of his cage. When I left Lucknow, the man-eater was still one of its sights.'

Another story of an elephant fight results in Malleer, the conqueror, killing, in fury, his 'mahout' or driver, who fell from his neck at the moment of victory:—

'When,' says the author, 'our alarm and horror were increased at seeing a woman rushing from the side whence Malleer had made his appearance, rushing directly towards the elephant. She had an infant in her arms, and she ran as fast as her burden would permit.'

It was the wife of the slain mahout.

"O Malleer, Malleer, cruel, savage Beast! see what you have done," she cried: "here, finish our house at once. You have taken off the roof, now break down the walls; you have killed my husband, whom you loved so well; now kill me and his son."

'To those unaccustomed to India, this language may appear unnatural or ridiculous. It is precisely the sense of what she said; every word of it almost was long impressed upon my mind. The mahouts and their families live with the elephants they attend, and talk to them as to reasonable beings, in reproof, in praise, in entreaty, in anger.

'We expected to see the wild animal turn from the mangled

remains of the husband to tear the wife and child asunder. We were agreeably disappointed. Malleer's rage was satiated, and he now felt remorse for what he had done. You could see it in his drooping ears and downcast head. He took his foot off the shapeless carcass. The wife threw herself upon it, and the elephant stood by respecting her grief. It was a touching spectacle. The woman lamented loudly, turning now and then to the elephant to reproach him; whilst he stood as if conscious of his fault, looking sadly at her. Once or twice the unconscious infant caught at his trunk and played with it. He had doubtless played with it often before, for it is no uncommon thing to see the mahout's child playing between the legs of the elephant, — it is no uncommon thing to see the elephant waving his trunk over it, allowing it to go to a little distance, and then tenderly bringing it back again, as tenderly as a mother would.

“Let the woman call him off,” shouted the king; “he will attend to her.”

She did so, and Malleer came back, just as a spaniel would do at the call of his master.

“Let the woman mount with her child, and take him away,” was the king's order. It was communicated to her. The elephant knelt at her command. She mounted; Malleer gave her, first the mutilated carcass, and then her infant son. She sat upon his neck, in her husband's place, and led him quietly away. From that day she was his keeper, his mahout. He would have no other. When most excited, when most wild, *must* or not *must*, she had but to command, and he obeyed. The touch of her hand on his trunk was enough to calm his most violent outbursts of temper. She could lead him without fear or danger to herself; and the authority which she had thus obtained, doubtless her son would possess after her.

Such were some of the most reasonable and innocent of King Nussir-u-deen's amusements. The volume under comment contains many a darker page of reckless caprice, of indifference to human suffering, and of absolute cruelty, patent to the most cursory observation; and many a hint or allusion, also, to iniquity of this or that kind on the part of those whose hands were strong to commit wrong, and to the misery inflicted on their victims, which few, perhaps, but those familiar with the habits of Eastern rulers and subjects would readily understand. One or two specimens of the former character will suffice. Rajah Buktar Singh — a Hindoo, as the name indicates — was the general of the king's army, and chief of the police. Up to a certain minute he was a prime favourite of the king. Then, he was disgraced, and ordered for immediate execution (with great difficulty averted), for the simple offence of making a bad joke. The king twirled his thumb through the top of his hat, and the general said, ‘There's a hole in your majesty's crown.’

Instantly went forth the mandate, 'Take off his head.' By means of the interference of the British Resident his life was saved, but he was literally stripped to the skin, of honour, property, and clothes.

'All the garments of the disgraced chief had been removed — his richly ornamented turban, his magnificent oriental dress, his tulwar or sword, his pistols, his cashmere scarf, used as a belt,—all had been removed. With a scanty cloth tied round his loins,—a cloth such as the lowest of the labouring classes wear,—he was lying when we entered, on this uncomfortable couch,' (a rough native bed, such as is used by native servants, without mat or mattress), 'otherwise naked.'

The condemned man thus addressed the author and his other visitors : —

' "I shall die, gentlemen, I know I shall die ; Rooshun (the Prime-Minister), is not my friend ; but, oh, good Englishmen, preserve my family from disgrace. Surely, his Excellency the Resident will protect them, if you ask him. I am a man, I can bear torture and death ; but my wives and children,—my aged bed-ridden father,—my wives, that have never seen the face of man, save of their relations,—my children who are all of tender years,—what will become of them when I am gone ? Good gentlemen, promise me to say a kind word for them. . . . Should my family come to want, *should they only lose their property and be otherwise uninjured*, perhaps you will sell this (an emerald ring, which he had contrived to secrete,) for them. Do, good Englishmen ; but oh, try and save them from the torture and disgrace, and the blessing of the widows and the orphans will be yours." . . . As to his own life, he never for a moment thought it would be saved ; for he had heard the order given for his execution, and he attributed the delay simply to an intention of inflicting torture upon him. He had made up his mind to this. "He knew the king better than we did," said he, as he shook his head mournfully. He had seen the most excruciating tortures inflicted upon men for less than he had done.'

There was good ground for the poor man's alarm, about his family, at least. His old bed-ridden father, and his wives and children, were all cast into the same degrading prison. The author and the other European courtiers went to give them what comfort they could.

'They were all treated as Buktar had been treated,—stripped of their fine clothes and their ornaments, given only the same scanty covering that he had been allowed : there they were, cowering like sheep and lambs awaiting the slaughter ; the old bed-ridden father, with his wrinkled skin and spare frame, through which the skeleton could be clearly distinguished, as the bones protruded in all quarters ; and he was weeping, weeping not for his own sufferings or dishonour, but

for the woes of his son and of his son's wives. Young, delicately-moulded women, who had been nursed in every luxury, and brought up tenderly, whose faces had never been exposed before to the eyes of men, there they cowered, huddled together, with their children, exposed to the rude gaze and brutal jests of the native soldiery who were scattered about the courtyard. One clasped her infant to her breast, and seemed to find some satisfaction in all her woe in fulfilling a mother's duties. Another sat in silent misery, with downcast face and drooping form, a Hindu Niobe. When they heard that we had come as comforters and friends of Buktar, the cowering fear which had formerly possessed them gave way to passionate entreaty and fervent expressions of thanks. The women and children threw themselves at our feet, and begged our intercession for the doomed culprit. It was pitiable to see them grovelling on the ground before us in all the agony of fear, and in all the abasement of commingled fear and love. It was not for themselves they sought protection and succour, but for him whose incautious words had brought them into that miserable position. Truly, if Hindustan is ever saved, it will be by the virtues of its women, for more honourable, more honest-minded, more nobly endowed female humanity is not to be found in the most highly civilised regions of the earth, than amongst the Zenanahs of India.

How well does this testimony correspond with the noble eulogium passed by Mungo Park upon the women of still more deeply degraded Africa! Buktar Singh 'was put into a large 'wild beast cage, and otherwise somewhat hardly and harshly 'dealt with, but his family was more tenderly treated.' The Resident had interposed on their behalf, and 'they blessed the 'great Sahib, as grateful women and children only can bless.' ' . . . The Resident's interference had done wonders with the 'natives of all classes. Rich and poor, princes and sepoys, fear 'the *Kompanny Behadur*, and the Resident, as its representative.' The sequel of the story is truly oriental. After the Rajah had been fourteen months in his cage, there were bad harvests in Oude, and consequently high prices, discontent, and riots in Lucknow. The king resolved, being in the mood for a frolic, to visit the bazaars in disguise, 'as,' he said, the Caliph 'used to do in Bagdad.' Some of the Rajah's friends got notice of this intention; and, of course, the king overheard shopkeepers and customers deploring the evil times, shaking their heads gloomily, and saying, 'It wasn't so when Rajah Buktar was 'the king's minister: he kept the bazaars in order.'

'Two months after that, Rajah Buktar Singh was in his old 'place at court, resuming his duties and his honours as if nothing 'had occurred. The next harvest was abundant; and when I 'left Lucknow, Rajah Buktar was still the "general," and the

‘head of the police, as before — in great favour with the king, ‘nay, in greater favour than ever.’

We have not room to tell the painful story, how the king, with the aid of his favourite and real prime minister, — an English barber, insulted and tormented his two aged uncles, making them drunk (the wine being mixed with brandy), and then stripping one of them of every particle of clothes, compelled him to dance in that state before all the minions and buffoons and parasites of the court, ‘whilst servants male and female, of all grades, collected together to witness the ‘humiliation of the king’s uncle.’ The other was subjected to less extremity of insult, but to more severe personal injury, fireworks being let off under his chair, to the arms of which his moustache had been tied with twine. In the agony caused by the fire, the drunken man started violently to his feet, tearing away the hair and flesh from his upper lip. It was in consequence of this atrocious outrage, that the author left the court, after a vain endeavour, in concert with another of the European courtiers, to persuade the king to dismiss the barber, the prime instigator of and agent in these and the like abominations.

‘Such,’ says the author, ‘was the end of my experience of royal favour. A few words only are necessary to complete the tale of Nussir’s life. The power of the barber waxed daily greater. His pride increased with his power, and no limits were set to the caprices and wild pranks of despotic authority and reckless depravity combined. The scenes which occurred in the palace were whispered over India. “His majesty might one hour be seen,” said the Calcutta Review, “in a state of drunken nudity with his boon companions, and the low menial who was his chief confidant; at another he would parade the streets of Lucknow, drunk at midday, driving one of his own elephants. All decency and propriety were banished from the court. Such was more than once his conduct at this period, that Colonel Lowe, the Resident, refused to see him, or to transact business with his minions.”

‘This state of things could not long continue. The energetic remonstrances of the Resident at length forced the king to part with his favourite, the barber, who left Lucknow, it is said, with 240,000*l*. But sending away the favourite was signing his own death-warrant. His family soon obtained influence in the palace: the king was poisoned; and one of the very uncles whom he had treated so badly, a cripple, succeeded him on the Musnud.’

Such was ‘the private life’ of King Nussir-u-deen. Such — *mutatis mutandis*, according to idiosyncrasy, — is, and will be, the private life of all his majesty’s successors. The present king treads, we understand, very closely in the footsteps of Nussir-u-deen. As the private life, so is the public adminis-

tration. There is no law, no hope of redress for injuries, except at an expense in purchasing it, by payments to every official who bars the way to justice, more grievous than the first loss. The chief-justice, as we have mentioned, was the king's barber. The head of the police was, probably, some pimp,—or worse. Wide strips of land adjoining the high road are lying waste:—no one will raise crops to be devoured by every passer-by who is strong enough to set the poor villagers at defiance. Happily for themselves, and for the country which they would otherwise pillage as freebooters (for universal rapine and injustice deprive them of all hope of an honest livelihood), the flower of the peasantry find an asylum, and the means of supporting their families, in the armies of the Company, which are now recruited almost exclusively from Oude. Formerly our own districts of Behar furnished, from the cultivating classes, almost the whole of our Rajpoot soldiery. Now, those classes find full employment in peace and plenty, and under the shadow of a strong and protecting government, at home; and our ranks are filled by those whom a diametrically opposite state of things drives out of Oude, to seek their bread abroad.

How long is this frightful anarchy to last? How long is the British Government to be held bound, not merely to stand by and let Oude slide, but virtually to maintain and perpetuate the evil, by upholding with its strong hand, the miserable despots, one worse than another, who inflict such an amount of misery upon millions of their fellow-creatures? Are we to be deterred from doing our duty to those millions by a morbid fear that we shall be charged with cloaking ambition and greed under a pretence of humanity? There is no hope—no possibility of self-regeneration. Such a government as has long afflicted Oude is incapable of permanent improvement by any means short of the actual deposition—phrase the measure as you will—of the dynasty which has reduced it to its present state of utter disorganisation. Such plain speaking as this will, we are well aware, be misconstrued and vilified. Let those who object to the proposal show us a more excellent way to the same end of regeneration, and we will gladly give it our support. Till this be done,—and it will demand infinite sagacity to devise such a middle course,—our opinion, in defiance of all misconstruction, must be in entire accordance with that expressed by our author in his preface:—‘that Oude is one of the most miserably governed countries under heaven, is no secret; and that it would be a blessing to its numerous inhabitants were the Indian Government to do for it what has been so well done for the Punjab, every one will admit.’

ART. V. — *The Annotated Paragraph Bible ; containing the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version, arranged in Paragraphs, with Explanatory Notes, &c.* Published by the Religious Tract Society. London : 1853.

2. *The English Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version, newly divided into Paragraphs.* London : 1853.

IT is, we believe, universally agreed among Protestants of all denominations, that the Bible is their one, great, paramount religious authority ; that they repudiate all traditionary lore or human teaching ; and that every man, depending on his own judgment, and availing himself of his right to use it, looks to the Sacred Scriptures, and the Sacred Scriptures alone, for the spiritual light which should inform his faith and direct his conduct. Such is the theory ; but it is little more than a theory. If Christians acted upon it, honestly and more freely than they do, they would in all probability find their differences diminish and their charity increase. But the fact is, that the right of private judgment in religion is a principle more vaunted than exercised. And the experience of society would lead us to infer, that, while we and the rest of our fellow Protestants profess to follow the instructions of the Bible, we are far more generally led by the opinions of our respective ministers ; and that our doctrinal views are never so much really derived from the letter of the Sacred Text, as from the notes of some favourite expositor in the margin. This, perhaps, is no more than might be naturally expected. It is the consequence either of an intellectual indolence, which would evade the task of elaborating the truth for itself ; or of a praiseworthy humility, which feels its powers incompetent to the task ; or of a certain timidity of conscience, which, shrinking from the peril of incurring error in so momentous a subject, would fain rest the responsibility of decision on another's judgment. But whatever influences may interfere to warp its operation, all Protestants, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, are agreed in the principle, that our only authoritative religious teacher is the Bible ; and that ' as there is no truth nor doctrine necessary to our justification and everlasting salvation, but which is, or may be, drawn out of that fountain and well of truth ; therefore, as many as be desirous to enter into the right and perfect way unto God, must apply their minds to know Holy Scripture, without the which they

‘ can neither sufficiently know God and His will, neither their office and duty.’*

Since the Bible then is of such inestimable value — the depository of all religious and moral truth — the sacred ark in which the history and the subject matter of the Creator's communications to His creatures are preserved, we might very reasonably have presumed, that it would be regarded with a reverence correspondent to its importance, and that, in the copies of it disseminated among the people, every care would be taken not only to render the translation an exact reflection of the sense of the original, but to place the work before them in such a convenient form, as might induce them to read it, and accompanied by such useful typographical aids, as might facilitate their understanding what they read. It might have been fairly expected, that, in publishing a work which is of such momentous consequence to us all both here and hereafter, the text would have been carefully divided into paragraphs according to the sense; that what was spoken would have been placed between inverted commas; and that all passages, taken by one sacred writer from another, would either have been printed in italics, or in some easily intelligible manner distinguished as a quotation. It would have been no more than reasonable to assume, that among a Protestant people, — setting the high value upon them which we do, — esteeming them as our sole authority in religion, — the Sacred Scriptures would have been published with at least as much consideration for the reader's convenience as the writings of our popular poets and novelists; and that there would be editions, not only of every variety of size and type, which might prove attractive to the taste of the wealthy, or be adapted to the limited means of the poor, but which might be demanded by the infirmities of our aged and suffering brother Christians. But the very reverse of this is the case. There is no other class of works, whether we regard the size, the type, or the distribution of the letter-press, in which we find that so little has been done to assist the reader, and so much to perplex him, as in the Sacred Scriptures. If it had been the object to multiply their difficulties, to prejudice their meaning, and to deter men from the perusal of them; we doubt whether the most accomplished Jesuit could have devised any more effectual mode of publication than that which has been generally adopted, and almost universally prevails. No works of inferior value could have maintained their ground against the treatment they have encountered. We are

* Homily on Reading the Holy Scriptures. Part I.

not ignorant of the several editions of the Bible which exist; and we fearlessly declare, that we have never yet met with any copy of the Bible, which we could take up and read with typographical satisfactions. There are dear Bibles and cheap Bibles: there are Bibles so large that your hand can with difficulty raise them; and there are Bibles so small that they can be carried about in your pocket: there are Bibles of which the paper is as glossy as satin and as thick as paste-board; and there are Bibles, of which the paper is so dark that the printing is hardly discernible, and so thin that the leaves crumple up beneath your finger in turning the pages: but, nevertheless, among all those innumerable and variously diversified editions, no Bible has been hitherto produced which can be read with as much ease and comfort as any ordinary book. There is no such thing as a *readable* Bible.

This great evil in one respect results from a sort of superstitious notion that the Sacred Scriptures must be all brought together into a single volume. But why? Superstition cannot condescend to answer our inquiries, and we are incapable of finding any intelligible solution for them ourselves. Such a collective form of publication may be useful for the purpose of reference; and to the clergyman, in the composition of his sermons, it may be a desirable thing to have the whole body of works, from which his proofs and his illustrations are to be drawn, thus lying ready to his hand, compendiously before him. But for the laity—the great body of Christian people—such an arrangement is as unnecessary as it is cumbersome. We have all taught ourselves to look upon the Bible as a single religious book; but it is, in fact, a library of religious books. It consists of works composed by different authors, treating of different subjects, and written at widely different times: and it is only one book, inasmuch as these works are all bound up together in one binding. On ordinary occasions, there are no two of the productions thus compressed between the same boards, that we are likely to want at the same moment. And if a man would fain take his evening walk into the fields with the Prophecies of Isaiah as his companion, it is no light grievance to him, that he must either forego his inclination, or carry along with him at the same time the Law of Moses and the History of the Jews; the Psalms of David and the Proverbs of Solomon; the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; the Epistles and the Apocalypse. The probability is, that the sight of the encumbrance will be sufficient to counteract his purpose, and direct his attention to some other and far inferior author. This principle of having all the compositions of all the sacred writers collected together in

the same volume, has induced the practice of printing our Bibles in double columns; because it is the form by which the greatest number of words can be squeezed into one page. But, notwithstanding this offensive mode of distributing the text, which is puzzling to the sight, by which the attention is disturbed, and which is only adopted in the cheapest and most inferior editions of other works, the book is so big and heavy, when the type is large enough to be easily read, that no hand of moderate strength can hold it; or, when the book is of a moderate weight and dimensions, the type is so minute as to be only legible by eyes of youthful strength and microscopic power. In the 'Annotated Paragraph Bible,' of which the title stands at the head of this article, the double column, with some other disadvantages that obtain in the ordinary editions of the English Scriptures, have been got rid of. That is no inconsiderable gain. But the determination to compress the works of all the inspired authors into a single volume, has brought its inseparable mischiefs along with it; an unwieldy book, a small, sharp, dazzling character, and a length of line which it is very difficult to follow.

But this pernicious system of compression is not, by any means, the most grievous injury to which the sacred text has been subjected by editors and printers. This is a slight evil in comparison with the mischief which has been inflicted on the sense of the inspired writings by the mode of breaking them up into chapter and verse which has been uniformly adopted. These divisions, which have no existence in the original, have been made without any authority whatever. They were introduced for the purpose of liberating the theological student from the necessity of attaining a deep and accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, by placing in his hands a Concordance, which they have been notched and scored to tally with, and by which he may be readily assisted to the discovery of any passage he may chance to want. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Cardinal Hugo de Santo Caro projected a Concordance to the Latin Vulgate, and divided the Old and New Testament into chapters. Rabbi Nathan, in the fifteenth century, in preparing a Concordance of the Hebrew Scriptures, subdivided the chapters into verses. Robert Stephens, in the sixteenth century, passed simultaneously through the press a New Testament and a Concordance; and, so at least his son Henry tells us, while travelling on horseback between Lyons and Paris, he cut the New Testament into verses for the sake of adapting it to his Concordance.* This, we believe, is in brief

* See 'Horne's Introduction to the Holy Scriptures,' vol. ii. pp. 155—158. Second edition.

the most approved account of the origin of those divisions and subdivisions by which our editions of the Bible are disfigured. No other book ever suffered such irreverend treatment. In all other compositions, the paragraph ends where the sense pauses ; in the Sacred Scriptures, whatever the sense may be, every third or fourth line brings the reader to the end of the paragraph. They are the only works we happen to be acquainted with, in which the correct arrangement of the author's text has been rendered subordinate to the facility of reference. And we are quite sure, that they alone are endowed with a sufficient force of vitality to outlive so cruel a process of mutilation.

An attempt has been made in an edition of the Authorized Version, published by Mr. Blackader, to introduce a more perspicuous and correct division of the Holy Scriptures into sections and paragraphs, but this publication, is inferior in typographical elegance, and in its annotations, to the Paragraph Bible of the Tract Society. The fact is chiefly remarkable as a further proof that the demand for Bibles printed in an improved form is felt by the public, and will doubtless be provided for by the booksellers.

The practice of breaking the text of Scripture into verses would, under any circumstances, prove most injurious to the right apprehension of its meaning. It is the immediate cause of much misconception. Passages of Holy Writ, thus insulated, receive a kind of independent character. The sense of each little paragraph seems drawn to a point ; and the careless or unlettered reader is apt to confine his attention to the few words thus placed in an aphoristic form before him, and to accept them as a distinct enunciation of some religious dogma ; whereas, if they had been presented to his eye in connexion with their context, he would at once have received them in their right meaning, and been spared the error into which the present deceptive mode of printing the volume has betrayed him. We cannot conceive any case, in which evil would not have resulted from the introduction of our divisions of Chapter and Verse. With whatever care the Sacred Text had been cut into such minute sections, those minute sections must necessarily have had a tendency to mislead the reader. But they have not been carefully made. The only end contemplated in making them was, to fit the Bible to the Concordance. And that it might be effectually accomplished, every other consideration — the progress of the narrative — the beauty of the poetry — the theological argument — and even the grammatical construction of the sentences, have been continually disregarded. We need not enlarge on the detriment which the eloquence, the pathos,

the impression, the very intelligibility of the Sacred Writings, have incurred from this reckless and fractional mode of subdivision. But to show that we have not at all exaggerated the mischief we complain of, we will adduce some instances, which are taken almost at random, and which could be multiplied *ad libitum*, of the senseless mutilation that the sacred text has suffered in the process.

Our first example shall be a passage from the historical portion of Scripture. We will give it, as it would properly stand, if printed according to the original, and unmarred by the inventions of the concordance makers. We read in the book of Joshua, 'And it came to pass, when Joshua was by Jericho, that he lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, there stood a man over against him with his sword drawn in his hand: And Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, "*Art thou for us or for our adversaries?*" And he said, "*Nay; but as the captain of the host of the Lord am I now come.*" And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship, and said unto him, "*What saith my Lord unto his servant?*" And the captain of the Lord's host said unto Joshua, "*Lose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy.*" And Joshua did so. (Now Jericho was straitly shut up, because of the children of Israel: none went out and none came in). And the Lord said unto Joshua, "*Ser, I have given into thine hand Jericho, and the king thereof, and the mighty men of valour,*" &c. The angel of the Lord in the words that follow, appoints the measures which were to precede the miraculous downthrow of the walls of Jericho, and which need not be repeated here, as we only wish to show the manner in which a simple passage of history has been injured in the printing. There can be no doubt but it ought to be given as it stands above, in unbroken succession. But how is it printed in our English Bibles? It is cut in two in the midst. One part is found at the end of the fifth chapter of Joshua, the other part at the beginning of the sixth. And at what point is the break in the narrative introduced? It is divided at the commencement of the parenthesis, in which, with a view of rendering the concluding words of the angel of the Lord more intelligible to the reader, the historian states that Jericho was at the time besieged by the children of Israel. This is bewildering enough. By most readers of the Common Version, it would be conceived, that the verses which conclude the fifth chapter and those which open the sixth, instead of conveying the continuous account of the same Divine visitation, related to two separate appearances of the angel of the Lord.

But, perhaps, the mischief is less felt in the narrative than in the poetic portions of the Bible. And we will adduce an instance in proof of the manner in which not only the beauty, but even the intelligibility, of the sacred odes of the Prophets suffer from the received method of dividing them. We will take an example from Isaiah. The following lines contain an entire prophecy. They are given in the words of our Common Version, but printed in accordance with the system of parallelism, which is the prominent peculiarity of Hebrew versification.

PROPHETIC ODE FROM ISAIAH.

‘The Lord sent a word unto Jacob; and it hath lighted upon Israel.
And all the people shall know, even Ephraim and the inhabitants of
Samaria,

That say, in the pride and stoutness of heart,
The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones;
The sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars.
Therefore the Lord shall set up the adversaries of Rezin against him,
And join his enemies together;

The Syrians before and the Philistines behind;
And they shall devour Israel with open mouth.

For all this, His anger is not turned away,
But His hand is stretched out still.

For the people turneth not unto Him that smiteth them,
Neither do they seek the Lord of Hosts.

Therefore the Lord will cut off from Israel
Head and tail, branch* and rush, in one day:

The Ruler and the Honourable, he is the head,
And the Prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.

For the leaders of this people cause them to err;
And they that are led of them are destroyed.

Therefore the Lord shall have no joy in their young men,
Neither shall have mercy on their fatherless and widows;

For every one is an hypocrite and an evil-doer,
And every mouth speaketh folly.

For all this, His anger is not turned away,
But His hand is stretched out still.

For wickedness burneth as the fire;

It shall devour the briers and thorns,

And shall kindle in the thickets of the forest,

And they shall mount up, like the lifting up of smoke.

Through the wrath of the Lord of Hosts is the land darkened †,

And the people shall be as the fuel of the fire:

No man shall spare his brother.

* i. e. the *palm branch*, which grows aloft, and is most appropriately contrasted with the *rush*, which springs from the ground.

† Burnt up.

And he shall snatch on the right hand, and be hungry ;
 And he shall eat on the left hand, and shall not be satisfied :
 They shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm :
 Manasseh Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh ;
 And they together shall be against Judah.
 For all this, His anger is not turned away,
 But His hand is stretched out still.

Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees,
 And that write grievousness which they have prescribed ;
 To turn aside the needy from judgment,
 And to take away the right from the poor of my people ;
 That widows may be their prey ;
 And that they may rob the fatherless.
 And what will ye do in the day of visitation,
 And in the desolation which shall come from far ?
 To whom will ye flee for help ?
 And where will be your glory ?
 Without me they shall bow down under the prisoners,
 And they shall fall under the slain.
 For all this, His anger is not turned away,
 But His hand is stretched out still.'

The above passage from Isaiah is a distinct and unconnected poem. It is as much an entire composition of itself, as an ode of Collins or of Gray. And it conveys a very sublime denunciation of the wickedness of the Jews and an appalling picture of the judicial inflictions with which the Almighty was about to punish them. But if the reader look for it in his Bible, without some especial directions, the chances are that he will have no little difficulty in discovering it. In our Common Version, the poem is not only preceded and followed by extraneous matter, but is actually cleft in two, by a division of chapters. Its three fine opening stanzas will be found at the conclusion of the *ninth* chapter of Isaiah, and the remaining stanza at the beginning of the *tenth* !

We abstain from laying before our readers any particular errors that have been made in the typographical distribution of the text of the New Testament ; but the general sense of that most holy volume has been more perniciously affected by the chapter and verse divisions of Robert Stephens, than any portion of the Old Testament by the officious meddling of his predecessors. What would be the effect on the understanding of the student, if a metaphysical essay of Dugald Stewart were set before him, in a form as lacerated and severed as that, in which he is condemned to read the Theological Essays of St. Paul ? Would he not find himself lost in a sort of labyrinth of words, amid which he was unable, on account of the

continually recurring breaks in the sentences, to trace the connection of the argument? A very intelligent friend of ours declares, that he never could comprehend the drift of the Epistle to the Romans, till he read it, without the interruptions of chapter and verse, in Shuttleworth's translation. And we entirely sympathise with him in his embarrassment. We repeat that no other work whatever would have possessed internal life enough to bear up against, and maintain its place in public estimation under, the usage to which the Bible has been subjected by its editors. We had, at one time, intended to evince the deteriorating and enfeebling effect of such an injurious process of division, by printing two or three of the finest passages from our own authors, snipt into pieces and severed, without any sense of compunction, from their context, as the Sacred Scriptures are printed; but we have refrained in tenderness for the feelings of our readers. We spare them the exhibition of so distressing a martyrdom. And, perhaps, the introduction of such a curiosity would rather serve to extend the length of our article, than add force to our argument. In the 'Annotated Paragraph Bible,' the text has not been subjected to any such vicious dismemberment; and, if the volume were less inconvenient to the hand, and the character more easy to the eye, we could have little fault to find with the typographical arrangements of the editor.

But is not the condition of our common English Bibles obnoxious to charges of a far more grave description, than those which we have already noticed, and which merely relate to the size of the volume and the distribution of the letter-press? Does the translation itself present that full, correct, and distinct expression of the sense of the original, which all Christian people, who look to the sacred volume as their paramount religious authority would be desirous of possessing, and which all who entertain a pious reverence for its contents would be anxious to afford them? We do not ask this question unadvisedly, or from a desire of putting forward any peculiar theory or favourite devices of our own. We make the inquiry simply as Christian laymen, who most sincerely wish to learn what the Sacred Scriptures were designed to teach us; whose only means of acquiring a saving knowledge of the truth is an accurate translation, and who look to our ecclesiastical superiors for the grant of so reasonable a demand on their learning and their zeal. We studiously place ourselves in the position of persons, who are utterly ignorant of the original languages, and whose only information respecting the state of our national version is derived from the most patent and

familiar sources, the notes of Scott, of Adam Clarke, of D'Oyley, and Mant, and of the Paragraph Bible: and we ask whether any man, with the continual emendations which are suggested in these commentaries before him, can entertain the persuasion, that our common English Bible really does afford an adequate representation of the sense of the Inspired Writings, or that it should be allowed any longer to remain in its present unimproved condition?

What was the opinion of Selden, a high authority on such a subject, at the time of its last revision? 'There is no book,' says that learned man, 'so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French book into English, I turn it into English phrase and not into French-English. "*Il fait froid*," I say, "It is cold;" not "It makes cold:" but the Bible is rather translated into English words, than into English phrase. The Hebraisms are kept, and the phrase of that language is kept; which is well enough so long as scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the common people, Lord, what gear do they make of it!'^{*} Most extraordinary, indeed, is the *gear* they make of it! And none but those who may have had the curiosity to turn occasionally into some of our country conventicles, in which the neighbouring tailor, or the journeyman cobbler, officiates as the expositor of the Sacred Text, can imagine the miserable misapprehensions to which this peculiar, literal, word for word, mode of rendering the Scriptures has given rise. It may, perhaps, be worth while to cite a few instances of the Hebrew phrases to which Selden alluded, and which, as literally translated, bewilder the understanding of the reader:—'A covenant of salt,' means 'a friendly contract;' 'they are crushed in the gate,' means 'they are found guilty in a court of justice;' 'branch and rush,' means 'the highest and lowest;' 'the calves of our lips,' means 'the words of our mouths;' 'rising early,' means 'acting with alacrity;' 'I have given you cleanness of teeth,' means 'extreme scarcity.' Such are the sort of Hebraisms which have been retained; and, as Selden says, 'What gear do the common people make of them!' But is it fair to the devotional feelings of the less educated classes of our countrymen, that the Bible should be placed before them in so ambiguous a form without any explanatory notice, and that at the same time any one should be allowed, whether qualified or unqualified, to interpret it to them as he will?

But if this scheme of word for word translation was to be

^{*} Selden's Table Talk.

adopted, why was it not uniformly carried out? Why is the same word differently translated in different passages, though its signification is the same in all of them? Why is *δικαιοσύνη* sometimes *righteousness* and sometimes *justification*? Why is *ἀγάπη*, *love* throughout the whole of the New Testament, except in 1 Cor. xiii. 14., when the translators, lighting upon an eloquent passage, were struck with the ambition of using a fine word, and converted *love* into *charity*,—a term only intelligible to the classical theologian, who knows that *love* is a fruit of *grace*, and that *grace* is English for *χάρις*; that *χάρις* is the etymological root of *charity*, and that, consequently, *charity* may be used as a synonyme for *love*? Why is *ἀδόκιμος* ordinarily rendered *reprobate*, and on one occasion (1 Cor. ix. 27.) *cast-away*? Of the text last referred to, the present Archbishop of Canterbury says,—‘This is one of the many passages, which have suffered by the general bias of the age in which our translation was made.’* That ‘general bias’ was Calvinistic,—the bias, in our opinion, which is most thoroughly at variance with the spirit of the Gospel: but whether Calvinistic, or Arian, or Socinian, or Arminian, or of whatever party, if a tendency in favour of any particular school of theology be discoverable in the pages of our version, and the sense of the original has been warped by it, are we justified in permitting it to remain? On the contrary, are we not guilty of a very great irreverence and wrong, in allowing the poison to continue there and to mix its taint with the waters that flow from the well-spring of eternal truth? We will, on this point, confine our observations to the New Testament. Is the translation of that holy book such as it ought to be? The Rev. Arthur Stanley†, in his recent and very learned edition of ‘St. Paul’s Epistles to the Corinthians,’ mentions *five* kinds of error which exist in our received version of them, and which he has rectified in his own. His emendations are,—‘1st. Such as are produced by a restoration of the text of the ancient MSS. 2nd. Such as are produced by a better system of punctuation. 3rd. Such as are produced by transposing the words into a nearer conformity with the original order. 4th. Such as are produced by bringing out the emphasis of words, apparent in the original text, either from the use of the pronoun, or from the place of the words in the sentence. 5th. Such as are produced by inaccuracy of translation.’ Mr. Stanley gives instances of the corrections that he has made of mistakes, arising out of all the five sources of error enumerated above. The in-

* Apostolic Preaching, page 186. Third Edition, note.

† Vol. ii. p. 311, 312.

accuracies, resulting from these causes, are not restricted to the Epistles to the Corinthians. They may be found in every book of the New Testament. Professor Scholefield, no incompetent authority, published before his death a small volume of some 170 pages*, full of suggestions for the improvement of our translation. And, though there are very many corrections that have been pointed out by others which he has omitted to notice, we are not aware of any that he has mentioned which ought not to be received. In fact, that our English version of the Sacred Scriptures is very far from being unexceptionable; and that the imperfections which we have been complaining of are commonly felt and acknowledged among all denominations of Protestants in this country, cannot want any stronger proof than the publication of the '*Annotated Paragraph Bible*' by the *Tract Society*. For that edition of the Bible is nothing more nor less than the laudable effort of a religious society, which is seeking to extend Christian knowledge, supported by all classes of English Protestants and thoroughly acquainted with their feelings and requirements, to afford a cheap and popular work, by which the evils that we have been speaking of may be alleviated.

But what intelligible reason can be alleged for the perpetuation of those evils? Surely it is high time for another revision of the English Bible. It is now almost 250 years ago since the last was made. During that long period, neither the researches of the clergy nor the intelligence of the laity have remained stationary. We have become desirous of knowing more; and they have acquired more to teach us. Vast stores of Biblical information have been accumulating since the days of James I., by which, not merely the rendering of the Common Version, but the purity of the Sacred Text itself, might be improved. And it is essential to the best interests of religion, that that information should be fully, freely, and in an authoritative form disseminated abroad by a careful correction of our received version of the Sacred Scriptures.

It would carry us far beyond our intention to enter upon the vexed questions of biblical criticism in this place, but we shall confine ourselves to an illustration of our meaning, borrowed from the ingenious commentary on some of St. Paul's Epistles, lately published by Mr. Jowett of Balliol College.

'No one who is acquainted with Sophocles or Thucydides in the volumes of Dindorf or Bekker, would be willing to reprint the text

* Hints for an Improved Translation of the New Testament.

of those authors as it is to be found in editions of two centuries ago. No apology is therefore needed for laying aside the "Textus Receptus" of the New Testament. The text of Lachmann has many claims to be considered as the most perfect which has hitherto appeared. It is the first, most consistent, and with one exception, the only recension of the New Testament drawn entirely from the earliest manuscripts and authorities. It is the work of a scholar of the highest genius, and of the greatest knowledge and experience as an editor. . . . Lachmann is the first who based the text on the most ancient authorities, solely on grounds of evidence, without regard to doctrinal considerations or claims of authority, and irrespective even of the meaning of words. The result has shown that the most ancient text is also in every other sense the best.' (*Jowett's Preface.*)

It is obvious that the highest purity of the text to which modern scholarship can attain, is the first condition of a correct version.

Two reasons are sometimes alleged for retaining the existing version, with all its faults and imperfections as they stand. The one, which we have never seen distinctly stated in print, but have often heard repeated in society, emanates from Swift. In his 'Letter to Lord Treasurer Oxford,' he says that, 'if it were not for the Bible and Common Prayer Book in the vulgar tongue, we should hardly be able to understand anything which was written among us a hundred years ago;' but that 'these books being perpetually read in church have proved a kind of standard for language;' and, since this cannot be denied, it is argued, that the translation of the Old and New Testament should remain as it is, with a view of securing a certain fixedness and permanency to the language of the country. Now, this argument, even admitting that any real value attached to it,—that any philological advantage, however great, could be worth attaining at the cost of the slightest religious sacrifice,—or that, in a matter in which eternal truth is concerned, anything except the distinct enunciation of eternal truth ought for a single moment to be considered, is rendered absolutely void by the constant mutability of all human affairs. Language, like all other things of this world, is given to change. Its fashion passeth away. Though the language of the Bible has remained stationary, the language of Society has kept moving on. Words and expressions which bore one sense in the days of Swift, have now become obsolete in that sense, and acquired another. Scriptural phrases, which were sufficiently clear to our great-grandfathers, have gradually but imperceptibly changed their meaning, and become altogether unintelligible to their descendants. For instance,

CARRIAGE, in the Bible, signifies *the things carried*, such as baggage; with us it means *the vehicle*. PREVENT, in the Bible, signifies *to help by anticipation*; with us it means *to hinder*. TO LET, in the Bible, often signifies *to obstruct*; with us it means *to permit*. PITIFUL, in the Bible, signifies *full of pity*; with us it means *contemptible*. The preposition OF, to the confusion of many a passage, and the bewilderment of many a reader, is continually used as synonymous with *by*; a sense which it has now so entirely lost, that Gifford, in his edition of 'Massinger,' has thought it necessary to give a note upon it. AFTER no longer means *according to*, as it did of old, but is exclusively confined to the sense of *behind*, whether referring to time, or place, or person. In the Sermon on the Mount we find, 'Take no thought for the morrow.' 'To take thought' formerly implied 'to be anxious' or 'distressed.' The phrase is so used by Shakspeare in Julius Cæsar. And in the age in which our translation was made, it very correctly expressed the sense of the original text. But at present, in consequence of the changes that have occurred in our language, it has not only ceased to convey our Saviour's precept, but inculcates a carelessness of life, which is incompatible with the Christian grace of Prudence. In the cases mentioned above, the words still remain with us, though their acceptation has been altered; but there are many words retaining their place in our version of the Scriptures which are no longer current among the people, and of which the signification is only known to the literary antiquarian.* How many of us are there who have any notion of what is meant by 'ouches,' 'taches,' 'habergeon,' 'brigandine,' 'knops,' 'neesings,' 'mufflers,' 'wimples,' 'tabring,' or a number of other obsolete terms, which nobody, among the ordinary class of English readers, is ever likely to meet with, except in the pages of the Bible? The instances we have now given are extracted from a long list; but we do not conceive that it can be necessary to cite any more of them. The few we have produced are quite sufficient to show that, however desirable it may be to secure permanency to the English tongue, that end can never be

* Dr. Blaney, when he revised the printed University copies of the Bible, in 1769; made a few alterations, and on his own authority substituted the modern for the obsolete word. This was a bold and hardly warrantable measure, though it extended no farther than printing *more* for *moe*; *midst* for *mids*; *owneth* for *oweth*; *jaws* for *chaws*; *alien* for *alient*; &c. And this is the only attempt to adapt the language of our Scriptures to the common speech of the people that has been made since the year 1603.

attained, by leaving the translation of the Scriptures in an unimproved condition, and setting it up as an immovable standard. The standard may be kept immovable; but the language will be sure to run away from it. 'And,' says Bishop Horsley*, 'if the phraseology of the Bible were not 'changed from time to time, to keep pace in some degree with 'the gradual changes in common speech, it would become un-'intelligible to common people.' We admire as cordially as Swift did, or as any man can, the '*strength*, the *beauty*, and the '*simplicity*' of our authorised translation of the Sacred Scriptures. We are the last who would wish to part with or to injure it. We do not desire to have it superseded, but revised. And we cannot perceive any reason whatever why, because its faults are corrected, its deficiencies supplied, and its obscurities rendered clear, either its *strength*, its *beauty*, or its *simplicity* should suffer scathe or diminution. On the contrary, we conceive that, if the required alterations were made in accordance with the spirit of the old translation, those qualities would become more prominent as the book was rendered more easily intelligible.

But there is another, a more general and plausible, objection to the alteration of our Common Version:—it ought not to be touched, because it has, for centuries, been held in reverence by the people. We admit the fact. It has obtained, and most deservedly so, the deep and affectionate reverence of our Protestant population; but how is that any reason against its being rendered more worthy of the deep and affectionate reverence with which they regard it? If their reverence extend beyond the respect that is due to the most accurate and complete translation of the inspired writings, which, on the whole, has ever been submitted to the contemplation of the unlearned disciples of the Gospel; if their reverence attaches to its admitted errors and deficiencies,—such a feeling is not pious but superstitious; and it ought not for a moment to be deferred to as an impediment in the way of so great a blessing as an improved edition of the sacred volume. It classes, as an instance of ignorance and folly, with the popish priest's obstinate adherence to his old *mumpsimus*, which has been a jest among Protestants ever since the first dawn of the Reformation. They who would resist the elimination of the palpable mistakes, and the acknowledged imperfections of our English Bible, from an apprehension of offending the religious prejudices of the people, are guilty of a pious fraud, which, though of a lighter shade of guilt, ranks

* Preface to his Translation of Hosea.

in the same vicious category with the practice of the Romanist, who lends his support to the perpetuation of a belief in fictitious relics, or endeavours to sustain the faith of his flock by the contrivance of a fraudulent miracle. In dealing with a book, of which Divine truth is the argument, nothing ought to be regarded but the means of rendering it the most distinct and perfect reflection of that truth; and if our present translation do not afford such a distinct and perfect reflection, it ought to be subjected to a course of continuous and careful revision, till it shall. But even supposing that this confidence of the people in the immaculate excellence of the English Bible were as deeply impressed and generally diffused as some of us imagine; and that, hitherto, we have evinced a salutary caution in respecting it, the time for such forbearance has now ceased. The popular belief in its perfection must gradually fade away before the cheap dissemination of such works as that of which the title stands at the head of the present article, and in every page of which some error of the translation is exposed and an amendment suggested. For instance, in the 819th page, which contains no more than seventeen verses of the 8th chapter of Jeremiah, we meet with the following corrections:

Text.—‘ Shall they fall and not arise ?

Shall he turn away and not return ?’

Note.—‘ These are proverbial questions, “ Will not those who fall “ try to rise? Will not one who has taken a wrong course turn “ back? ”’

Text.—‘ The crane and the swallow.’ (*Jeremiah*, viii. 7.)

Note.—‘ Rather “ the swallow and the crane.”’

Text.—‘ Lo, certainly in vain made he it (*i. e.* the Law);

The pen of the scribes is in vain.’ (*Jeremiah*, viii. 8.)

Note.—‘ Rather, “ But, behold the false pen of the scribes hath “ turned it into falsehood.”’

Text.—‘ When I would comfort myself against sorrow,

My heart is faint in me.’ (*Jeremiah*, viii. 18.)

Note.—‘ Rather, “ My joy within me is sorrow, my heart within “ me is faint.”’

Text.—‘ Behold the voice of the cry of the daughter of my people,

Because of them that dwell in a far country.’

(*Jeremiah*, viii. 19.)

Note.—‘ Rather, “ Of the daughter of my people from a far “ country.”’

These alterations are not, perhaps, of any very material consequence, but they are all found in the same page, to which we casually turned, and which affords no more than a

fair sample of the rest. The corrections proposed in this book are multitudinous. They are also, for the most part, very judicious; and their appearance in a work of this description, not only proves that our Common Version requires a diligent revision, but that the great body of the people are aware of it, and that their trust in its perfection, which has been so long opposed against every suggestion of improvement, can no longer be alleged as a pretext for delaying the attempt. No overweening confidence in the English Bible, even if it now existed, could be long preserved in face of the exhibition, which 'the *'Annotated Paragraph Bible'* sets in a popular form before us, of the wrong version in the text and the right version in the note. But whatever course our ecclesiastical authorities may pursue, they may depend upon it, that the Bible will not long be allowed to remain in its present mutilated and unsatisfactory condition. Whatever the public may demand, will in some shape be supplied. The move, now taken by the Religious Tract Society, will not end in the present publication. The more the Committee of Management dare, the more adventurous will they grow in daring. After no very long interval from the completion of the Bible, we may expect to see the reading of the text and of the notes change places, and a revised edition of the Sacred Scriptures appearing under the auspices and from the press of the Tract Society.

Yet, this is an evil which we most earnestly deprecate. With all our anxiety to witness the issue of a corrected translation of the Sacred Scriptures, which, we believe, would most powerfully serve to direct attention to them, and produce among us the most wholesome kind of religious revival; we should deeply regret to find it attempted without authority, at the expense of an unlearned society, and under the direction of an anonymous editor. The Holy Bible, on the right understanding of which the salvation of us all depends, ought not to be thus lightly or irreverently dealt by. What we should desire would be to see such a company of erudite persons appointed by the Royal Head of the Anglican Church for the execution of the task required, as were selected by James the First, for the last revision of the Sacred Volume—but with this addition, that they should constitute a permanent commission; that when any vacancy occurred in their body, a successor should be chosen in his place, from among the most eminent Hebrew and Greek and English scholars of the Kingdom; and, that the important office of guarding, superintending, and perfecting the text of the Inspired Writings, both in the original languages and in the translation, should be committed to their

charge. In the performance of these sacred duties, they would be expected to avail themselves of every discovery for the purification of the original; to suggest such improvements in the translation, as might best serve to disseminate among the ignorant the benefit of their researches; and, above all, to publish, from time to time, and at no long intervals, under the sanction of their joint authority, improved editions of the Hebrew, Greek, and English Scriptures. By the help of Divine Providence to the labours of so competent a body, we might reasonably hope to find ourselves eventually in possession of such a version of the Bible as should correctly represent the sense of its inspired authors; and we do most seriously believe, that the piety of the people would increase, and their unchristian differences diminish, as the sense of the authorities to which they all appeal was set more fully and distinctly and accurately before them.

ART. VI. — 1. *Of the Plurality of Worlds: an Essay. With a Dialogue on the same Subject.* 2nd edition. London: 1854.

2. *More Worlds than One—the Creed of the Philosopher, and the Hope of the Christian.* By Sir DAVID BREWSTER, K.H., F.R.S., V.P.R.S. Edin. &c. &c. 3rd thousand, corrected and enlarged. London: 1854.

3. *Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, the Unity of Worlds, and the Philosophy of Creation.* By the Rev. BADEN POWELL, M.A., F.R.S., &c., Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford. London: 1855.

4. *A few more Words on the Plurality of Worlds.* By W. S. JACOB, F.R.A.S., Astronomer to the Honourable East India Company. London: 1855.

IN olden times man knew but little of the attributes of the earth beneath his feet. He found that it furnished him all the necessities of his frame required, and much of agreeable superfluity besides. To his senses it seemed to be a broad plain girt by a wide ocean, which stretched further than his glance could follow it:

‘Circumfluit humor

Ultima possedit solidumque coercuit orbem.’

But this was long the measure of his apprehension. During the brightest days, indeed, of early civilisation, a gleam of some

deeper significance was caught by philosophy ; and poetry and religion even peopled the untravelled realms of the infinite, and the bright constellations of the firmament, with beings of a superior race. These, however, were dreams of the fancy, unsubstantial fabrics which faded and left no truth behind, that science could pick up and store away in her treasury. It was reserved to the renowned Copernicus, some two centuries and a half ago, first distinctly to demonstrate that the apparent terrestrial plain was really a free and independent material mass moving in a definable path through space. Then Newton explained that this independent mass moved through space because it was substantial and heavy, and because it was unsupported by props or chains ; that in fact, as a massive body, it is falling for ever through the void, but that as it falls it sweeps round the sun in a never-ending circuit, attracted towards it by magnet-like energy, but kept off from it by the force of its centrifugal movement. Next, Snell and Picard measured the dimensions of the heavy and falling mass, and found that it was a spherical body, with a girdle of 25,000 miles. Subsequently to this, Bailly contrived a pair of scales that enabled him approximately to weigh the vast sphere, and he ascertained that it had within itself somewhere about 1,256,195,670,000,000,000,000,000 tons of matter. To these discoveries Foucault has recently added demonstration to the actual senses of the fact that the massive sphere is whirling on itself as it falls through space, and round the sun, so that point after point of its vast surface is brought in succession into the genial influence of the sunshine, an investing atmosphere of commingled vapour and air is made to present clouds, winds, and rain, and the invested surface to bear vegetable forms and animated creatures in great diversity. The world then is a large solid sphere, invested with a loosened shell of transparent, elastic, easily movable vapour, and whirling through space within the domains of sunshine, so that by the combined action of the transparent mobile vapour and the stimulant sunshine, organised creatures may grow and live on its surface, and those vital changes may be effected, amongst which conscious and mental life stand as the highest results.

But the idea had occurred even to Copernicus, that this heavy mundane sphere, which affords convenient and substantial support to the footsteps of man, might possibly be not the only body of this kind contained within the wide realms of universal space. He knew that if he could get far enough away from its sunlit form, he must see it dwindle down to a shining point or star. He perceived that the transparent regions

surrounding the earth are crowded with such shining points, which become visible when the observer is protected from the glare of the sun by the nocturnal shadow of the globe. He watched these shining star-points night after night, until he ascertained that some amongst them at least, move in space, as the earth does, and round the sun. From these simple data, with the bold dash of genius, he leaped at once to the conclusion that man's world is not solitary in the infinite wilderness of space; that it has companions and brethren amidst the shining hosts of the sky; that there are other orbs of substantial material, whirling in the sunshine, and capable of affording all the conditions which life of the highest kinds needs for its development and support.

Year after year, as fresh appliances have been brought to bear upon the advancement of astronomical science, new arguments have been furnished in favour of the sagacious surmise of Copernicus. So soon as the telescope was added to the instruments of man's research, mountains, valleys, and plains were observed on the earth's nearest neighbour—the moon. Then it was found that the planets revolve on their axes like the earth, as they sweep along their orbits, and that some of them bear traces on their surfaces of atmospheres and clouds and winds. Upon one of them even polar snow was discovered, which melted by slow degrees as it was inclined in the warmth of advancing summer. The larger planets were proved to be of far greater bulk, and to contain far greater weights of substantial matter, than the terrestrial sphere. The fixed stars, also,—those shining points which are withdrawn so far into the immensity that no dimensions can ever be grasped in them by the eye, although aided by the most powerful telescopes,—were found to be masses, rolling through space, and attracting each other, and therefore possessing dense substantiality, which placed them in the category of worlds that might have vital atmospheres and organised existences, as well as the light which encircles them. In this way the idea of a Plurality of Worlds in the universe of the Creator, has been gradually developed, till it has been insensibly transformed into an article of faith in most intelligent minds, and men have come to believe that not only the planets, but also the shining stars of the boundless firmament in all their countless myriads, must be seats both of life and of sentient intelligence, capable of enjoying and employing its faculties and attributes, and of carrying forward some ordained plan of beneficent wisdom; and that to deny this qualification to the planets and the stars, would be tantamount to limiting the realms of the Creator, and robbing him of a

portion of his majesty and glory. But even this is not all. Modern astronomy has gone out far beyond the boundary of the star-firmament, and there it has descried, lying in immeasurable distance, faint definite clouds of filmy light, which, even to good telescopes, look, as they float in the chasms of darkness, like whisks of pale phosphorescent mist. At first these were taken to be the vaporous comets of the remote universe, and they were called by a name which implied that they were nothing more than mist or cloud. They were designated *nebulae* by their discoverers. In process of time, however, as the construction of the telescope was rendered more perfect, it was found that some of these light clouds were really *clouds of stars*; that, in fact, they were other firmaments lying out so far beyond the extremest bounds of the great firmamental system to which the sun, with its dependent planetary worlds, belongs, that even their light points were blended in misty confusion. Sir William Herschel was able to discern stars without number in several of them, and since his time, as grander and yet grander instruments have been brought into operation, more and more clouds have put off their nebulous features, and have assumed the glories of sidereal bodies. Scarcely any of the nebulae, indeed, known before the commencement of Lord Rosse's observations, have resisted the resolvent might of the giant telescopic eye that he has framed. Firmament after firmament has revealed itself to the penetrating glance of his great mirror. In this way has gradually been matured the idea that there are in the wide universe countless myriads of firmamental star-clusters, which are themselves, severally, what the cluster is that is seen by the naked eye to spangle the surrounding heavens at night; that there are families of firmaments, as there are groups and associated clusters of stars or suns. But immediately upon the recognition of this idea followed, as a matter of course, the extension to these external firmaments of the same conditions with which the nearer one has been already clothed. If they are all individually groups of mighty and ponderous suns, they too must be looked upon as having life associated with their substance. Either each of those stars must be a world inhabited by organisation and sentient intelligence, or it must have its own special world-brotherhood circling around its light-giving orb. Such is the magnificent sketch which astronomy, whether in accordance with reality, or in error, has exhibited as her representation of nature — space that is immeasurable by the senses of man, containing ponderous orbs in myriads that cannot be numbered by his arithmetic, scattered hither and thither in connected and

associated groups, and all, directly or indirectly, concerned in the development and maintenance of some form or other of organic life.

Lord Rosse's assiduous examination of the nebulæ has established one very curious fact regarding them—the matter of which they are composed, whether it be independent masses connected in clusters, or whether it be whiffs of impalpable mist, is, in the greater number of cases that have been included in his scrutiny, arranged in the form of spiral scrolls, which issue from a central nuclear mass, and which often lead to, or end in, similar nuclear condensations of cloudy light, resting like knobs upon the spires of the scroll. This remarkable circumstance has been received on all hands as tending to establish two important particulars with regard to these interesting objects. In the first place, it seems to mark their material substantiality; and in the second place, it appears to show that the constituent substance of which they are composed is in a state of movement. Lord Rosse does not pretend to the power of fathoming the mysteries of these hieroglyphics of the sky; but the course of his deductions inclines him to the opinion that they are remote star-firmaments, and that the frequency of the occurrence of a spiral arrangement of constituent stars or parts indicates that those stars or parts are subjected to the same influence and laws, as those which the solar firmament and solar system of planets obey,—that is, that they are sustained in the void by the counterbalanced operations of momentum and gravitating attraction, and therefore are substantial bodies, capable either of being worlds in themselves, or centres whence illumination and support might be extended to dependent orbs.

So far have the investigations and speculations of science advanced in relation to this interesting subject; but just as the discoveries of Lord Rosse seemed to have extended the bounds of the habitable universe to what man calls Infinity, this conclusion has been boldly challenged and a warm controversy has sprung up. The initiative in this contest was taken some two or three years ago by the publication of an anonymous essay entitled 'Of the Plurality of Worlds,' in which the assertion was made that both physical and metaphysical warrant could be adduced in support of the opinion that the earth stands alone in the wide realms of space as an inhabited world. Several respondents have since refuted the arguments of this essay, each from his own point of view; and the essayist has replied to some of his assailants in a dialogue prefixed to a new edition of his work. Notwithstanding the deep interest we have felt in the subject at issue, we have refrained from taking any part in the

discussion until the arguments on both sides seemed to have been fully recorded. But now, when the resources of the several advocates appear to be pretty well exhausted, we think the time arrived when we may, with advantage to the wide circle of readers who have watched the progress of the dispute, attempt to show how the matter finally stands after the conflict.

The Essay 'Of the Plurality of Worlds' seems to have been primarily suggested to its author by an impression that the grounds upon which the popular opinion is based are insufficient for the establishment of the conclusion that has been drawn, and that the conclusion is not in strict accordance with the teaching of revealed religion as he understands its doctrines. He writes in the Preliminary Dialogue to the second edition of the Essay —

'The doctrine of inhabited planets and stars rests in a very small degree on physical grounds: as far as I can see any grounds of physical reasoning on that subject, I reason physically. But the doctrine is defended upon theological grounds also. I do not attempt to disprove the plurality of worlds by taking for granted the truths of revealed religion; but I say, that the teaching of religion may, to a candid inquirer, suggest the wisdom of not taking for granted the plurality of worlds. Religion seems, at first sight at least, to represent man's history and position as unique. Astronomy, some think, suggests the contrary. I examine the force of this latter suggestion, and it seems to me to amount to little or nothing.' (P. 54.)

But the views of the author seem to have found maturity and confirmation even from his own labours whilst preparing the Essay, for in the same dialogue this passage occurs:—

'As to myself, the views which I have at length committed to paper have long been in my mind. The convictions which they involved grew gradually deeper, through the effect of various trains of speculation; and I may also say, that when I proceeded to write the Essay the arguments appeared to me to assume, by being fully unfolded, greater strength than I had expected; but however that may be, be the arguments strong or weak, there they are, delivered in all sincerity and simplicity. *Liberavi animam meam.*' (P. 72.)

The views that have long been in the essayist's mind, and that have grown gradually deeper through the effect of various trains of speculation, are clearly and succinctly expressed in the following paragraph, contained in the twelfth chapter of the Essay:—

'One school of moral discipline, one theatre of moral action, one arena of moral contests for the highest prizes, is a sufficient centre for innumerable hosts of stars and planets, globes of fire and earth, water and air, whether or not tenanted by corals and madrepores, fishes and creeping things. So great and majestic are those names

of *right* and *good*, *duty* and *virtue*, that all mere material or animal existence is worthless in the comparison.' (P. 368.)

The essayist opens the discussion by placing before the reader a picture of the universe, sketched in accordance with the generally received views, and then offers a statement of Dr. Chalmers' notions on the subject, drawn from the eloquent divine's astronomical discourses, which are presumed to be a fair exposition of the popular idea. He then propounds his own doctrine, that 'the peculiar character of man's condition seems 'to claim for him a nature and place unique and incapable of 'repetition in the scheme of the universe;' and thence proceeds to show that the discoveries of astronomy, and the deductions of modern science, ordinarily conceived to be opposed to this doctrine, are not so when contemplated from his peculiar point of view. Here then it is clear that the author's notions are foregone conclusions formed upon other grounds than the deductions of astronomical and other science; they are, as he expresses it, 'convictions that have grown gradually deeper through the 'effects of various trains of speculation,' and not stages of inductive reasoning that lead of necessity to certain definite and unavoidable results. The discoveries of science are to be looked at through his medium, or 'in the somewhat different view' which he speculatively proposes. The work is therefore avowedly not so much an effort of inductive philosophy, as an exercise of ingenuity, and must be accepted in this light. It is a speculation in which an attempt is made to show that the facts observed by astronomers are not irreconcilable with certain articles of belief which the essayist conceives the authority of revealed religion requires should be entertained. The course of induction is from the obvious towards the obscure; it invariably advances from facts well and familiarly known to the contemplation of remote analogies. The essayist, on the other hand, argues from the obscure to the obvious; he comes from the remote to the near and familiar. Astronomy began with the earth, and then carried the information and experience it had gleaned there to the examination, first of the moon, then of the planets, next of the sun and fixed stars, and last of all of the nebulae. The Essay, on the contrary, starts with the dawn of terrestrial history which broke on no human eyes, and which, therefore, is the very dream-land of knowledge; and from it goes to the nebulae, to the distant stars, and then to the remote and nearer planets. Because the old earth for many ages had no men, and because the filmy nebulae, and unstable stars, and outer planets cannot have men, it is hardly likely that the nearer orbs should have them. Such is the general course of this argumentative inversion of the process of induction. Upon this

peculiarity Captain Jacob remarks in his 'Few More Words,' in the following pertinent way—

'The results arrived at by Z.' (the initial assumed by the essayist) 'appear to be due, at least in part, to his having commenced his speculations at the *wrong end*. Instead of beginning with the bodies nearest to us, and of which we know the most, and endeavouring to make them throw the light of analogy on those more remote, he begins with the most distant, or at least the most obscure; and, descending by degrees to the nearer and more distinct, he attempts to drag a little of the obscurity with him in his downward progress.' (*Jacob*, p. 24.)

We do not, however, say that the essayist has really commenced his speculations at the 'wrong end.' It is probable that he is right in the course he has adopted, considering what his avowed object is, namely, to square the facts of science to a preconceived opinion. But we deem it right to keep the method of his argument clearly in mind whilst we weigh the several results that it presents for acceptance upon logical grounds.

The argument of the essayist, so far as it is based upon the evidence of physical science, naturally distributes itself into four distinct propositions. The first of these maintains, that the deductions of geology analogically disprove the existence of rational creatures beyond the terrestrial precincts. The second contends, that the nebulæ are composed of filmy substance too thin to be the dwelling-place of life. The third asserts, that the fixed stars are not completed suns, and that they are not fitted to play the same part for other worlds that our sun plays for the earth. The fourth undertakes to prove, that the planets cannot be peopled by highly gifted beings like man, and that they are not all likely to be inhabited even by lower kinds of vital organisation.

The portion of the argument derived from geological considerations is very elaborately stated. It is to the effect, that the scale of time which is involved in the succession of geological phenomena corresponds with the scale of distances that astronomical science has revealed. Geology does in time what astronomy does in space with objects. The one elicits its conclusions from the axioms of causation, as the other does from the axioms of geometry. They are twin sisters, working together to a common end; but of the two geology is the more important, the more trustworthy witness, because it has to do with an additional consideration that astronomy knows nothing concerning. It takes into its estimation life. It shows that the earth has been the seat of human life for a few thousands,

and of animal life for several myriads, of years. It proves that man has occupied only an atom of time in the world's history, and it is therefore 'more than probable' that he occupies only an atom of space in the universe,—in other words, that his race inhabits the earth, but is found nowhere else. As geology and astronomy are twin sisters, the conclusions of the stronger are to be received as binding upon the weaker. There are inferior, as well as superior, ranks of animated creation; and the inferior have occupied an immensely much larger portion of time with their history than the superior, therefore the inferior also fill much larger domains of space, and the superior are restricted to one solitary globe. In previous ages the earth was wasted for lengthened periods on mere brute life. It is probable, therefore, that the other bodies of the universe are now wasted in a similar way. The evidence of geology is thus opposed to the notion, that there are intelligent existences amongst the planets or the stars. The following passage serves to illustrate the essayist's views in this particular:—

'When, therefore, geology tells us that the Earth, which has been the seat of human life for a few thousand years only, has been the seat of animal life for myriads, it may be millions of years, she has a right to offer this as an answer to any difficulty which astronomy, or the readers of astronomical books, may suggest, derived from the considerations that the earth, the seat of human life, is but one globe of a few thousand miles in diameter, among millions of other globes, at distances millions of times as great.

'Let the difficulty be put in any way the objector pleases. Is it that it is unworthy of the greatness and majesty of God, according to our conceptions of Him, to bestow such peculiar care on so small a part of his creation? But we know from geology that He has bestowed upon this small part of His creation—mankind—His especial care: He has made their period, though only a moment in the ages of animal life, the only period of intelligence, morality, religion. If, then, to suppose that He has done this, is contrary to our conceptions of His greatness and majesty, it is plain that our conceptions are erroneous; they have taken a wrong direction. God has not judged, as to what is worthy of Him, as we have judged. He has found it worthy of Him to bestow upon man his special care, though he occupies so small a portion of time; and why not, then, although he occupies so small a portion of space?' (P. 194.)

Throughout the statement of this portion of the argument it seems to us that there is an evident fallacy. The argument runs—because man has occupied only an atom of time in the world's history, he only occupies an atom of space in the universe. But this is very much like what it would be to affirm that, because France was ten centuries without an emperor, and then had one for a few years, therefore all the

rest of the world is without an emperor! It is arguing from the *history* of one body to the *condition* of another, which has never been shown to have any sensible bonds of connexion with it, and which really appears to be altogether extraneous. There is obviously no ascertained relation between the development of the earth's condition as a world, and the state of any other orb in space; and the essayist, if he be consistent throughout with his own principles, ought surely to be the last of mankind to assume any such relation, or to ask for any such concession. Upon this ground, if upon no other, the argument derived from geology must be deemed entirely irrelevant. Much in the same predicament stands the attempt to show that, because inferior grades of creation fill up immeasurably larger portions of time in the Earth's history than superior grades, therefore the inferior also occupy a large portion of space whilst the superior are restricted to a comparatively narrow one. The force of analogy would point to exactly the opposite conclusion, if the fact really were as it is stated in the Essay; for, if the greater part of the world's history were filled by subordinate and lower forms of organisation, and the conditions of space had anything to do with time, then it would be probable that the greater part of space was also filled with similar rudimentary types. Sir David Brewster has, however, in his reply to the Essayist, very happily pointed out that the fact is not as stated. Geology makes it appear, it is true, that the inferior races of animate life have been in existence myriads of years longer than the human race. But the measure of human existence upon the globe has not yet been filled. For aught that is known, mankind may endure on the earth until the tables are turned upon its brute predecessors, and so brute existence become the atom, and human existence the infinite. It is quite possible, indeed, that the time may come when the argument of the essayist would tell in the opposite direction, and go far, upon his own premises, to establish the *universality of human life* throughout the domains of seemingly infinite space. The following extracts from the 'More Worlds than One' of Sir David, very aptly and forcibly expresses how much may be said that is rationally antagonistic to the position of the essayist:—

'But if we admit the result with regard to man, the argument does not apply to other intellectual beings than man,—to an inferior or to a superior race that never occupied the earth at all. If man is thus limited by a syllogism to the occupation of one planet, one atom of space, an angelic race, who never lived on the earth at all, may be indulged with the occupation of Jupiter. But further, let us suppose that we learn by the telescope that every planet and satellite

in the solar system is inhabited by *man*, he would still occupy but an *atom of space*, and our author's argument would go to prove that none of the fixed stars or binary systems are inhabited. In like manner, if we could prove that the binary systems were inhabited, the sum of them all would be but an atom of space, and our author would still rejoice in his conclusion that the clusters of stars and nebulae were uninhabited vapour.

'If the reasoning which we have examined be sound in its nature, which it is not, it would fail entirely by a change of the premises. If it is *probable*, as we have already shown it is, that the time of the earth's preparation was comparatively short. If it be possible, which we aver it is, that intelligent beings occupied the earth previous to man, and if it is *probable* that man will continue to occupy the earth during a period equal or approximating to the period of the earth's preparation, the whole of our author's argument has neither force nor meaning.' (*Brewster*, p. 205.)

In this particular we fully agree with Sir David. We think that the argument of the anonymous essayist is without force, and that his geological train of speculation, at least, exhausts itself without carrying the conviction he desires.

In turning from geology to the nebular department of astronomical science, the essayist first refers to Sir John Herschel's observations of the Magellanic clouds. This illustrious observer conceived that he detected in these clouds specks of nebulous light and distinct stars all mixed up together within orbicular spaces, whose furthest border was not above a tenth part more remote than the nearest one,—a difference which is by no means sufficient to account for some stars being seen distinctly, whilst others are blended in misty confusion. Sir John believes that these Magellanic clouds demonstrate the coexistence of stars of the eighth degree of brightness, and of nebulae that cannot be resolved into star-firmaments by powerful telescopes, at nearly equal distances from the earth; and he thinks that this suggests the necessity of receiving with caution, for the present, the generalisation that all the nebulous objects seen in the sky are remote star-firmaments. As, however, this forms the key of the essayist's position, so far as the nebulae are concerned, it may be as well to let Sir John tell the result of his observations in his own words. The passage is extracted from the last edition of his '*Outlines of Astronomy*':—

'It must, therefore, be taken as a demonstrated fact that stars of the seventh or eighth magnitudes and irresolvable nebulae may coexist within limits of distance not differing in proportion more than as nine to ten, a conclusion which must inspire some degree of caution in admitting *as certain* many of the consequences which have been rather strongly dwelt upon in the foregoing pages.'

The author of the *Essay*, however, does not find in these clouds inculcations of caution merely; they are in his eyes proof that all *nebulæ* are luminous fog. He holds them to be 'lumps of light,' in some cases resolvable by the telescope into sparkling dots. But these dots are not stars, they are merely brighter and denser parts of the curdled and granulated light. There are instances of like irresolvable luminosity furnished in the tails of comets. Such tails are manifestly vaporous masses through which stars are readily and distinctly seen. *Nebulæ*, therefore, are vaporous masses too; and this at once, in the essayist's eyes, accounts for the spiral arrangements of their parts, detected by Lord Rosse. Encke's comet is approaching the sun, because its rare filmy substance is moving through a medium that is capable of affording some resistance to its filminess. It may probably reach the sun after ten thousand revolutions round it, and its substance is probably one hundred thousand times denser than the retarding medium through which it is revolving. But the spiral scrolls in many of the *nebulæ* only make one turn from their outer commencement to their inner termination. This is because their substance is only *ten times denser* than the retarding medium. *Nebulæ* are really the ten thousand times refined essence of comets' tails, and the exquisitely subtle substance of which they are composed, is whirling round, as the comet whirls about the sun, but it is so extremely light that the resisting ether through which it sweeps brings it up at one turn, the luminous spire visible against the dark background of the sky being the tracing of its course as it is thus brought up. The spiral *nebulæ* are not vortices of remote star-streams, bent into curves by orderly irregularities of movement; they are whiffs of infinitely thin curling smoke rolled up in a single twist. They are masses of luminous fog with very slight internal cohesion of parts, drifting through resistance, and so dragged out into spiral lines:—

'In the *nebulæ* we have loose matter of a thin and vaporous constitution, differing as more or less rare, more or less luminous, in a small degree; diffused over enormous spaces, in straggling and irregular forms; moving in devious and brief curves, with no vestige of order or system, or even of separation of different kinds of bodies. In the solar system we have the luminous separated from the non-luminous, the hot from the cold, the dense from the rare; and all luminous and non-luminous formed into globes, impressed with regular and orderly motions, which continue the same for innumerable revolutions and cycles. The spiral *nebulæ*, compared with the solar system, cannot be considered as other than a kind of chaos; and not even a chaos in the sense of a state preceding an orderly and stable system; for there is no indication in those objects of any ten-

dency towards such a system. If we were to say that they appear mere shapeless masses, flung off in the work of creating solar systems, we might, perhaps, disturb those who are resolved to find every where worlds like ours, but it seems difficult to suggest any other reason for not saying so.

‘So far, then, as the nebulae are concerned, the improbability of their being inhabited appears to mount to the highest point that can be conceived. We may, by the indulgence of fancy, people the summer clouds, or the beams of the aurora borealis, with living beings of the same kind of substance as those bright appearances themselves; and in doing so we are not making any bolder assumption than we are when we stock the nebulae with inhabitants, and call them in that sense “distant worlds.”’ (P. 232.)

Such are the conclusions of the essayist in regard to these interesting objects that have excited so much attention, since the gigantic instrument of Lord Rosse has been added to the implements of astronomical research. It will be observed here that the gist of the matter is comprised in three distinct propositions. The nebulae are not composed of stars: they are luminous vapour of a comet-like nature, and of extreme tenuity; and being only thin vapour, they are destitute of living inhabitants. The third of these propositions is made, in the reasonings of the essayist, to depend entirely upon the establishment of the preceding two. Those two, therefore, are the premises that require to be examined. Touching the first, Professor Baden Powell writes thus, in his ‘Essay on the Unity of Worlds’:—

‘I am able to state, on the authority of those who have actually seen the nebulae in Lord Rosse’s instrument, that the appearance is perfectly and brilliantly that of *stars*; distinct effulgent points of no sensible magnitude, and of whose stellar nature no doubt could remain on the mind of the observer.’ (P. 188.)

Here surely, then, the essayist is pleading a distinction without a difference. He speaks of the nebulae as resolved into ‘dots of light’ by the telescope. But dots of light seen in the sky are stars. Nothing more is *positively* known of the fixed stars than that they are *luminous points without discernible dimensions* scattered in surrounding space. Whether such luminous points are contemplated by the unaided eye, or through the assistance of the telescope, can in no way concern their intrinsic natures. The ‘sparkling dots’ of the essayist are stars, and his ‘curdled lumps of light,’ in the majority of instances, are *star-beds*, if it is to be admitted that there are such things as stars in the sky.

But all the nebulae have not been resolved into ‘star-dots,’—those, for instance, which are contained within the spaces of the Magellanic clouds, and to which Sir John Herschel alludes in

the passage specified above, have not been so resolved. . But it must be remembered that those nebulae lie in a hemisphere of the heavens that never comes within the sky of the British Isles. The powerful instruments of Lord Rosse have, therefore, never included them in their penetrating scrutiny. It will have been noticed that the sagacious astronomer who made them the subjects of especial attention with such instrumental aid as he had at his command during his sojourn at the Cape of Good Hope, did not feel himself warranted in drawing any definite conclusion from them, beyond the belief that they were near neighbours (speaking comparatively) of stars that he could distinctly discern. Other observers, who are competent to form their own opinions in the matter, do not seem to be satisfied fully upon this point. Sir John formed his belief avowedly upon what he deemed the extreme improbability that so many star-clusters should be arranged in a long column of space turned directly away from the earth, or, as the anonymous essayist puts the case,—

‘ That the two nebulae are thus approximately spherical spaces is in the highest degree probable, not only from the peculiarity of their contents, which suggests the notion of a peculiar group of objects collected into a limited space, but from the barrenness as to such objects of the sky in the neighbourhood of these Magellanic clouds. To suppose (the only other possible supposition) that they are two columns of space, with their ends turned towards us, and their lengths hundreds and thousands of times their breadths, would be too fantastical a proceeding to be tolerated; and would, after all, not explain the facts without further altogether arbitrary assumptions.’ (P. 212.)

It is hoped that the reader apprehends the point here to be that, in a space of the sky twelve or thirteen times wider than the full moon, numerous stars and numerous nebulae are seen by tolerably large telescopes lying near together; that if the nebulae are star-firmaments, they must be many times more remote than the stars (the essayist says a thousand times, but Captain Jacob says fifty), or the telescope would see them as stars too; and that there are so many of these nebulae in this space, that it is very unlikely they would be distributed out further and further beyond each other, the only alternative to this arrangement being that they are not star firmaments, but simply some kind of luminous substance of a different and less concrete nature than that of the stars amidst which they are grouped. Captain Jacob, astronomer to the Honourable East India Company, in his ‘ Few More Words on the Plurality of ‘ Worlds,’ writes,—

‘ The great Magellanic cloud is *certainly not* approximately spher-

rical, for it does not present a nearly circular outline, it is of an irregular form approaching to quadrilateral.

'Sir John Herschel's catalogue of the smaller Magellanic cloud shows but 39 nebulae and clusters out of a total of 244 visible objects, and four of these are beyond the limits of the cloud; and not only are they so much more thinly scattered, but they also exhibit less variety, there being but five of the thirty-five marked as clusters. The remaining objects are stars from the seventh to the tenth magnitude inclusive, from which by far the greatest part of the light of the cloud must be derived; and to my mind there seems nothing so very extravagant or fantastical in supposing that the moderate number of thirty nebulae and five clusters have been casually arranged so as to fall in the same line of vision with, but considerably behind, the loose cluster of small stars composing the rest of the cloud.' (*Jacob*, p. 7.)

In this reasoning we fully concur. There can be no doubt whatever that if the ring of Saturn had never been seen, and if the thirty-four planetoids had never been detected between Mars and Jupiter, the assumption, that either such a ring or such a group of miniature planets could exist in the universe, would have been deemed so improbable as to be rash and fantastic in the highest degree. Yet there the ring and the planetoids are, and each instance stands alone, so far as observation allows us to judge, in the vast realms of space. There really could be nothing more extraordinary in such a distribution of remote star-clusters, as the appearance of the Magellanic clouds indicates, than there is in these unquestionable instances of unique and exceptional arrangement. We think, therefore, that the difficulty sagaciously suggested by Sir John Herschel is fairly met; and that Captain Jacob has shown, in the first place, that the essayist has considerably exaggerated the points upon which he mainly rests his cause in this particular phase of his arguments; and, in the second place, that the improbability, if admitted in its strongest form, is far from being conclusive in regard to the point the essayist contends for. In our apprehension, the matter stands thus: on the one side there is Sir John Herschel, holding the doctrine that nebulae are remote firmaments in a general sense, but suggesting caution upon the exceptional evidence of the Magellanic clouds. On the other side, there are the facts that more and more nebulae, before deemed irresolvable, are constantly being resolved into distinct star-groups, with every fresh increase of optical power brought to bear in the examination; that this exceptional instance, which 'gives' Sir John Herschel 'pause,' has never been subjected to the scrutiny of the great cloud-resolver, Lord Rosse's magnificent instrument; that Lord Rosse's own experi-

ence, he having really the best practical right of any living man to be admitted as an authority in the case, induces him to believe that, with sufficient optical power, all the nebulae of the sky would be converted into stars; and that if the exceptional instance of the Magellanic clouds were proved, it still allows the possibility of an alternative which is not more unlikely than the existence of a flat ring round the globe of Saturn, or of a group of thirty-five minute planetoid bodies within the precincts of the solar system. Under these circumstances, it is clear that the beam inclines very considerably from the side of the essayist to that of the plurality of firmamental star schemes. But there is yet another consideration, so weighty in itself, that we think it entirely sets the question at rest, and decides it against the essayist, although it does not seem to have occurred to any of the controversialists who have answered the author of the Essay.

The light of the filmy transparent comet is so faint, that as the cometic luminosity travels away from the earth, it is lost to sight long before its dimensions have been dwindled down to an inappreciable measure. It disappears as a perceptible body, or 'goes out' from the failure of its light, and not from the loss of its size. Yet the greatest distance at which the cometic wanderers are ever seen, as Sir David Brewster strikingly puts it, 'falls short of the distance of the nearest fixed star by nine million of millions of miles.' The nearest nebulae, on the other hand, at the lowest estimate are considerably further off than the nearest fixed star, and at that distance not only retain their brightness, but even become more brilliant in proportion as larger telescopes are directed towards them, instead of getting paler and more diffuse, as cometic luminosity does under the same circumstances. Is it conceivable, then, that a filmy luminosity that vanishes from faintness within the realms of the planetary scheme, remains visible nine million of millions of times further off, when 'ten thousand times more thin and rare'? Earnestly, but with all due respect for the opinions and authority of the essayist, we submit that nothing but a 'conviction that has gradually grown from various trains of speculation' could maintain such a theory. There is quite enough in this peculiarity of nebulous light, apart from the fact of its resolvability into stars, incontrovertibly to establish its entire distinctness from the nature of comets. Whatever it may be, this at least is clear, it is *not* cometic luminosity ten thousand times refined.

Having thus carefully and fairly weighed the geological and nebular evidence adduced by the essayist, and found it wanting, we proceed to listen to what he has to urge in regard to the

fixed stars. The tenor of his remarks in this direction is that amongst the sidereal host there are individuals in which changes have occurred, or continue to recur periodically, in the intrinsic brilliancy or in the colour of their light; this implies to him that those stars are not in the permanent condition in which the sun is, and which alone is compatible with the necessities of a system of worlds, but that they are in an unsettled state and in the transition of progress. The fixed stars are, it is true, self-luminous, like the sun, but the nebulae and comets are also self-luminous, and it is with them the true analogy lies. The stars are simply nebulae in forward stages of maturation, advancing perhaps *towards the condition of planetary systems*, of which the solar one is the only perfected specimen. Periodical variations of brilliancy, such as are illustrated in Algol, suggest, not that there are large opaque bodies of a planetary nature revolving round the central source of light, but that the light itself has not yet assumed the spherical form, and is an *oblong revolving nebular mass, of which some parts are cooled down, and have become opaque*, and therefore intercept the rays emitted from the rest when they pass before them. In the case of Algol, it is known that the period of the intermissions of brilliancy is growing gradually shorter. This is not a cosmical irregularity of elliptical movement, as Herschel supposed, carrying its own compensation with it, and promising, after a time, a return to some original measure, but it is a yet further indication that the star is a crude nebular mass in process of condensation. Even the facts that have been ascertained in relation to the relative distances and movements of the binary stars point to the impossibility of their having any connexion with worlds. Some of them confessedly have their constituents nearer together than the breadths of space included in the dimensions of the solar system, and if there were planetary orbs circling round either constituent, they would of necessity pass so near to the attracting mass of the other as to render it impossible to be sustained in any regular and orderly course.

‘That Copernicus, that Galileo, that Kepler, should believe the stars to be suns in every sense of the term, was a natural result of the expansion of thought which their great discoveries produced in them and in their contemporaries. Nor are we yet called upon to withdraw from them our sympathy, or entitled to contradict their conjecture. But all the knowledge that the succeeding times have given us, the extreme tenuity of much of the luminous matter in the skies, the existence of gyratory motion among the stars, quite different from planetary systems; the appearance of changes in stars quite inconsistent with such permanent systems; the disclosure of

the history of our own planet, as one in which changes have constantly been going on; the certainty that by far the greater part of the duration of its existence it has been tenanted by creatures entirely different from those which give an interest, and thence a persuasiveness, to the belief of inhabitants in worlds appended to each star; the impossibility which appears, on the gravest consideration, of transferring to other worlds such interests as belong to our own race in this world; all these considerations should, it would seem, have prevented that old and arbitrary conjecture from growing up, among a generation professing philosophical caution and scientific discipline, into a settled belief.' (*Plurality, &c.*, p. 266.)

But again we submit that 'succeeding times have also given 'us' two or three particulars in the way of knowledge, which are strictly relevant to the matter under consideration, but which nevertheless the essayist has altogether omitted from his enumeration. We know that the sun would appear to get smaller and smaller, if we were further and further removed from it, and that at last, on account of its intensity of brilliancy, it would seem a shining point of inappreciable dimensions. Its size would of necessity escape from the perceptive abilities of the organ of vision, long before the light emitted from it became too faint to excite sensation in its nerves. We know that the stars are at distances so remote, that if the sun were there too, it would be sufficiently far to have lost its size, and to have been converted into a shining point, and consequently we know that if the stars are like the sun, they would present just the appearance they do, at the distance at which they are placed. On the other hand, if the stars be not like the sun, then we do not know what they can be, for there is nothing in this 'train of 'speculation' of the essayist that furnishes any positive information upon the matter which can in the slightest degree pretend to take the place of the notion he endeavours to sweep away. For ourselves, we confess that these common-sense considerations appear to us to possess immeasurably more weight than all his remarks. The variable and unsettled condition of certain stars really proves nothing more than that those few exceptional luminaries are unlike to their neighbours. It does not afford even a shadow of a reason for the assumption that fixed stars in general are unlike the sun. Obviously the irregularities of a few individuals in any community cannot be laid to the account of the greater number that are of a staid and orderly character. The essayist finds the comparatively close neighbourhood of the constituents of the binary stars incompatible with the supposition that there are planetary orbs revolving about them in safety. Sir John Herschel, however, holds a different opinion in this matter; for while considering the pro-

bability of such a supposition being in accordance with fact, he writes, 'unless closely nestled under the protecting wing of their immediate superior, the sweep of their other sun, in its perihelion passage round their own, might carry them off, or whirl them into orbits utterly incompatible with the conditions necessary for the existence of their inhabitants.' Captain Jacob, too, points out how very possible it is that planetary spheres may revolve in orbits so large that they inclose within them *both the constituents* of a binary star, whose common centre of gravitation would thus become the general gravitation-centre of the system. Under such an arrangement there would be irregularities of elliptical movement running in cycles, and returning through compensatory influences upon themselves, but there would be no such dangerous interferences as those which are particularised by the essayist as incidental to the other case. In fine, we are constrained to decide against the essayist upon his sidereal argument.

We now at length come to that portion of the Essay which really most closely concerns the question at issue, although its author does not seem to have viewed it in this light,—namely, the consideration of the condition of the planets which are associated with the Earth in its subordination to the solar mass. Here the essayist finds warranty no less strong for rejecting entirely the existence of other worlds. Neptune has not light enough to be of any available use in the service of organisation. Its sun-derived light and heat are 900 times less than the Earth's. Jupiter has a density not greater than it would have if it were entirely composed of water, and therefore most probably is nothing but water. Its oblate form is just such a figure as a huge drop of water would assume if in very rapid rotation. The belts of cloud, which sweep transversely across its broad face, prove that it has water about it in abundance. So that taking into account the 'bottomless waters' of this planet, the great force with which its vast mass must gravitatingly draw down whatever is placed near its surface, and the small amount of solar influence which, at its remote distance, it receives, it becomes clear that any inhabitants that belong to it, must possess only the very lowest forms of organisation and life. As there are no solid substances, like bone, in the planet, they must be devoid of skeletons. As the temperature is very depressed, they must be very sluggish and inactive in all their functions and operations. Jupiter comes out, therefore, a mere spherical mass of water, with a few cinders in the midst, and a damp drapery of cloud and mist drawn around it; and with, at the best, a population of boneless, pulpy, glutinous monsters rolling

about in its watery recesses ; or, *it is an oblately spherical lump of ice, with a few shallow pools of water here and there upon its surface*, and entirely devoid even of pulpy monstrous life.

Saturn, with its liquid and vaporous rings, with its cork-like lightness, and its illumination ninety times less than the Earth's, is in the same category with Jupiter, except only that it is in every respect worse off ; so that its pulpy monsters, in its icy waters, are too sluggish to be even 'deemed alive.' The asteroids contained in the spaces between Jupiter and Mars, are avowedly too small to be peopled with living things. But they are nevertheless highly important to the argument in one sense. There are thirty-four of them, and therefore at least the '*majority of the planets are uninhabited.*' Mars, a comparatively near neighbour to the Earth, certainly does approach in a degree to its state of physical existence. It is of nearly the same size, and is composed of substance of analogous density. It has, too, its clouds and snow, and possibly it may have inhabitants to boot. But it has longer years and a colder climate than the Earth. It has, too, really a smaller mass, and 'perhaps no atmospheric investment ;' therefore, after all, its inhabitants can only be of the rudimentary nature of corallines or molluscs, or possibly of saurians and iguanodons ; or, as it is smaller than the Earth, like the Moon, and also like it, near the Earth, it is also possibly, like it, without inhabitants. The Moon has neither atmosphere nor water, therefore it is not inhabited. This, however, has great significance. It is the only orb which is near enough to be fairly within the reach of human observation. As therefore the only celestial sphere that can be scrutinised is uninhabited, the high probability is, that neither are any of the rest. Venus, almost as large, and almost as heavy as the Earth, presents *no trace of any gaseous atmosphere* ; neither can any indications of irregularity of surface be discovered. It seems to be a smooth glassy sphere, 'annealed by slow cooling' in its close propinquity to the Sun, and could not possibly be peopled by any forms of living creatures, unless by microscopic animalcules armed with siliceous coverings that are indestructible by heat. Nothing can be discerned regarding Mercury, but of course it cannot be the home of anything but salamanders.

Having thus completed his detailed examination of the several constituents of the planetary scheme, the essayist proceeds to the construction of his own theory of the solar system, which is succinctly this. Originally its material formed one confused and blended mass, but when this confusion was reduced to order, the vapours and water were principally driven off to the

outer boundary of the system, and the solids were principally retained near the focus of solar heat. The Earth, in the meantime, was moulded in mid-region between these extremes, and consequently combined in itself the attributes of both. This made it at once fit to become the residence of living creatures. It had solid ground for them to stand on,—air for them to breathe, — water to nourish their vegetables, — condensed substance to furnish the textures of their bodies,—a due supply of light, heat, and the force of gravity, for their service. The Earth is the temperate zone of the solar system. Mercury and Venus are still immersed in the mother-light and mother-fire in which their first crystallisation was effected. They are in the nebular region indicated by the presence of the zodiacal light, which is uninhabitable in virtue of its chaotic nebulosity. But where this zodiacal nebulosity ends, the largest real orb of the system is placed, and life is developed. At this distance from the Sun, the world-making powers are efficacious. Further out they have ceased to be so, and have only been able to ‘roll up’ into neat balls’ the vapours and liquids that would otherwise have wandered about in the way, or to form the smaller planetoids, the satellites, and the congeners of these, the meteoric stones. At this distance from the solar focus, there was not heat enough to melt these smaller fragments together into one larger sphere, or, to keep them in a gaseous state until the mutual attraction of the several parts had drawn them together into a mass, which was ultimately capable of solidifying into a sphere.

‘And thus all these phenomena concur in making it appear probable that the Earth is placed in that region of the solar system in which the planet-forming powers are most vigorous and potent; between the region of permanent nebulous vapour within its orbit and the region of mere shreds and specks of planetary matter, such as are the satellites and the planetoidal group in the outer region. And from these views, finally, it follows, that the Earth is really the largest planetary body in the solar system. The vast globes of Jupiter and Saturn, Uranus and Neptune, which roll far above her, are still only huge masses of cloud and vapour, water and air, which from their enormous size are ponderous enough to retain round them a body of small satellites, perhaps, in some degree at least, solid; and which have, perhaps, a small similar lump, or a few similar lumps, of planetary matter at the centre of their watery globe. The Earth is really the domestic hearth of the solar system, adjusted between the hot and fiery haze on one side, the cold and watery vapour on the other. This region only is fit to be a domestic hearth, a seat of habitation; and in this region is placed the largest solid globe of our system; and on this globe, by a series of creative operations, entirely different from any of those which separated the solid from the

vaporous, the cold from the hot, the moist from the dry, have been established in succession plants, and animals, and man. So that the habitation has been occupied, the domestic hearth has been surrounded by its family, the fitnesses so wonderfully combined have been employed, and the Earth alone of all the parts of the frame which revolves round the sun, has become a world.' (P. 308.)

Such are the conclusions at which a mind evidently of a high intellectual order, and well versed in the discipline of philosophy, professes itself to have arrived. The cautious inquirer, who is surprised that the 'old and arbitrary conjecture' regarding the existence of a plurality of worlds should have grown into a settled belief amongst a scientific generation, nevertheless finds sufficient scientific evidence for the opinion that *nebulae*, which upon the lowest possible estimate, are more than 200,000 times one hundred and ninety millions of miles distant, and which are still visible as luminous objects at that enormous distance, are nevertheless whiffs of mist thousands of times rarer than a comet's tail; that the fixed stars are masses of like luminosity a little more condensed; that Jupiter is a great drop of water, and Venus a ball of annealed glass; and that, in general terms, the planets, stars, and *nebulae* are waste lumps and vapours which have flown off from the wheel of the Great Workman when he turned the single round world of the universe, which he has accorded to man for his dwelling-place. We confess that the so-called scientific evidence appears to us to be such a mass of gratuitous and unsupported assumption, that we should find it difficult in the extreme to reconcile it with the subtile power and information which are unquestionably displayed in other pages of this book, did we not bear in mind that the work is avowedly, as we have already pointed out, a peculiar view of modern science, adopted for the support of a preconceived notion, entertained upon distinct grounds; that, in other words, it is not an exposition of the way in which the author has been led through the successive stages of philosophic induction to certain opinions and views, but a one-sided defence of opinions and views that have been formed upon different considerations.

Neptune, according to the essayist, cannot be inhabited, because it receives nine hundred times less light and heat from the sun than the Earth does. Upon this Captain Jacob remarks:—

'Neptune, then, is not quite so badly off as is represented; his daylight is probably superior to that of a dull day in London, and his moonlight not much inferior to that of a young moon with us. As to his heat, as above remarked, we do not know by what causes it may be modified; *some* heat he must receive from the Sun, and his specific heat may be greater than ours. We know from geological

evidence that the Earth in former eras enjoyed a warmer climate than at present; and the greater bulk of the four outer planets renders it probable that they may have cooled more slowly, and may therefore, at the present time, be considerably warmer than the Earth. As regards Jupiter and Saturn, this is something more than mere conjecture; for the former appears to be entirely enveloped in clouds, with the exception of a few spaces near his equator, through which alone his dark body is visible, and which constitute his belts; while Saturn is even more closely covered, there being no perceptible opening in his envelope. This state of things would indicate a high temperature as well as a dense atmosphere.' (*Jacob*, p. 27.)

Professor Baden Powell also writes :—

'On this point there is one consideration often not sufficiently attended to. The solar heat is entirely of a peculiar nature, unlike that which emanates from a terrestrial hot body simply cooling or radiating its heat. The solar heat is not derived from the mere cooling of the sun, but is conveyed, as it were, *in* the rays of light, as a *vehicle*, and *never* becomes *sensible as heat* till the *light* is absorbed. It is, therefore, probable that these rays may owe their extrication from the sun to *some other cause than elevation of temperature*. It is an effect elicited or produced by the action of certain rays which are no more properly rays of heat than a galvanic current can be called a current of heat, because, when stopped, it excites heat.' (*Baden Powell*, p. 212.)

We can have no doubt that London *might* be inhabited even if it were for ever enveloped in the gloom of a November fog, and that the Arctic regions *might* be the residence of vital organisation, even if they never caught a gleam of sunlight at all, under a very slight modification of material arrangements; consequently we think that the argument of the essayist with regard to the most remote known planet of the solar system is met and disposed of by his opponents. A slightly higher internal temperature in the sphere of Neptune, might render its climate as genial as that of many of the temperate regions of the Earth; and, as Sir David Brewster has well remarked, an eye with a pupil sufficiently enlarged, or with a nerve whose sensibilities were sufficiently exalted, would make the Neptunian sunshine practically as bright as the terrestrial sunshine is.

The essayist holds that Jupiter is a sphere of water, because its specific density is about the same with water, and because it wears the form which a rotating sphere of water would have.

'It is tolerably certain that the density of Jupiter is not greater than it would be if his entire globe were composed of water; making allowance for the compression which the interior parts would suffer by the pressure of the parts superincumbent upon them. We might, therefore, offer it as a conjecture not quite arbitrary, that Jupiter is a mere sphere of water.

‘The polar and equatorial diameters of Jupiter are in the proportion of 13 to 14. Now it is a remarkable circumstance that this is the amount of oblateness which, on mechanical principles, would result from his time of revolution if he were entirely fluid, and of the same density throughout. So far, then, we have some confirmation at least of his being composed entirely of some fluid which in its density agrees with water.’ (P. 281.)

Stripped of all that is irrelevant to the argument, the specific gravity and form of Jupiter merely prove, in the first place, that the substance of that huge sphere is composed of something which is specifically as light as water, and which may be, as Sir David Brewster remarks, coal, pumice-stone, amianthus or tabasheer, or, as the essayist himself naïvely suggests, ice—and in the second place, that that substance was most probably liquid at the time when the sphere assumed its form, much in the same way as is generally also held with regard to the Earth. The greater oblateness of Jupiter’s spheroid is simply due to the greater velocity with which its equatorial region was whirled along, before it was fixed in consolidation. Jupiter is eleven times wider than the Earth, and yet rotates in ten hours instead of in twenty-four. The high degree of probability is, that if the Earth had been as large as Jupiter, and had rotated as quickly, it would have been as oblate too, notwithstanding its greater density. The essayist fails altogether in his endeavour to show upon these premises that,—

‘Jupiter and Saturn may be regarded as, in many respects, immense clouds; the continuous water being collected at their centres, while the more airy and lesser parts circulate above. That they are the permanent receptacles of the superfluous water and air of the system. . . . Examples of what glorious objects accumulations of vapour and water, illuminated by the rays of the sun, may become in our eyes.’ (P. 309.)

The essayist deems the smaller and denser planets, bodies that are devoid altogether of atmospheres, with the probable exception of Mars.

‘Mars seems to have some portion at least of *aqueous* atmosphere [in another place—perhaps we are not quite certain about the existence of an atmosphere]; the Earth, we know, has a considerable atmosphere of air and of vapour; but the Moon, so near to her mistress, has none. On Venus and Mercury we see nothing of a gaseous or aqueous atmosphere.’

Here, however, astronomers of every grade are at issue with the advocate of extra-terrestrial chaos. Every one who has made the planetary discs objects of close contemplation, has discerned in all of them features that can be due to nothing else

than gaseous and vaporous coverings. Indications of a very dense atmosphere are discernible in Mars, — and its snows, whose existence even the essayist seems to admit, must be allowed to be very mysterious accumulations, if these indications are deceptive. The atmosphere in Venus is believed to be twice as dense as the Earth's. The strange, undefined, and confused glare of its outline is not explicable upon any other ground, and then too its narrow crescent, when it is nearly between the Earth and the Sun, is twice as broad as, and perceptibly longer than, it would be if there were no atmosphere; its horns of light extend considerably beyond the half circumference. Very accurate observers have actually seen the fringe of twilight resting upon its surface between broad daylight and earth-shine. The variable cloud-belts of Jupiter and Saturn have not even been challenged by the sceptical essayist; and his firmest support in this particular, the Moon, is in danger of disappearing from beneath his feet. Sir John Herschel thinks that there are traces of a faint atmosphere in the lunar valleys and on its lowest plains. Baer and Mäedler, who have literally identified their names with selenography by their patient and close watching of the physical appearances of the terrestrial satellite, are of opinion that it has an aerial envelope proportioned to the smallness of its mass. Schroeter states that he can discern twilight on its surface at the extremities of its cusps, when in its crescent, and he limits the height of the aerial stratum to a third of a mile, which is considerably less than the altitude of the greater part of its mountains. This closely agrees with Sir John Herschel's idea of a little air settling as a sort of gaseous sea into the hollows and channels of the Moon, in the place of water, and quite accounts for the extreme difficulty that is experienced in detecting it by optical phenomena. If Encke is right in filling otherwise void space with some resisting ethereal medium, and if the zodiacal light is substantial, it is not possible that the Moon should have done otherwise than gather some of the ponderable material as a vaporous garment round its attractive mass. A recent discovery of Professor Hansen's, noticed by Professor Baden Powell, suggests how cautious men of science should be in coming even to negative conclusions on first appearances. In studying the inequalities of the Moon's movements, in connexion with the theory of gravitation, this careful investigator has found cause to suspect that the centre of gravity of the Moon is further than the centre of its figure from the Earth; in other words, that the side of the Moon towards the Earth is raised into a table-land, twenty-nine miles higher above the centre of gravity than the opposite hemisphere

is. This at once explains the probable mechanism by which the same side of the Moon is steadily retained looking earthwards. But it at the same time renders it possible that there may be a deep ocean and a collection of dense air on the other side of the lunar sphere, where they can never be contemplated by terrestrial eyes. It is manifest that if such a distribution of solid material has really been made in the Moon, as Professor Hansen describes, water and air would have run down to that lower side, and filled up its twenty-nine miles of comparative depression, before they began to make their appearance on the nearer surface. If these calculations and views be correct, the Moon, instead of being uninhabited, may possibly be half in barren desolation, and half luxuriant and life-covered, its desolate hemisphere looking unvaryingly towards the Earth, and its peopled one directed towards skies out of which the terrestrial face never shines.

Before we pass on from the consideration of such portions of the argument as are avowedly based upon physical evidence to express our own views and convictions in the matter, we feel constrained to direct attention to certain peculiarities of the Essay, which are affairs rather of manner than substance, but which nevertheless, after the most liberal allowance has been made for the license of advocacy, still leave us with the sense of painful surprise and regret. Surprise and regret that one who has so much of earnestness and subtle intellectual power at his command as the essayist manifestly has, should nevertheless have deemed it right to employ in grave argument such weapons as we here perceive in use. We allude, in the first place, to the looseness with which the conclusions of the reasoning are in many cases drawn, and to the levity with which alternatives to them are suggested immediately afterwards; and, in the second place, to the specious way in which obvious truth is often warped until the very bounds of honesty are pressed.

The first peculiarity seems to have struck Sir David Brewster as well as ourselves, for it is incidentally and directly alluded to in the following extract from 'More Worlds than One':—

'The essayist pronounces it "tolerably certain that Jupiter's density is not greater than it would be if his entire globe were composed of water;" and he concludes that Jupiter must therefore be a mere sphere of water. He afterwards states that there is "much evidence against the existence of solid land" in that planet; but in opposition to this evidence, he subsequently contributes a few cinders at the centre,—articles doubtless of peculiar value and interest where everything else is water. The existence of cinders, however, where there is no heat, and where, as we shall presently see,

the water is *ice*, must have perplexed his chemistry; and hence he wisely withdraws them, by telling us that "the waters in Jupiter "are *bottomless*," that is, *without a nucleus of cinders*.' (Brewster, p. 234.)

The following extracts are from the anonymous essay :—

'It is also possible that the Creator should, on another planet, have established creatures of the nature of corals and molluscs, saurians and iguanodons, without having yet arrived at the period of intelligent creatures; especially if that other planet have longer years, a colder climate, a smaller mass, and perhaps no atmosphere. It is also possible that He should have put that smaller planet *near the Earth, resembling it in some respects, as the Moon does, but without any inhabitants, as she has none*; and that Mars may be such a planet.' (P. 292.) 'For such reasons, then, as were urged in the case of Jupiter, we must either suppose that he has no inhabitants, *or that they are aqueous, gelatinous creatures*, too sluggish almost to be deemed alive, floating in their ice-cold waters, shrouded for ever by their humid skies.' (P. 289.)

'That none but masses of this size, and many far below this, are found outside of Mars, appears to indicate that the *planet-making* powers which were efficacious to this distance from the Sun, and which produced the great globe of the Earth, were, beyond this point, feebler; so that they could only give birth to smaller masses, to planetoids, to satellites, and to meteoric stones. Perhaps we may describe this want of energy in the planet-making power, by saying that, at so great a distance from the central fire, there was not heat enough to melt together these smaller fragments into a larger globe, *or, rather, when they existed in a nebular, perhaps in a gaseous state, that there was not heat enough to keep them in that state until the attraction of the parts of all of them had drawn them into one mass, which might afterwards solidify into a single globe*.' (P. 305.)

These several instances involuntarily suggest the suspicion that the essayist is ever ready to shift his ground if it occurs to him that some new position may prove more advantageous to his cause than the old one. It seems as if water or ice were the same in Jupiter, since neither promised a comfortable or convenient home for intelligent creatures. As if Mars would do just as well with saurians or iguanodons as without them, if a case be but made out against men. As if the minor bodies of the solar system might be indebted either to stubborn solidity that would not melt, or to gaseous intractability that would condense too soon, so that they but acquiesce in the sentence of un-inhabitability passed upon them.

In one place the essayist writes :—

'Moreover, if you allow all the small planets between Mars and Jupiter to be uninhabited, *the planetary bodies, which you acknowledge to be probably uninhabited, far outnumber* those with regard to

which even the most resolute pluralists of worlds hold to be inhabited. The majority swells every year. Since the publication of the Essay three have been added. The Planetoids are now twenty-nine. The fact of a planet being inhabited, then, is, at any rate, rather the exception than the rule; and, therefore, must be proved in each case by special evidence.' (P. 28.)

In another place the following paragraph appears:—

'The coincidence of the orbits (of the planetoids) has suggested to astronomers the conjecture that they have resulted from the explosion of a larger body, and from its fracture into fragments. Perhaps the general phenomena of the universe suggest rather the notion of a collapse of portions of sidereal matter than of a sudden disruption and dispersion of any portion of it; and these small bodies may be the results of some imperfectly effected concentration of the elements of our system, which, if it had gone on more completely and regularly, might have produced *another planet* like Mars or Venus.' (P. 293.)

Surely if the essayist holds that the planetoids are the '*bits of a planet that has failed in the making*,' he is not entitled to speak of them, when it suits his purpose, as the *majority of the planets*, in order that he may establish the absence of life in such a majority!

In his argument derived from geology the essayist says:—

'Not entire resemblance, but universal difference, is what we discover [in creation]: not the repetition of exactly similar cases, but a series of cases perpetually dissimilar, presents itself; not constancy, but change, perhaps advance; not one permanent and pervading scheme, but preparation and completion of successive schemes; not uniformity, and a fixed type of existences, but progression and a climax. . . . If, then, the Earth be the sole inhabited spot in the work of creation, the oasis in the desert of our system, there is nothing in this contrary to the analogy of creation. But if, in some way which perhaps we cannot discover, the Earth obtained for accompaniments mere chaotic and barren masses as conditions of coming into its present state; as it may have required for accompaniments the brute and imperfect races of former animals as conditions of coming into its present state as the habitation of man; the analogy is against, and not in favour of, the belief that they too [the other masses, the planets, &c.] are habitations.' (P. 198.)

Here the essayist imagines a countless myriad of void deserts, *all uniform in their desolation*, in order that the law of universal difference may be observed by their being unlike to the inhabited Earth. Having one white ball, he makes 999,999 black ones, and speaks of himself as having effected variety. It is hardly conceivable that when writing this the writer of the Essay did not feel the law of universal variety really to require that all the orbs of space *should be inhabited by creatures of different*

natures and kinds, in order that the predicament of uniformity in desolation might be escaped from. The essayist argues that as the seas and continents of the Earth have been *wasted* during long ages upon mere brute life, it is probable that the seas and continents of other planets are occupied at the present time with a life no higher, or with no life at all. But surely he feels that through the early stages of its physical history the Earth was really undergoing a gradual preparation to become what it now is, and that therefore, if the planets are now in the same condition, analogy indicates as the probability that they too are preparing for the reception of higher organic developments. If the *waste* of the planets is such as the *waste* of the Earth was, there can be no doubt that that waste argues not against, but for, a plurality of worlds.

The essayist speaks of man as being the 'special care' of the Creator. Surely he believes that the sparrow and the lilies of the field are in their way as carefully provided for and guarded as the lord of creation. Indeed, in many particulars the instinctive creatures seem to have been more immediately the care of Providence than the rational one, to whom a wider license for following his own devices has been allowed.

The radical mistake which runs throughout the argument of this Essay seems to us to be the attempt to adduce positive evidence that the planets and stars are chaotic and rude. In this attempt the author entirely fails. If he had rested satisfied with the position that, in the present state of human knowledge, there is no direct physical proof of the planets and stars being inhabited worlds, and that consequently all who are inclined to hold opposite opinions, upon religious or other grounds, are quite as much entitled to do so as the pluralists are to entertain their doctrines, there would have been scarcely any one inclined to dispute the proposition with him. When, however, instead of this course, he undertakes to show that 'the belief that other planets as well as the Earth are the 'seats of habitation of living things, has been entertained in 'general, not in consequence of physical reasons, but in spite of 'physical reasons,' the affair is altogether changed. It is true that matter of fact is as much out of court on one side as it is on the other, and will continue to be so until cities as well as plains can be contemplated in the Moon; Esquimaux as well as snows in Mars; waving trees and creeping things, as well as twilight, in Venus; and living creatures, whether pigmies or monsters, as well as clouds, on the temperate spheres of those giants of the system, Jupiter and Saturn. Not so, however, with matters of probability. There are 'physical reasons' why

it is probable in the highest degree that the planets, at least, are inhabited worlds, and there are metaphysical reasons why it is improbable in the highest degree that they are waste desolation and chaos. Viewed merely as a simple probability, based upon the ground that the Earth itself is peopled with living things, the case is a very strong one. Captain Jacob has put this in a very clear light in his 'Few More Words.' His remarks are to the following effect. Let there be an urn containing 1000 balls of an unknown colour shaken up together, and from this urn let one be drawn promiscuously, and be found to be black. The probability, in accordance with the doctrines established by Professor de Morgan, is 1000 to 999 that all the other balls contained in the urn are black too. The mere fact that a black ball has been caught hold of, the first time of dipping, marks this likelihood. This is the case of the pluralists, who maintain that because they have one planet that is inhabited, therefore all the other planets are inhabited too; and that because they have one sun that is attended by planets, therefore other suns have a similar attendance. *They are as likely as not to be right.* On the other hand the probability that the black ball which is drawn is the only one of that colour that had been contained in the urn, is as one to one thousand. It is unlikely, in this degree, that the only black ball should have been caught hold of at the first dip out of such a multitude. This is the case of the essayist, who asserts that the Earth is the only inhabited planet, and that the solar system stands alone in the universe. He is *one thousand times more likely to be wrong than to be right.*

These strong probabilities, however, become very much stronger, in each direction, when the force of certain obvious 'physical reasons' is added to them. In the detailed arrangements of this only world, of whose condition man has any positive experience, it is found that the vast gaseous accumulation, which is denominated the vapour-sphere or atmosphere, is in various ways intimately connected with the series of transformations and changes that constitute life in its widest sense. The substance of the air is composed of the particular material atoms that are mainly employed in the work of organic fabrication, and those atoms are placed in it in such a state of loose relative connexion that they are peculiarly available for the purpose. Air, indeed, is organisable substance in a readily organisable condition. Plants, and all vegetable productions, which constitute the ultimate nourishment of animal bodies, are made of the gases and vapours of the atmosphere. A fifth part of the atmosphere is the stimulating influence which is im-

mediately concerned in setting up and maintaining the corrosive decomposition of organised fabric, out of which animal capacities and powers are educed. It receives into itself the gaseous and vaporous products of this decomposition, and fits them for reorganisation, in order that they may be economically used over again. The atmosphere, in short, is the great reservoir from which the material of life is immediately derived, and into which the waste of life is thrown, and at the same time it is the prime agent by whose instrumentality the operations of life are set going. It is the medium which stands between and connects the opposite extremes of vegetable and animal existence, which adapts each to the necessities of the other, and which makes each possible. Wherever there is air on the earth vital phenomena manifest themselves; whenever air is absent every kind of vital operation stops. So intimately, indeed, within the sphere of human observation and experience, are life and air invariably connected, that it becomes altogether impossible to separate them in thought. Each seems as much adapted to the other as the eye is adapted to light, or as light to the eye — they are in fact correlated terms, so closely associated that they cannot be dissevered by the mind. Whenever the idea of one is called up, notions of the other are presented with it, as necessarily involved.

It follows from these relations that if men looked out into the space which surrounds the earth, and saw upon some remote orb floating in it trees and shrubs, and quadrupeds and creeping things, they would also believe in the presence there of air. *Could* any one beholding such forms do otherwise? Such presence would manifestly be taken as a matter of course, and not even questioned. But when they look into space they see orbs that are invested with gaseous and vaporous atmospheres, and by a reversal of the process they believe in the presence of living creatures. They accept the correlation as a matter of course, just as they would in the other case, and do not even make it a subject for question, until some sceptical essay is compiled to challenge their faith. This is why it is that the Plurality of Worlds is a popular, as well as a highly probable, doctrine; and this is why it may and will continue to be held until stronger reasons for its abandonment are brought forward than any that have been adduced in the 'Essay.'

But if the Plurality of Worlds be admitted to be so likely and rational an assumption as to be entitled to rank henceforth amongst the dogmas of science, it by no means follows that the vital arrangements in other worlds are the exact counterparts of those which obtain upon the earth. Every consideration, on

the other hand, points to the higher probability that there would be as great a diversity in worlds as there is in the creatures coexistent with man upon this globe. There is no reason why five senses should limit the impressions of intelligence on percipient organisation; there is no reason why four limbs should be the only pieces of active apparatus that bodies with back-bones can wield. So far as the series of discovered planets that are associated with the earth are concerned, it is obvious that there are in them the several varieties of physical condition which would be most availably met by corresponding varieties of organic contrivance. The brief and hot seasons, bright atmosphere, dense glare, and moderate mass and dimensions of Venus, seem to ask for different details of organisation from such as would be most suitable to the short days, subdued sunshine, softened and unvaryingly temperate seasons, and large masses and dimensions of Jupiter and Saturn. The highest probability is, not that there are men in the planets and stars, but that each planet and star has its own wondrous catalogue of created vitalities, adapted to its own peculiarities of construction, constitution, and position. The highest probability is, that in this way, and not by the multiplication of desolation, the requirements of the essayist's law of 'universal difference' are met. It may be all very well to limit the question to the consideration of 'human life' when it is felt as a preliminary to entering upon the investigation that 'one school of moral discipline, one theatre of moral action, and one arena of moral contests for the highest prizes, is a sufficient centre for innumerable hosts of stars and planets.' But when this is not felt as a preliminary, the question of necessity assumes a far wider scope, and a much grander significance. Professor Owen has contributed a very interesting argument for the existence of a plurality of worlds in this wider sense, derived from his own particular region of research. He has shown that there are in some vertebrated creatures rudiments of supernumerary limbs beyond the two ordinary pairs, which have never been developed and matured in any existing or extinct terrestrial creature, and he hence infers the probable existence elsewhere of vertebrate forms of animal life, in which these additional members are perfected and brought into full operation and activity. To say the least of it, this 'train' of anatomical 'speculation' is as worthy of being followed to the end as those other trains which have led the anonymous essayist to his vitreous and aqueous balls and curdled light, to his abortive worlds and his universal chaos. For ourselves, we frankly confess, that in the absence of any more authoritative guide, the reasoning of the

essayist would incline us so much the more to cast in our lot with the comparative anatomist. We might calmly bear the sense of having no other companionship in the wide universe than our own pleasant earth affords, but we cannot brave the chaos that is here set before us. Instinctively we shrink from 'the lumps which have flown from the potter's wheel of 'the Great Worker; the shred-coils which, in the working, 'sprang from His mighty lathe; the sparks which darted from 'his awful anvil when the solar system lay incandescent there- 'on; the curls of vapour which rose from the great cauldron of 'creation when its elements were separated.' If all readers were constituted like ourselves, this Essay paradoxically named 'Of the Plurality of Worlds,' would be found to have done more for the cause of 'Plurality' than the united labours of Copernicus and Galileo, Huyghens and Lalande, Chalmers and Fontenelle.

But whilst 'physical reasons,' appealed to by the essayist to support his notions of extra terrestrial chaos, thus, instead of answering the appeal, really increase a hundred-fold the strength of the probability that the remote spheres of the universe are dwelling-places for diversified life, important considerations of a metaphysical kind also present themselves as very powerful arguments in the same direction. And indeed the essayist himself seems fully sensible of the force of these considerations, for he admits, after a fashion, that if his physical defence fails him, his position is no longer tenable. He writes —

'The existence of a body of creatures, capable of such a law, of such a trial, and of such an elevation as this, is, according to all that we can conceive, an object infinitely more worthy of the exertion of the Divine Power and Wisdom, in the creation of the Universe, than any number of planets occupied by creatures having no such lot, no such law, no such capacities, and no such responsibilities.

'Perhaps it may be said, that all which we have urged to show that other animals, in comparison with man, are less worthy objects of creative design, may be used as an argument to prove that other planets are tenanted by men, or by moral and intellectual creatures like men; since, if the creation of *one* world of such creatures exalts so highly our views of the dignity and importance of the plan of creation, the belief in *many* such worlds must elevate still more our sentiments of admiration and reverence of the greatness and goodness of the Creator; and must be a belief, on that account, to be accepted and cherished by pious minds.

'To this we reply, that we cannot think ourselves authorised to assert cosmological doctrines, selected arbitrarily by ourselves, on the ground of their exalting our sentiments of admiration and reverence for the Deity, *when the weight of all the evidence which we can obtain respecting the constitution of the universe is against them.*' (P. 367.)

Enough has been said to show that when science is looked at in the common-sense, practical way, instead of in the essayist's 'somewhat different view,' the weight of the evidence derived from what is known of the physical constitution of the universe is not *against* these metaphysical considerations, and that therefore they must be allowed to make their full and uninterrupted impression, according to their own innate momenta. In truth, the existence of a body of intellectual and moral beings on the earth does seem so much more worthy of the exertion of Divine Creative Power than that of mere brute creatures, that it is hardly possible to conceive the endless array of stupendous spheres not to be so worthily filled. But not only so; for this line of argument is so comprehensive and influential, that it applies as aptly to the abstract question of vitality, as it does to that of intelligent and moral existence. The existence of a body of *living beings* on the earth seems to the philosophic observer so worthy an exertion of creative wisdom and power, that it is hardly possible to conceive the like exertion not to have been made wherever there is a similar material theatre basking in sunlight. Matter is so obviously, in man's experience of nature, destined for, and employed in, the production and support of living organisation. The surface of man's earth is so crowded with a limitless diversity of organic contrivance,—there is such profusion everywhere of moving and feeling creatures,—species are multiplied upon species in such countless thousands,—generations succeed to generations in such an endless repetition,—there is such an avidity for vitality upon every possibly habitable portion of the mundane sphere,—the Great Designer of Nature's scheme has so manifestly willed that the portion of the material universe within the scope of human observation should be teeming with living things, that it is improbable in the extreme the same Designer should have left blank and desolate the other wide regions of substantial capacity, which are equally fitted to be the seat of similar developments, which are unquestionably kindred parts of one physically connected system, and which in extent transcend the terrestrial surface as millions upon millions in untold immensity transcend a unit. The essayist may feel that one theatre of moral action is 'a sufficient centre of innumerable hosts of stars and planets;' but in avowing this feeling he lays himself open to the retort that the Creator of all things obviously has not felt so too, seeing that He *has* placed in that one theatre 'corals and madrepores, fishes and creeping things,' as well as moral agents. He who has fashioned the mole and the beetle, in order that even the mouldering soil of that moral theatre may have its

sentient tenants; who has formed the whale and the elio, in order that the half-frozen depths of the Arctic Sea may have their inhabitants; and who has made the feathered bird and winged insect, the tortuous serpent and the four-handed monkey, in order that the otherwise impenetrable recesses of the tropical forest may not be without their abundant population; can never have left such spheres as the magnificent orb of Jupiter, which is more than fourteen hundred times larger than the earth, or those solar orbs that have surfaces thousands of times larger than the earth's, unoccupied. The universe consists of myriads of material objects, which are, notwithstanding the vastness of their numbers, all related parts of one comprehensive scheme, for they possess the same gravitating attributes, and emit luminous vibratory streams, which, after traversing the immensity which separates them from the earth, are there obedient to the same laws with the light-beams of the sun and of artificial illumination. The rays of the nebulae and stars are collected by the lenses of the telescope, through their refracting powers, into visual spectra and images, just as the rays of the sun or of lamp-light are. But in this vast system of related bodies the region under our direct observation is found to be crowded with organised forms. Matter and light in it seem to be fulfilling the one sole commission of supporting vitality. The inference is plain. Matter and light in other less conspicuous regions, being still under the same laws, must be working to a similar purpose, and tending to a similar end.

The essayist remarks, that if any one holds the opinion, on whatever evidence, that there are other regions than this earth in which God has subjects and servants, he does not breathe a syllable against such a belief; he only contends that it is a rash and unadvised proceeding, unwarranted by religion, and at variance with all that science teaches, to place those other extra human spheres of Divine government in the planets and in the stars; and that 'a belief in the Divine government of other races ' of spiritual creatures besides the human race, and in Divine ' ministrations committed to such beings, cannot be connected ' with our physical and astronomical views of the nature of the ' stars and the planets, without making a mixture altogether ' incongruous and incoherent,—a mixture of what is material ' and what is spiritual, adverse alike to sound religion and to ' sound philosophy.' Fully agreeing in this remark, we cannot sufficiently wonder that so intelligent a writer and thinker as the author of this *Essay* obviously is, should, with such a principle in his mind, have undertaken to show 'that the teaching ' of religion suggests the wisdom' of not admitting the Plurality

of Worlds upon scientific grounds ; for in the attempt to do this, he could only expect, according to his own premise, to produce an incongruous and incoherent mixture that many must deem alike adverse to sound religion and sound philosophy. Our respect for the literary skill and intellectual power of the essayist constrains us deeply to regret that he has committed himself, even anonymously, to a task in which his skill and power have of necessity signally failed. The Essay 'Of the 'Plurality of Worlds' does not show that the majority of the nebulae are not star-firmaments ; it does not prove that the general host of the fixed stars are not perfected suns ; it does not establish the position that the planets cannot be inhabited worlds, either in the sense of their being seats of simple organic vitality, or of moral existence ; and, in its own pages, it incidentally suggests metaphysical considerations which are unanswerably opposed to its own argument.

ART. VII.—i. *The Fourth Estate*. By F. K. HUNT. London : 1850.

2. *History of the Reign of George III.* Vol. I. By W. MASSEY, M. P. London : 1855.

3. *History of Political Literature*. By R. BLAKEY. London : 1855.

IN common with everything of signal strength, Journalism is a plant of slow and gradual growth. The Fourth Estate, like the Third Estate, has reached its present dimensions and its actual power from slight beginnings, by continuous accretions, and through a long course of systematic and unremitting encroachments. Of far more modern date than the other estates of the realm, it has overshadowed and surpassed them all. It has created the want which it supplies. It has obtained paramount influence and authority partly by assuming them, but still more by deserving them. Of all *puissances* in the political world, it is at once the mightiest, the most irresponsible, the best administered, and the least misused. And, taken in its history, position, and relations, it is unquestionably the most grave, noticeable, formidable phenomenon—the 'greatest FACT'—of our times.

The earliest periodical newspaper published in this country was 'The Weekly Newes,' which appeared in 1622, under the auspices of one Nathaniel Butler. It seems to have been almost exclusively devoted to such intelligence as the editor

could collect, and to have meddled little with polemics. Indeed, at that time, and down to a much later period, the political warfare of the Press was carried on chiefly by means of pamphlets, of which not less than thirty thousand were issued between 1640 and 1660. During the contests between Charles I. and his Parliament, however, Peter Heylin established a weekly journal to advocate the Royal cause; and Matthew Needham, whom Disraeli calls 'the great patriarch of newspaper writers,' followed the example, and started the '*Mercurius Britannicus*,' in the Parliamentary interest; then the '*Mercurius Pragmaticus*,' on the other side; then again the '*Mercurius Politicus*,' on behalf of the popular party, when this had finally become lord of the ascendant. In 1663 Roger L'Estrange set on foot the '*Public Intelligencer*,' which was soon merged in or superseded by the '*London Gazette*,'—a publication entirely under Government control, and giving or withholding the most important occurrences according to the fancies or interests of the Court. In 1679, however, L'Estrange again appeared as a journalist, having established the '*Observator*,'—a paper chiefly distinguished for its virulent and malignant Toryism, and lasting about seven years. Mr. Blakey states—we know not on what authority—that, at one period of the reign of Charles II., the number of newspapers had increased to seventy; few of which, however, had more than an ephemeral existence.

With the fall of the censorship in the reign of William, newspapers naturally grew more numerous, more able, and more powerful; but it was not till the subsequent reign that Journalism assumed the peculiar form and character which it has generally since retained. 'The publication of regular newspapers, partly designed for the communication of intelligence, partly for the discussion of political topics, may be referred, on the whole, to the reign of Anne, when they obtained great circulation, and became the accredited organs of different factions.*' At the same period, also, grew up the habit of reporting with more or less regularity and fulness the debates in Parliament. Nearly at the same time, too, was imposed that Stamp Duty which, after several modifications, we have just seen repealed. But the most remarkable feature connected with the Periodical Press at the commencement of the last century, is to be found in the eminence, both for character, position, and ability, of those who shared in its conduct. Journals and pamphlets began to be looked to by men in power as more efficient means of public influence than even eloquence or office; and Members of Parlia-

* Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 396.

ment, Ministers of State, and literary magnates did not disdain themselves to become journalists and pamphleteers. The 'Examiner,' the 'Whig Examiner,' the 'Medley,' the 'Crisis,' the 'Englishman,' the 'Craftsman,'—to say nothing of periodicals only partially, or not at all, political,—such as the 'Spectator,' 'Guardian,' 'Tatler,' &c. — appeared in rapid succession, devoted to the furtherance of special party views, and conducted by the ablest writers of the day; among whom we need only name Atterbury, Swift, Prior, Addison, Steele, Pulteney, and Bolingbroke.

From this period till the advent of Junius, newspaper literature suffered a strange degeneracy and eclipse: though both Fielding and Smollett were employed, nothing worth noting or remembering seems to have been produced; and even the attention temporarily aroused by the 'North Briton' of Wilkes was due solely to its scurrility, and to the folly of the Government of the day, who contrived, by their ill-judged and relentless persecutions, 'to make a martyr out of the lowest and dirtiest materials ever used for such a purpose. It was in 1769 that Junius commenced that celebrated series of papers in the 'Public Advertiser,' which not only at the time created a startling excitement, such as no periodical writing, before or since, has ever caused, but produced consequences which are felt even to our day. The 'Letters of Junius' complete that collection of causes and influences to which the journalism of Great Britain, in this second half of the nineteenth century, owes its character and position. He set the example of that union of accurate and secret political information, consummate ability, daring liberty, and pungent and racy style, which has ever since distinguished the highest organs of the newspaper press. Nothing can be said in defence of his inveterate rancour, ferocious partisanship, and unscrupulous personality,—except, indeed, such apology as may be found in the shameless corruption of the time; but in spite of these flagrant faults, he was the uncompromising champion of national morality and freedom, at a period when both were menaced; and though we must regret that his weapon should have been poisoned as well as polished, and barbed as well as keen, it cannot be denied that it was generally directed against adversaries who deserved no quarter. And no one who compares the servile timidity of public writers before Junius took up his pen with the courage and determination which, since his time, they have never lost, will be disposed to make light of the permanent service which his resolute and independent spirit rendered to his country and his craft. 'At the commencement of his career this same writer, before he

‘ had assumed the name under which he has become immortal, ‘ had furnished Woodfall with a report of one of Burke’s speeches ‘ in the House of Commons. The report was covered with the ‘ usual disguise of a speech at a debating society; and, as it is ‘ the earliest, so it is the tamest, of Burke’s reported speeches. ‘ Yet Woodfall dared not publish it without several omissions ‘ and alterations. Two years later the same printer published, without hesitation, Junius’s “Letter to the King.”’*

The progress of the Newspaper Press, in extent, influence, and reputation, from that period to the present, has been marked and steady; but we need not follow its details. A sort of chronic war was kept up between the Government and the Journals during the whole reign of George III.; and this and the alteration of the Law of Libel by the famous Bill of Mr. Fox, completed the emancipation of the Periodical Press from all fetters but such as decency and patriotism combine to sanction and maintain.

‘ This chapter (writes Mr. Hunt†) is headed with the title of “a ‘ newspaper of 1688 and one of 1788.” The “Orange Intelligencer” started in the year of the Revolution. The first number of the ‘ Times’ appeared exactly a hundred years afterwards, and they may therefore stand as two boundary marks, indicating the extremes of a century of newspaper history. Let us see what that century had done for such publications. The “Intelligencer,” though set up at a time of great political importance, was small in size and meagre in contents. It appeared only twice a week, and consisted of two pages, about the size of the “Penny Magazine.” The No. of Dec. 11. 1688, boasts of two advertisements; a small paragraph amongst its news describes the seizing of Jefferies in his attempt to escape from the anger of his enemies; it has sixteen lines of intelligence from Ireland, and eight from Scotland, whilst under its news of England we have not very much more. One of the items tells us that “On the 7th instant the Prince of Orange supped at the Bear Inn, “Hungerford.” . . . The first No. of the “Times” is dated January, 1788, and its price is marked threepence. Compared with the first No. of the “Intelligencer” of 1688, No. 1. of the new journal is a giant. It contains ten times as much matter; it has four pages, each of four columns, somewhat smaller than the “Globe” and “Standard” now present; it has sixty-three advertisements, foreign as well as home intelligence, poetry, shipping news, and paragraphs of gossip, some of them rather doubtful in character.’

Three quarters of a century have elapsed, and the ‘Times’ of 1855 has outstripped the ‘Times’ of 1788 as much as this had done its predecessor of 1688. It contains *ninety-six* columns

* Cooke’s Hist. of Party, vol. iii. p. 124.

† Vol. i. p. 244.

of the size we are all familiar with; the fullest and amplest information from every quarter of the world; admirable writing on every subject of the day on which any interest is felt; frequent literary criticisms of masterly talent and unimpeachable independence; full reports of all debates and transactions in Parliament; and, to crown the whole, not fewer on an average than *two thousand* advertisements daily. In 1753 (we quote from Mr. Hunt) the aggregate newspaper circulation was 7,411,757; in 1792 it had reached 15,005,760; in 1836, before the reduction in the stamp duty, the issue in Great Britain was above 29,000,000; in 1837, after that reduction, 42,000,000; in 1848, 67,000,000 for England, and 7,500,000 for Scotland. In the year 1849, the total number of Journals in the United Kingdom was 547. The number, in 1851, had still further increased, and the stamps issued had risen to 91,600,000.

One of the most remarkable features in the history of political literature in England is the change of form,—the substitution of newspapers for pamphlets. In the days of the Stuarts and the Commonwealth journals were few and poor, and tracts numberless and daring. Pamphlets in prose and verse were in fact the weapons, and pamphleteers the champions, in the political warfare of the day. Among the gladiators of that arena in the seventeenth century we find the notable names of John Lilburne, Peter Heylin, Dryden, Andrew Marvel, Roger l'Estrange, Daniel Defoe, Col. Titus (if he were indeed the author of 'Killing no Murder,'—a tract which produced probably a greater sensation than any that has since appeared), and John Milton,—if the length of most of his productions does not require them to be classed rather as treatises than as tracts. In the early part of the succeeding century, though newspapers were beginning to attain a permanent and influential position, pamphlets were still the favourite form assumed by the Political Press, and writers were employed and retained by the respective parties of the day much as barristers and officials are now. Even the periodical literature then partook more of the character of the pamphlet than of the magazine. The statesmen and authors whose names we have mentioned as journalists, were at least equally eminent as pamphleteers. Bolingbroke often, possibly Lord Somers, Walpole certainly, entered the lists. The latter, we are told, 'was the author of at least ten pamphlets, besides having corrected many more.' Yet he had no literary pretensions. Many years later we find two of the greatest intellects of the century, Samuel Johnson and Edmund Burke, appearing in the same character,—the former in the 'False Alarm,' the latter in a

'Defence of Lord Rockingham's Administration,' 'Observations on a late State of the Nation,' 'Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontent,' and many others published at a later period, when the French Revolution had severed him from his old colleagues. After his time pamphlets still continued to be written, but newspapers had nearly superseded them, and had succeeded to their influence; and early in this century their supersession was completed by the establishment of quarterly reviews. Daily and weekly journals, monthly magazines, and trimestrial reviews, have not only absorbed the talent, the mental activity, and the polemical temper which formerly found a vent in short isolated publications, but offer to the writers the attractions of a far more certain, extensive, and immediate circulation than mere pamphlets, except of the most extraordinary and startling merit, could ever hope to attain. Reviews and newspapers are read by tens of thousands as soon as they appear; pamphlets rarely sell more than a few hundred copies. Few authors, therefore, now resort to them, unless debarred access to the pages or the columns of the established organs and leaders of public opinion.

It would be interesting, had we space and leisure, to trace the history of the freedom of political writing generally, and newspaper criticism especially, from its faint dawn under the later Stuarts, its precarious existence under the first princes of the House of Hanover, and its continual and successful struggles throughout the reign of George III., up to that perfect and unquestioned security which it now enjoys. In the last chapter of Mr. Massey's introductory volume to his 'History of the Reign of George III.,' an able and lively sketch is to be found of this subject, destined to exercise so great an influence on the political condition of the times. So marked a progress, and such signal victories, cannot of course have been achieved without strenuous conflicts or without many martyrs. We need not go back to those evil days when, for such language as is now every day used with impunity, the heaviest fines, the hardest imprisonments, and the most savage and ignominious corporal punishments were inflicted: when Leighton was whipped, pilloried, had his cheek branded and his nose slit, and was sentenced to be shut up in the Fleet for life, and to pay 10,000*l.*; when Lilburne received five hundred lashes for pamphlets surreptitiously published in Holland; when Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne were fined 5,000*l.* a man, set in the pillory, branded in the cheek, and condemned to the loss of their ears and to perpetual imprisonment; and when Samuel Johnson (not the Doctor) was flogged at the cart's tail from Newgate to Tyburn.

In 1663, a wretched printer of the name of Twyn, who appears to have been merely an incautious tradesman, was prosecuted by the notorious L'Estrange, then 'Licensor' of the Press, condemned by the savage and malignant judges of that day, and suffered the horrible and indecent penalties of *treason*. In the following century, though the more barbarous inflictions were dropped, the gaol and the pillory remained; and Defoe, for an unfortunate and not very offensive pamphlet published in 1702, had to pay two hundred marks to the Queen, to stand three times in the pillory, and to find securities for seven years. Gradually, however, political writers became bolder and stronger, the law less stringent, the executive less sensitive or less vindictive, and punishments more mild. There were still many prosecutions for libel and seditious writing; but the penalties inflicted scarcely ever went beyond fine and imprisonment, except in the case of Steele and Wilkes, who were both expelled the House of Commons for too free a use of their pen. The habit of reporting the debates in Parliament, though always illegal, and often complained of, had grown up, and at length become almost established, when in 1771 a contest arose between the House of Commons and the Press which virtually set the matter at rest for ever. An offending and contumacious printer was arrested on the Speaker's warrant, and carried before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who discharged the man, and declared the warrant an inadequate justification of his capture. The indignant Legislature, after long discussion, committed the magistrates to the Tower; but on the prorogation, which took place shortly afterwards, they were released as a matter of course, and led home in triumph as martyrs in the popular cause. The House of Commons had suffered a virtual defeat; and its debates have ever since been printed without let or hindrance.

Probably the most important of the victories gained for the 'freedom of unlicensed printing' was the enactment of Mr. Fox's law of libel in 1792, leaving to the jury the right of deciding on the character of the thing published as well as on the fact of publication. The value of this measure was amply proved during the stormy period of the next twenty years; but many reminiscences will serve to show that the perfect liberty of utterance we now enjoy was not won till long afterwards, and by slow degrees. It is curious to us in these times to recall that in 1799 the 'Courier' was prosecuted, and its conductors fined and imprisoned, for saying that 'the Emperor of Russia was a tyrant among his subjects, and ridiculous to the rest of Europe.' In 1803, on the charge of Perceval, and in spite of the defence of Mackintosh, Peltier was found guilty

of a libel on Bonaparte, and only escaped sentence by the renewal of the war. In 1810, the 'Chronicle' and the 'Examiner' were prosecuted for saying that 'of all monarchs since the Revolution, the successor of George III. will have the finest opportunity of becoming popular.' The Jury, however, refused to convict. In the following year the 'Examiner' was again prosecuted for an article against flogging in the army, but with a similar result. Another prosecution for personal ridicule of the Prince Regent was more successful, for Leigh Hunt and his brother, the editors, were fined and imprisoned. From returns laid before Parliament, it appears that between 1808 and 1821 the number of persons prosecuted for political libels written or spoken, on *ex officio* informations, was 101; and the aggregate amount of imprisonment inflicted was 171 years! And, finally, a return, dated 1830, 'of all prosecutions during the reign of George III. and George IV., either by *ex officio* information or indictment, under the direction of the attorney or solicitor-general, for libels or other misdemeanors against members of the Government or other persons acting in 'an official capacity,' gives a sum total of twenty-five. Fifty years ago the most moderate severity of criticism, and the most legitimate latitude of discussion, sufficed to draw down the vindictive notice of the Government: now, it is difficult to conceive that any extravagance of vituperation, short of actual slander as to matters of fact, would provoke the most touchy or foolish minister to file an information or lay an indictment against a public journal.

Thus by gradual steps, and through much tribulation, the newspaper press of England has attained to the mighty influence which it now exercises. That influence it is scarcely possible to exaggerate. Journalism is now truly an estate of the realm; more powerful than any of the other estates; more powerful than all of them combined if it could ever be brought to act as a united and concentrated whole. Nor need we wonder at its sway. It furnishes the daily reading of millions. It furnishes the exclusive reading of hundreds of thousands. Not only does it supply the nation with nearly all the information on public topics which it possesses, but it supplies it with its notions and opinions in addition. It furnishes not only the materials on which our conclusions must be founded: it furnishes the conclusions themselves, cut and dried — coined, stamped, and polished. It inquires, reflects, decides for us. For five pence or a penny (as the case may be) it *does all the thinking* of the nation; saves us the trouble of weighing and perpending, of

comparing and deliberating; and presents us with ready-made opinions clearly and forcibly expressed. For the number of those who form their own conclusions on public matters independently of their newspapers, or who take the trouble or risk perplexity of reading more newspapers than one, are few indeed, and are chiefly to be found in the metropolis.

The power of journalism, vast and preponderating as it is, is not greater than it deserves. If at times we grow alarmed at its extent, we cannot, on calm reflection, deny that it has been well earned and richly merited. The newspaper press owes its influence to three causes, — to the special value of the functions which it exercises; to the remarkable talent with which it is habitually conducted; and to the generally high and pure character which it maintains.

In the first place, it is a necessary portion, complement, and guardian of free institutions. In a country where the people—*i.e.* the great mass of the educated classes—govern, where they take that ceaseless and paramount interest in public affairs which is at once the inseparable symptom and the surest safeguard of political and civil liberty, where, in a word, they are participating citizens, not passive subjects, of the State,—it is of the most essential consequence that they should be furnished from day to day with the materials requisite for informing their minds and enlightening their judgment. If they are in any degree to control, to guide, to stimulate the administration, they must, as far as possible, become qualified to do so. They need, therefore, to be kept *au courant* of all transactions and events which bear upon the interests or credit of their country.

But as bare facts without careful analysis or suggestive commentary would be profitless and undigestible to all save the trained and cultivated few, and as most of us are too busy in the daily avocations of our own career to have leisure, even if we had talent, for patient pondering and meditation, it is essential that the reading and reigning people should be furnished, in addition to the raw material of narrative, with such clear criticisms and such condensed dissertations as the keenest and best qualified intellects of the country can supply. To make up our minds promptly and decidedly on matters of public policy or on the conduct of public men is no easy task for any but those trained to the work. The mass, even of the comparatively cultivated and enlightened, will always need extraneous aid in the performance of this task; and journalists here discharge somewhat the same functions as the pleadings of the advocate and the summary of the judge in our courts of law. They arrange, collate, condense, and expound for

the benefit of the listening jury, calling attention to what might have been overlooked, pointing out what is important and what irrelevant, clearing up what is obscure, explaining what is technical, and placing before the audience the matter for consideration in a prepared form and in the clearest and most instructive light.

Again: Journalism is needed as part and parcel of the *representation* of the country. The House of Commons is not, and perhaps never can be made, a complete and perfect representative of all classes, all interests, all shades of opinion. Certainly it has not yet realised that bright ideal. Non-electors are more numerous than electors. Thousands of Englishmen of nearly every rank—dwellers in towns that are not boroughs, dwellers in counties who are not freeholders nor large tenants, residents in cities who are not householders—have no members of Parliament to listen to them and to speak for them. The holders of unusual opinions, or of moderate or philosophic doctrines, the votaries of ‘coming’ creeds, the members of minorities in a word, are unrepresented in Parliament, unless by some happy accident. The House of Commons, too, is even more inadequate and insufficient than it is incomplete and partial as a representation of the acting, thinking, stirring, discussing crowds of political Englishmen. It sits only half the year. It is overwhelmed with details of business. It cannot suffice to give utterance to half the thoughts that are bursting for expression, or to ask half the questions that the country is burning to have answered. Moreover, chosen as it is; fettered as it is by peculiar rules; managed as it is by skilful politicians, experienced in all its potent and suppressing forms; composed as it is necessarily of men who, however they may habitually share the popular sentiments, have by virtue of the seat, as a mere consequence of being there, interests and wishes not always in harmony with those of their constituents (as, for example, when any questions are in agitation which might involve a dissolution),—the House of Commons is often ostensibly, and far oftener in reality, at variance with the prevalent feeling of the nation, or of some powerful section of it. We all feel that we could not do without the vent for expression which the Newspaper Press affords us. We should explode were it not for such an immediate and ample safety-valve. We could not possibly wait for the slow expression, the inadequate and inaccurate exposition of our sentiments and opinions which only could be furnished to us by our senators in St. Stephens! It is not too much to say that if by any accident journalism were to become suddenly extinct, such a Parliamentary Reform as the

wildest of us have never dreamed of, would become an instant and paramount necessity. Those who have no share in the choice of members, those who feel themselves inadequately represented or misrepresented, those who find in Parliament none who hold their peculiar doctrines or who are qualified to give them effective utterance,—would all join to insist upon such an entire renovation and reconstitution of the representative assembly as would throw all previous ‘organic changes’ into the shade.

But perhaps one of the most necessary and practically important functions of the Daily Press is the opening it affords for the exposition of individual grievances and wrongs. It is a surer guarantee against injustice and oppression than any institutions or any forms of government could be. Even the freest and most popular executive wields fearful instruments of quiet and insensible tyranny which the victims of them could neither escape nor resist, but which they may expose. Courts of justice are tedious and costly; thousands can neither ‘wait the law’s delay nor resist ‘the oppressor’s wrong;’ instances, too, of harshness and iniquity every day occur of which the law can take no cognisance, and which would have no chance of hearing or redress, were it not for that tribunal which is always open, which is open gratuitously, which is open to every complainant. Neglected or unrewarded merit, which can obtain no audience from men in power; long services which have been discarded or superseded to make way for the high-born or the favoured; sufferers under unjust and brutal exertions of undeniable power and right,—all these can make their appeal to a judge whose authority is the greatest, and to a court whose publicity is the widest in the realm. In Great Britain scarcely any public or private iniquity can be done ‘in a corner;’ silence can never be counted upon; secrecy even is never safe. Every man of any note acts under a vigilant and daring eye; every public appointment, which ‘members’ might be influenced to pass by, is certain to be canvassed by a press which refuses to be shackled by the etiquettes and courtesies of social intercourse; every ministerial act, which ‘the ‘House,’ itself often a sinner, would perhaps condone, is exposed to criticism and interrogatories which corruption cannot face with courage or impunity. In the newspaper, every individual Englishman possesses a protector whose value cannot be exaggerated, and that aggregate of individuals which we call the public possesses a guardian of its interests which no power can silence, no money can corrupt, and no flattery can lull to sleep.

The services rendered by the ‘fourth estate’ to the Government are scarcely less necessary or important than those which it renders to the People. It supplies the latter with a safe

channel for the expression of those feelings which might else find a vent in overt acts of discontent and insubordination, and it keeps the former cognisant of popular sentiments and passions which it is most essential it should understand and be early made acquainted with. It would be very difficult for even the best intentioned administration to be thoroughly well informed as to the state of feeling and opinion in the nation, except through the medium of the various and discrepant organs of the daily and weekly press. The House of Commons can only most imperfectly supply this information; often its members themselves learn the wishes of their constituents principally or exclusively through this unrecognised channel. In fact, newspapers are just as truly representatives of the people as legal senators, only they attain their rank by a different mode of choice: in the latter case, they are elected beforehand by the people; in the former they nominate themselves, but can retain their seat and exercise their functions only if their nomination be confirmed. If a member of the fourth estate differs with his constituents and incurs their displeasure, he must abdicate or recant as surely as a member of the Lower House, and far more promptly. He is not even allowed to wait till a dissolution.

The value of Journalism as a safety-valve in moderating discontent by allowing it a vent, in expending the energies and exposing the weaknesses and fallacies of demagogues, and in thus preserving the peace and order of society through the joint securities of freedom and of justice, can only be fully estimated by governments which have tried the opposite scheme, or observers who have closely watched its operation. The doubt, the fear, the conscious ignorance, the consequent errors and exaggerated fancies of the governments of countries where the Press is gagged, constitute at once the inevitable consequence and the appropriate punishment of that foolish sin. There is panic because there is darkness; there is tyranny because there is terror. Here, thanks to our many-headed and unfettered Press, the authorities are amply informed, and they are informed in time. They have early warning when they are treading in paths in which public sympathy will not go with them, and tending towards proceedings for which the popular voice would not grant them absolution. In a country which has reached that stage of freedom and self-government on which England now stands, ministers must govern in conformity with the will of the effective body of the nation; and how can they ascertain this save through those great organs of utterance which sometimes form and sometimes express the general opinion, but can never be ignorant of it or out of harmony with it?

But the Periodical Press is invaluable to the Government in another way. Through it ministers can instruct and inoculate the nation. They, as well as their critics and antagonists, have access to its columns. It is an engine which they or their friends can use as effectually as it can be used against them. By its means they may prepare the public mind for a great measure, educate it to the understanding of a complicated subject, penetrate it to the core with some healing or prolific principle, clear up misconceptions, defend themselves against slanderous accusations, insinuate needful elucidations and explanations which yet could not well have been officially supplied. In those few cases in which the Government has been in advance of the people (the new Poor Law was one), by using the Press as an instrument of education, it has made that possible which might otherwise have been attempted in vain.

Finally, newspapers are of the utmost service to Government in completing and correcting its official information. They have now reached a pitch of wealth and talent which enables them to command wider, abler, and more numerous channels in every quarter of the world than are often open to the agents of Government. It may seem strange and scarcely creditable that it should be so, but the fact is undeniable that the leading journals for many years past have communicated tidings of important events to the public before those tidings had reached ministers through their ordinary official correspondence. The more agitating the crisis, and the more momentous the news, the more likely is it to be early received by those whose profession, pride, and interest it is to obtain it and publish it with marvellous rapidity. Not only is newspaper intelligence often earlier and fuller than that transmitted through official channels: it is also frequently more correct. We can scarcely be surprised at this; the sinister interests are on the whole less strong, and the public is a sterner task-master than the administration. The correspondent of a daily paper is liable no doubt to be warped by the temptation of piquancy and graphic writing; but the informants of the Government, being parties concerned, must have many inducements to suppress, colour, or garble facts which, if nakedly told, would often criminate themselves. If the tendency of the one be to exaggerate, the tendency of the others is still more clearly to extenuate and deny official failures and shortcomings; and at least the one bias is a useful and needed corrective of the other. Thus, without entering upon any disputable or irritating matters, we may refer to recent occurrences in everybody's recollection, as instances in which Ministers, even by their own admission, learned the state of affairs

in the Crimea sooner, more fully, and more faithfully, through the columns of the daily journals than from their own dispatches.

The influence of journalism in this country, then, is owing, in the first place, to the fact that it fills an important place in our institutions, it supplies a want which in its absence would be severely felt, and exercises functions which are useful both for the government and the people. It owes its influence, in the second place, to the remarkable ability with which it fills its place and does its work. Of this it is not easy to speak in terms higher than the truth would warrant. Not only is the skill manifested in the 'getting-up' of a morning paper—the collecting, arranging, and condensing of its multifarious materials; the organising of its staff; the providing for every class of readers exactly the information which they wish for—such that the greater our acquaintance with the details of management the greater will be our admiration for the mental qualifications which it implies; but the literary and political talent which characterises the leading journals is almost uniformly of a very high order—often of the very highest. No former period furnished any approach to it; no other country but France offers any similarity. Day after day we have laid upon our table many columns both of comment and of information as pregnant with thought, and as luminous in style, as were the most elaborate productions of our most celebrated writers a few years ago. The style may often be too pointed and too flippant; strict truth may sometimes be sacrificed to effect; and the matter may be better adapted to produce an immediate impression than to bear the ordeal of subsequent reflection; but this is merely to say that the character of the articles is adapted to their object, that they are written as things must be written that are to be read hastily and read only once. They bear more analogy to speeches than to books, and must be judged accordingly. But of their kind, and for their purpose, the leading articles of our principal newspapers—daily and weekly, provincial sometimes as well as metropolitan—are really admirable; nor is it easy to exaggerate the influence which they have exercised in educating the country up to a far higher standard of requirement, both as to taste and literary ability, than was current a generation ago. The journalism of the beginning of the century would scarcely pass muster now. The truth is, that the men who now conduct the newspaper press are a wholly different class from those who were connected with it thirty or forty years ago. Since it attained a power and station which both gave it dignity and imposed upon it the responsibilities of character; since it became recognised as one

of the great governing powers of the realm; and since statesmen and authors of unquestioned eminence were known to have employed its columns as their channels of communication with the public,—it has been taken almost entirely out of the hands of mere hack-writers—literary workmen—manufacturers ‘to order,’—and has been placed in those of men of fixed opinions, of consummate knowledge and deliberate purpose, who sought a connexion with it, as others sought a seat in Parliament or an office under Government, for the sake of influencing their age and country, of promulgating their own sentiments, of recommending and enforcing the principles and measures on which their own hearts were set. The actual writers who now sustain the high character of journalism may be classed under three heads:—*first*, barristers waiting for practice, or having ceased to expect it and perhaps not vividly desiring it, but attached from conviction or ambition to this or that party in the State—prepared for the polemical arena by the highest education which our Universities can offer (often stamped with the highest distinctions which those bodies could confer), and with their knowledge enlarged, and their faculties sharpened by the many advantages and stimulants open to the legal profession. *Secondly*, young politicians of unusual promise, but of scanty means, who five and twenty years ago would have entered Parliament as members for some close borough, and found fame and power by their speeches instead of by their pen. *Thirdly*, men of trained and cultivated minds who have chosen literature as a profession, and politics as a favourite pursuit; who formerly would have written books or pamphlets, but who have been driven into journalism by accidental connexions, or who have been attracted to it by the readier income and the larger audience which it offered to their wants and their ambition. From this classification it will be obvious that the average ability of the conductors of the Periodical Press must be at least equal to that which obtains in the other intellectual professions, — the Church, the Bar, the Senate, or Literature in the more usual acceptation of the word. And no one who is an habitual reader of such papers as the ‘Times,’ the ‘Examiner,’ the ‘Spectator,’ the ‘Leeds Mercury,’ the ‘Scotsman,’ and many others; and can appreciate the varied knowledge, the vigorous expression, and the thorough mastery and grasp of subject observable in those organs; or who will compare their arguments and prelections with even the ablest efforts of the most established orators in either House of Parliament,—will be disposed to dissent from this conclusion.

But if the Daily and Weekly Press deserves its power on the score of talent, it merits it on the ground of character no less.

On this head our conviction, which we do not hesitate to express strongly, runs directly counter to the common and thoughtless language of the day. In no respect does the Journalism of the Present stand out more distinguished from the Journalism of the Past — and the Newspaper Press of England from that of every other land — than in its freedom from all impure and corrupt influences. All charges to the contrary we hold to be utterly without foundation. The position and character of the men connected with all its respectable organs would of themselves be sufficient to set such sinister accusations at defiance. That it is never open to unworthy influences *of any kind*, would be too much to assert; that personal predilection or personal animosity may not often warp the judgment and blind the vision of those who wield its weapons; that individual wrongs may not occasionally lend venom to the pen of the journalist, and private hatred disguise its rancour under the fair seeming of public justice; and that party fury may not too frequently lead to a suggestion or an assertion of the false, and a suppression or a distortion of the true, — it would be absurd to deny. There may be passion, there may be faction, there may be intrigue, there may be unseemly vehemence, there may be recklessness of mischief, there may be malice and uncharitableness, — alas! of what combatants in what arena may not these sins be safely predicated? — but from any suspicion of dishonour, corruption, or venality, the Newspaper Press of England stands wholly free. It would be as impossible to buy a journalist as to buy a member of Parliament. You might almost as well offer a bribe to a minister of state as to the editor of a leading paper.

The fact is that members of the Press are open to just the same charges as members of the Legislature, and to no others. They are often as scandalously unfair. They are often as unwilling to admit virtues in an opponent or errors in a partisan. They are almost as ready to bring false imputations and almost as reluctant to retract them. They are nearly as far from the charity that thinketh no evil and that hideth a multitude of sins. Their faction about as often overrides their patriotism. They are at least as prone to fall into a tone and language which grieves the good, repels the moderate, and disgusts the courteous and refined. But those who, for the sake of what is valuable even in the most abused institutions, and in consideration of what is imperfect even in the most useful men, — bear with and forgive the disputants of St. Stephens' must acquit the controversialists of the Press.

One class of misleading influences no doubt journalists, being

human, are liable to—namely, personal and social ones; and much going astray, which the unknowing public attribute to corruption, is due to these alone. These influences are natural, and not illegitimate. They only require to be watched and guarded against. It is the duty of a writer to inform and enlighten himself on the subject he is treating by every means in his power. It is his duty to keep in constant communication with those who can best supply his knowledge and correct his views. And what so informing or enlightening as intercourse with men in high place and actually engaged in the conduct of affairs? They have often materials accessible to no others; they can often by a word or a suggestion throw a flood of light upon dark matters, and place a question in its true point of view. Hence conversation with English ministers and foreign ambassadors is among the most valuable sources of wisdom and knowledge open to the journalist. And if these statesmen are skilful and courteous, it is not difficult for them to gain influence over the mind of the writer thus brought into contact with them, to place him in their point of view, to lead him to look at subjects with their eyes, to bind him to them by the tie of useful information and assistance conveyed at critical moments, perhaps even to guide or warp his judgment by the subtle operations of personal admiration and regard. An editor or writer who has thus been accustomed to go for information to a Member of the Cabinet, or who has benefited largely by the conversation of the French ambassador, or has always been kindly received at Holland House, for example, will naturally have contracted a disposition to share the sentiments and partialities of these several atmospheres; and if his other sources of enlightenment are not numerous or varied, or if his judgment be not individual and strong, he will be liable to swerve from a sound decision and a sagacious course. But the same may be said of nearly every one who lives at the great centre of affairs,—of ministers, of senators, of officials, of oppositionists: they all take the colour of the tree they feed on. The real cause for wonder is, that—considering who newspaper writers are, how well they are received by most politicians, how important it is to those in high places to influence their opinions and supply their inspiration, and how freely many of them mingle in political society,—they should still retain so much independence and individuality of thought. We confess it has been to us a matter of perpetual surprise and no small congratulation, that the most influential and widely esteemed journals should so little reflect the tone and opinions of the best society of the metropolis—meaning by ‘best,’ that which is most illustrious for the rank,

genius, social influence and political position of those who form it and frequent it. It is a remarkable fact, and one of great significance and consequence, that the Newspaper Press of this country, as a whole, is *not* the echo or the organ of the governing classes,—nor indeed are the more powerful and reputed journals generally the representatives or supporters of any of the several recognised parties into which the political or administrative world is divided. Wherever a newspaper is the established organ of a party, its circulation is limited and its existence precarious and costly. Journalism, therefore, is not the instrument by which the various divisions of the ruling classes express themselves: it is rather the instrument by means of which the aggregate intelligence of the nation criticises and controls them all. It is indeed the ‘Fourth Estate’ of the Realm: not merely the written counterpart and voice of the speaking ‘Third.’

In estimating the high tone and character of Journalism, we must not omit mention of one of the main causes which serves to secure and maintain it—namely, the exemption from all the petty vanities of authorship which the custom of anonymous writing involves. The writers in the Newspaper Press, with rare exceptions, whatever be the influence they wield, are and remain unknown. The names even of the most vigorous and indefatigable among them are never even whispered about save in the circle of their most intimate friends, or to a few of the curious and initiated. Generally speaking, the contributors to the leading journals remain shrouded in impenetrable secrecy. Year after year they toil on with ceaseless energy, but in complete obscurity. Connexion with the daily press does not here, as it did in France, lead either to fame or office. Those who choose it as their profession or their line of action and of usefulness, will therefore generally be men of earnest convictions, preferring power to reputation, more anxious to propagate what they deem sound opinions than to earn celebrity by the ostensible advocacy of them, devoted rather to the furtherance of public objects than to the service of their own ambitions, and content to be influential at the price of being obscure. Across the Channel we could name scores of men who have won celebrity simply as contributors to daily journals,—not a few who have owed ministerial position to no other cause,—one at least, M. de Sacy, who has just arrived at the signal honour of a seat in the Academy, though he possessed no other claim than that of having been for years an accomplished writer in the ‘Journal des Débats.’ In this country we cannot name half a dozen men in recent times whom leading articles have led to office, and hardly one on whom they have conferred general celebrity.

There is little, therefore, to gratify vanity or a childish love of notoriety in the position of a newspaper writer; and this fact alone will necessarily be a great guarantee both of his earnestness and his sincerity. It is true that the secure concealment in which he lives and works exposes him to other temptations and the public to other dangers; a consideration which has led some individuals to condemn anonymous journalism altogether, and to recommend for our adoption the example of Republican France, which in 1850 enacted a law (still in force) obliging every article of political and philosophical discussion or of personal criticism to be signed with the author's name. The question has been much discussed of late; and by few more clearly or dispassionately than by an *anonymous* pamphleteer who has recently discussed this subject. We cannot say that he has at all shaken our decided opinion on the matter; and we still estimate the evils of publicity as greater than the evils of concealment. There are dangers and mischiefs on both sides: the question is solely one of comparison and of degree. And first, as we regard the power of the newspaper press as one of the greatest advantages, and about the best security for freedom and good government which this country enjoys, we should look with deep uneasiness upon a change which would impair and undermine that power more than perhaps any other that could be devised. There is no doubt that much of the influence of journals arises from the undefined and not wholly incorrect feeling in the public mind, that their columns give utterance rather to the sentiments and opinions of a body than to those of an individual writer. An article signed by a name, however able its reasoning, however vigorous its style, however well established and widely circulated the journal in which it appeared, would carry with it scarcely greater weight than that name could bestow upon it. It would be reduced to its personal dimensions. An article in the 'Times' or the 'Examiner' comes forth now with the vast influence of a celebrated journal, as the expression of opinion by an organ which has justly acquired weight and fame: the same article, signed by a well-known name, would inevitably shrink to the degree of influence due in common estimation to the notions of an individual, multiplied, no doubt, by the fact that it would be read by countless thousands. Scarcely any name, however eminent or honoured, appearing at the foot of an article in the 'Standard' or the 'Advertiser,' for example, could give it the power of an unsigned article in the 'Times.' This may or may not be reasonable; but the fact is so. An article signed by a known statesman or a celebrated writer is the utterance of him-

self alone ; an anonymous article in a leading organ of opinion is a mysterious, shadowy, unknown power, made impressive by secrecy and magnified by darkness.

Not only would this, which may be termed the illegitimate influence of the Press, be abolished by a system of publicity, but its fitting and legitimate influence would also be irrationally lowered. Already in England we are too much disposed to be swayed rather by authority than by argument — to consider not the thing said but the man who says it. Were all articles signed, the public would devour with eagerness and curiosity the feeble and unsound reasoning of a celebrated name, but pass lightly over, or perhaps not read at all, the unanswerable logic of a signature ‘unknown to fame.’ The strategics of Lord Ellenborough ; the reckless and mischievous epigrams of Mr. Disraeli ; the sophistry of Mr. Gladstone in his moments of aberration ; and the strange misrepresentations of Lord — — when labouring under an eclipse, would have more weight than they deserve ; while the sound sense, profound knowledge, and lucid expositions of Richard Roe or John Stubbs would be as the voice of one crying in the wilderness. It would be almost impossible for the ablest or most competent *unknown* man to obtain a hearing, or, at least, such a hearing as his matter and his style deserved. The public would lose or silence many of their safest guides and best instructors. As it is, we read *all* the articles in the papers which we patronise,— for any of them *may* be by the one hand which we respect and follow ; we judge for ourselves, to a certain extent, of their positive and respective merits, and that which we deem the ablest and the soundest we conceive to be by the leading mind on the journal. Were all authenticated by the writer’s signature, we should abnegate our judgment, and bow down to possibly the clay idol of a name wholly undeserving of our worship.

‘ But, it is urged, ‘ the Political Press now deals so much in ‘ personal criticisms, innuendos, accusations and invective, that ‘ not only fair play but the security of individual reputations ‘ requires that the anonymous should be abolished. A public ‘ man has a right to know who his assailant is ; and public writers ‘ ought to be restrained within the bounds of truth and decency ‘ by the check of publicity.’ There can be no doubt that the shield of secrecy is often abused to most unworthy purposes ; and a writer who avails himself of the darkness to make false charges, to insinuate false motives, or to indulge in unjust invective or unwarrantable imputation or outrageous language, is a coward and a villain, and not the less a liar and a slanderer that

he keeps within the limits of the law. At the same time, thanks to the prevalent good feeling and good taste of the public, and to the general conscientiousness and propriety of editors, attacks and personalities which transcend Parliamentary license (where there is no such protection of secrecy) are not usual, save in the lowest and most discredited organs of journalism. Violence, unfairness, exaggeration, want of consideration, want of candour, abound deplorably enough: 'stabs in the dark,' properly so called, are very rare. But while admitting this possible and occasional evil of anonymous political writing, there is an important *per-contra* even under this head, whether we regard the feelings of individuals or the interests of the public. Probably the feelings of public men are at least as often saved as wounded by the names of their assailants being kept secret. A severe criticism, possibly deserved, which is little regarded by the object of it, when proceeding from an anonymous journalist, would inflict deep pain were it known to be the work of one who, though a political opponent, was in habits of daily and familiar intercourse with his victim. An unsigned attack is merely the abuse of a hostile impersonality—an opposition paper: an attack authenticated by the name of an intimate or an esteemed acquaintance would irritate and wound much more, and be felt and resented as a personal affront. Consider, too, how many unsparing condemnations which ought to be expressed, and how many grave charges which ought to be brought forward, would be suppressed, or placed in less pure and worthy hands, if the shelter of the anonymous were withdrawn! One of two risks would be incurred—both too serious to be hazarded without long reflection:—either things which ought to be said will remain unsaid, and facts which ought to be dragged to light will be hushed up and concealed, or the assertion and exposure will be left to those who will undertake them 'not in honour, but in 'hate';—either the task of convicting delinquents, and detecting jobs, and dealing out the fitting measure of refutation and of blame, must be abnegated, or it must be left to those who far more nearly approach the character of 'literary bravos' than any now connected with the superior portions of the Press. A far higher and more conscientious class can now venture to undertake the functions of censors and denouncers than would be willing to wield the lash had they to do so without a mask. To say the harsh things which ought to be said, to make the fierce onslaught that needs to be made, to stigmatise the questionable and sometimes shameful deeds which it is for the interest of the public should be ruthlessly exposed, is pleasant and easy only to the unfeeling or malignant. To do all this in one's own name

and in the light of day, and against sinners whom perhaps personally you esteem and like, would require either a sterner inspiration of public duty than you have any right to look for, or a more cruel, combative, and bitter temper than we should willingly entrust with so responsible a task. The gentle, the candid, the moderate, the just, may be willing to discharge the thankless office of prosecuting public follies and iniquities, if they can do so without appearing openly in the arena; and it is surely well that to men of such natures it should be confided:—affix publicity to the function, and you must commit it to men of far rougher and coarser qualifications.

One of the most important services rendered to the nation by the periodical press consists in the exposure of abuses in various departments of the Government. These abuses are of course chiefly known to, and most thoroughly comprehended by, the *employés* themselves; and they, better than any one, can detect them, and make their accusations good. Yet if publicity were enforced they could only do so at the hazard of their fortunes. What officer in the army or navy, or what civil servant of the Crown, could venture to denounce even the most flagrant jobs which passed under his eye, unless the custom of the anonymous sheltered him from the certain vengeance of his chiefs? Even now, as newspaper editors and popular members of Parliament well know, the difficulty is enormous of obtaining any complete or reliable information on the interior abuses in these several branches of the public service. The dread of his name being known silences many an informant who 'could else a tale unfold,' and deprives the country of much information which it ought to have. We are told that in these cases the delators need not appear in the matter themselves, but may give their information and ideas to others—to known editors and writers. But what is this but to concede the whole point at issue? since what is proposed is, not that *an* accuser, but that *the* accuser should be made responsible for all charges, —not that articles should be signed, but that they should be signed by their real authors. If all that is wanted is that *some one* shall be held answerable before the public and the law for every criticism and every denunciation, we have this already. The publisher is the legal and the editor is the virtual sponsor for everything that they suffer to appear in the columns of their journal.

It would, moreover, be found as impossible to enforce a law of publicity for the periodical press here as in France. You may compel every article to be signed, but you cannot compel it to be signed by the name of the real writer. In France the

productions of the most eminent men constantly appear under obscure names.

After all, as we said at the outset, it is a question purely of comparison and degree. The withdrawal of the anonymous would render journalists more cautious, but also more timid—less bitter and reckless, but also less resolute and daring. But whether the public would be a gainer by the change may well be doubted. And if it drove out of the ranks of political combatants—as possibly enough it might—the more polished, considerate, and modest, there can be no question that it would be to all parties a loss and not a gain.

Hitherto we have spoken of the Newspaper Press as consisting of many organs, representing every variety and *nuance* of sentiment which prevails in the community, and expressing through numerous and divergent channels that aggregate of thought, feeling, prejudice, and passion, which we term Public Opinion,—as a corporate existence, in short, comprising a thousand members whose differences and agreements, whose consenting and antagonising action, combine to constitute that power which we have described as so beneficent and vast, and that character which we have placed so high. As long as this is a true conception of the actual journalism of the country, there is little to be feared from its influence, however great that may become; the doctrines of one journal are criticised and refuted by another; the statements made in the papers of to-day are corrected or contradicted in the issue of to-morrow; and the accusations brought by the organ of one party are disproved or explained away by those of the opposing faction. The case is fully heard; the arguments *pro* and *con* are both before the court; the plaintiff and defendant are represented by pleaders whose voice reaches alike to every corner of the land. The poison and the antidote are both before us; and the antidote is disseminated as widely as the poison. In such a condition of things no injustice can easily be committed: every maligned individual is sure to find some journal who, for party or philanthropic considerations, will espouse his cause; every fallacy is certain of detection and exposure. But the case becomes widely different when from any cause one single journal has so far distanced its competitors as virtually to have extinguished them, when it has so completely monopolised the public ear, and filled the public eye, that other organs can scarcely be seen or heard. The 'republic of letters' then becomes a despotism, and menaces us with the evils which attach to autocracy in all its forms. Any decided superiority of one journal over others, once established,

has an almost irresistible tendency to augment in a sort of geometrical ratio till it becomes absolute supremacy; and this supremacy, once made good, is in its nature indestructible. The leading paper is of course specially patronised by advertisers, and of course specially sought for by all those to whom advertisements are addressed: its circulation brings it advertisements; its advertisements again multiply its circulation. Again, the superior wealth which it thus acquires enables it to outbid all rivals in the command of talent; and the high reputation thus obtained makes it the favourite channel of the ablest writers. The public favour fills its coffers; and full coffers enable it to serve the public in superior style. Then, in proportion to the circulation which it possesses, is the desire of the world to read it: everybody must see what everybody else is certain to have seen. It may offend or flatter your prejudices, it may assail or support your friends, it may combat by your side or turn its weapons against you; but still you cannot do without it; you must have it; you must purchase it; and consequently you assist in maintaining that very supremacy which you deprecate. In short, its utility and superiority become such that these objects are universally sought for by the public even against their own opinion, and sometimes against their own moral sense. Such a power then becomes something equally difficult of control or counteraction. A daily organ which has reached this paramount position, is read every morning by hundreds of thousands *who read nothing else*, who imbibe its doctrines, who accept its statements, and who repeat both to every one they meet, till the whole intellectual and moral atmosphere of the nation becomes insensibly coloured and imbued. It of itself forms, and is, the public opinion of the country. The Government knows this formidable fact, and recognises this anomalous and irresponsible power. Ministers—conscious that this omnipotent and omnipresent organ is guiding and influencing the entire active and vigorous portion of the community; that, it is read by every one whose energy and enterprise affect public affairs, and that ninety-nine out of every hundred read it in a purely passive and believing spirit—dread it and consider it more perhaps than is wise or noble, but certainly not more than is natural: it becomes itself a puissance in the realm; a sole organ becomes, it is scarcely too much to say, that ‘Fourth Estate’ which should be the aggregate result of a multitude of conflicting and mutually modifying organs. It is as if one senator held the proxies of four hundred absentee members of the Lower House; and decided on his own responsibility the vote of an Assembly.

The 'Times,' it is notorious, has reached this extraordinary and dangerous eminence. It was not the earliest in the field; it was long before it fairly and unquestionably got the lead: but once obtained, it has never lost it. It has undeniably merited its supremacy by its vast exertions and its many excellences: it has not forfeited it by any of its lapses and offences. Sometimes it has rendered the most signal services by resolutely stemming the tide of popular phrenzy or delusion; sometimes, we think, it has done vast mischief, by echoing and encouraging the most ignorant prejudices of the people. But on all essential points—of home policy at least—it has usually been on the side of justice, freedom, and popular improvement; and, right or wrong, its ability has been always wonderful, and its unflinching courage above all praise.

We cannot here go into the circumstances which gave the 'Times' the first steps of its predominance, nor can we specify the precise moment at which it first shot ahead of its competitors. It appears to have been about the year 1835. During the last six months of that year the stamps issued to the 'Times' and 'Evening Mail' were 1,232,000, and to the 'Morning and 'Evening Chronicle,'* 1,004,500. Since that date the movement of the London Daily Press has been as follows:—

Stamps issued to	1840.	1845.	1848.	1850.	1852.	1851.
Morning Chronicle	2,075,500	1,554,000	1,151,304	912,547	712,500	873,500
Morning Post -	1,125,000	1,002,500	964,500	829,000	834,950	832,500
Morning Herald -	1,956,000	2,018,025	1,335,000	1,139,000	1,283,000	1,158,000
Morning Advertiser	1,550,000	1,440,000	1,538,957	1,549,143	2,222,902	2,392,780
Daily News (1846)	-	3,520,500	3,053,638	1,152,000	1,228,525	1,485,100
Total † -	6,706,500	9,535,025	8,043,399	5,581,690	6,281,877	6,741,880
The Times	5,060,000	8,100,000	11,021,500	11,900,000	13,225,000	15,975,740

* The 'Evening Mail' was the evening re-issue of the 'Times.' The 'Evening Chronicle' was the evening re-issue of the 'Morning Chronicle.'

† The stamps issued to these papers during the first *half* of the current year is as follows. (Parl. Paper, 438.)

Morning Chronicle	-	-	401,500
Morning Post -	-	-	465,000
Morning Herald	-	-	554,000
Morning Advertiser	-	-	1,034,618
Daily News -	-	-	825,000
			<hr/> 3,280,118
The Times	-	-	<hr/> 9,175,788

To a power so vast and a supremacy so unquestioned as this, we possess only three effective counteractives. Most of the other organs of the London Daily Press are, as we have seen, so far behind, that it becomes doubtful how much longer they can continue to maintain their faint and struggling existence. The last alteration of the Stamp Duty appears as if it would give them their *coup de grace*; and, as has often been the case before, a step, urged on the plea of liberty and progress, has turned to the profit of autocratic power. The provincial papers have hitherto done much to influence public opinion in their several localities and, among the non-elective classes, they are more generally read than the 'Times.' Whether the recent alteration in the law will have augmented their power as well as extended their circulation, it is too early as yet to pronounce. As the London rivals of the 'Times,' however, become one by one inoperative or extinct, the 'Times' will inevitably more and more give its colouring and supply its materials to the organs of the Local Press, as these are more and more reduced to live upon its unchecked and uncorrected contributions. But the weekly journals—if the cheaper daily ones do not gradually drive them out of circulation—will be, as they have hitherto been, valuable competitors and correctives.* They have time to consider questions more deliberately and to sift facts more carefully than those which appear from day to day; they are, some of them, conducted with considerable ability and great conscience; and one or two—the 'Illustrated News,' for example, whose leading articles are always sensible and generally very sound,—have a circulation far beyond that even of the 'Times.' That of the 'Illustrated News' now sometimes reaches, we are told, 170,000 copies. The chief and surest corrective of all, however, is, and must always be, supplied by the 'Times' itself, in the publication of the Parliamentary debates. As long as these are fully and honestly reported, no *ex parte* statements of the Newspaper Press can long mislead or deceive. Every fact that concerns the public,—every charge that affects individuals,—every fallacy that has been put forth as an argument,—is pretty certain there to be sifted and exposed. And if we could conceive it possible that any leading journal could ever make such a blunder, or commit such an iniquity as to report partially or untruly, the Houses of Parliament would have an easy and sufficient remedy in their own hands, by appointing their own reporters, and publishing their own debates. After all, however, the chief and only perfectly effective securities against the abuse of such a vast power as that wielded by a supreme journal, must be sought in the high character of those who con-

duct it, and in the increasing and competent judgment and instinctive sound feeling of the country, which would receive any marked dereliction from honesty or duty with disgust and indignation.

What will be the permanent effect of the abolition of the stamp on newspapers it is yet too early to predict. Probably the anticipations of those who hoped and feared great changes—certainly of those who hoped or feared sudden changes—will alike be disappointed. It was very generally believed that the removal of the compulsory penny stamp would operate an entire revolution in the newspaper press; but one party conceived that this revolution would produce vast good, the other, that it would produce vast evil. Mr. Milner Gibson and his associates fancied and hoped that journalism would be comminuted into penny newspapers, each circulating over a small district; and that the influence of the great London journals would be thus impaired and counteracted, and their provincial circulation enormously reduced. The alarmists, on the other hand, embracing most of the metropolitan, and nearly all the established local papers, while expecting a somewhat similar result, conceived that the character of the cheap journals whose competition they feared would be low and mischievous. According to the best information we have been able to collect, we are disposed to believe that there is no ground either for these excessive apprehensions or these sanguine hopes. The circulation of the ‘Times’ has increased since the new law came into operation; that of other metropolitan journals has, we understand (though we speak hesitatingly), somewhat fallen off. Several new cheap local newspapers have been started, but scarcely one, if one, has survived. Many of the previously existing ones, formerly weekly, or bi-weekly, have reduced their price, and are trying, or have tried, the experiment of a daily publication,—especially those of Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, and Edinburgh. But the general impression left upon the minds of the more experienced proprietors and news-agents is that the *penny* papers cannot possibly succeed, and will probably be discontinued almost immediately, and that not above one or two of the cheap provincial daily papers will be able to survive when the excitement of the war and the craving for instantaneous intelligence which it creates shall be over. The reduction of price which has taken place, in some cases to 3*d.*, in some cases to 2*d.* (unstamped), has of course extended the circulation of the local papers: but the habit and desire of reading a *daily* journal has to be created among the middle and lower classes, and its creation is a matter of slow growth; and the

labouring poor, to whom cheapness is peculiarly important, like their paper to come when their leisure comes, viz., at the end of the week. They have a fancy for bulk too, and prefer a good deal of news at a time to a little at more frequent intervals.*

That some of the more ably conducted of the daily or tri-weekly provincial journals may come into closer competition than heretofore with their metropolitan rivals, and deprive them of a portion of their country sale, especially if the former are able to maintain their reduced price, we think highly probable. This, however, will be mainly attributable not to the removal of the stamp, but to the operation of the electric telegraph.† There is one Lancashire daily paper of great ability which contains all the latest intelligence of the 'Times' or the 'Daily News,' and is issued at half the price, and only two or three hours later than the earliest copies of those London journals. It receives by telegraph a summary of whatever important news those papers contain, reserving the details till the next day, and while Parliament is sitting it receives a pretty full epitome of the previous night's debate, and all this it is able to circulate throughout its own and the adjoining counties some few hours before the London journals can arrive. Thus a resident at Penrith, Lancaster, or Leeds, can receive at 2 o'clock for 2*d.* all the essential matter that the 'Times' would communicate to him for 4*d.* at 4 o'clock; and the number of those who cannot wait till the next day for additional particulars, or for metropolitan comment, is comparatively small. How far this use, even with acknowledgment, of information which has cost the London paper large sums and which costs the local one only the price of telegraphic

* The number of newspapers passing through the Post appears only to have diminished by 16 per cent. In July and August 1854, the number passing *outwards* through the General Post Office was 7,613,800; in July and August 1855, 6,417,807. Of this number 85 per cent. were stamped, 15 per cent. prepaid by postage heads. The aggregate number of newspapers stamped has fallen off to one-third since the new law came into operation. It was 19,115,000 in July and August last year, 6,870,000 in the corresponding months of the year. The 'Times,' we understand, still stamps nearly 40 per cent. of its issue.

† In Scotland the continuance of small daily papers will be almost certain. The telegraph shoots news to Edinburgh from London nearly *twelve* hours earlier, but (as the trains reach at night) virtually *twenty-four* hours earlier, than it could be brought by the London papers; and Edinburgh and Glasgow, being great Post Office centres, form the points from which news is re-distributed over the country. A daily paper in each of these cities is, therefore, almost a necessity.

transmission, is strictly justifiable, we must leave to editorial consciences to determine. It is clearly beyond the reach of prevention, and we do not see that the removal of the stamp has materially, if at all, facilitated the transaction.

ART. VIII.—1. *Maud and other Poems*. By ALFRED TENNYSON, D. C. L., Poet Laureate. London: 1855.

2. *In Memoriam*. Sixth Edition. London: 1855.

SOME twelve years ago, Mr. Tennyson, after having undergone the usual poetical probation of popular indifference, produced two volumes of poems, partly old ones revised and partly new, which placed him at once at the head of contemporary poetry in England, and have kept him there ever since. The circulation which these poems, and others apparently even less likely to fulfil the conditions of a great popularity, have since obtained, has probably surprised no one more than the poet himself. The merit which in Mr. Tennyson's writings has succeeded in pleasing the public, is by no means of the same kind with the qualities which caused the popularity of Byron, Scott, and Moore. The poems of Byron and Scott are, for the most part, romances of such powerful narrative interest as to recommend themselves to thousands of readers who can distinguish poetry from prose only by the different typographical arrangement of the words; and people require no very high poetical, or any other kind of intellectual or moral culture, to be carried away with the gaiety and reckless *abandon* of Moore's effusions in favour of 'women and wine.' The works of the present Laureate contain little to satisfy the cravings either of the novel reader or the libertine, and still further are they from appealing to the tastes and feelings of that vast class of readers who confine their poetical studies to moral and religious meditations, like those of Mr. Martin Tupper, and the Rev. Robert Montgomery. 'The Princess,' the only properly narrative poem which Mr. Tennyson has produced, from the obvious improbability, or rather impossibility, of its incidents, has no more narrative interest for an adult reader than a fairy tale; and few poets have been more sparing than he has been in the seductions and blandishments of the erotic muse. Again, in morals and philosophy, he is much too meditative and uncommonplace, and in religion, much too vague and speculative, to be other than unattractive to the feelings of those who delight in 'proverbial philosophy' of any kind, or in the divinity of

either Watts or Keble. A classic finish of expression, the result of indefatigable labour and of days spent sometimes on a single line; an observation of natural objects so affectionately accurate and minute as often to be valueless to all but the microscopic eye of him who is in heart and mind, if not in act, a poet; a preference of that kind of beauty, which he that runs can never read, which is the 'harvest of a quiet eye,' and requires much leisure of life and tranquillity of heart—two very rare things in this age—to comprehend it; a most fastidious taste in the melody of language, seeking purity of tone, sometimes even at the expense of strength on the one hand, and sweetness on the other, and scarcely ever resting until it has arrived at the reduction of our rough and consonantal English to the bell-like clearness of the Italian; these, and most other qualities by which Mr. Tennyson's poetry is characterised, are certainly not such as could have been expected to produce a popularity exceeding probably that of any living English writer in verse. Each of the Laureate's volumes has a steady average sale of an edition a year, each edition consisting, as we understand, of something like ten times that number of copies which usually constitutes an edition of 'Poems;' and there seems to be every chance of their maintaining a circulation at this rate for several years to come. When we consider how comparatively limited has been the sale of the verses of Coleridge, Wordsworth and others of that class, in which to be ranked by posterity is the most that Mr. Tennyson can hope, and nearly the most that he could desire, such a popularity as this looks almost like an imputation against his poetic character, and requires, for his credit, to be explained. The chief part of the secret lies, we conceive, in the fact that he has enjoyed the unprecedented luck of having been practically without a rival. He made his reputation after the singular lull in the groves of Parnassus that succeeded the storm of song, which distinguished the first twenty years of the present century beyond any other equal period in our literary history. The two or three poets of that golden era who survived to be witnesses of the present Laureate's first triumphs, had also survived their poetical activity, and were felt to belong, as far as true poets can, to a bygone time; and the two or three real poets who have since arisen, have wholly failed, as yet, to obtain any noticeable share of popular favour. Mr. Tennyson, then, has had the poetical public of Great Britain entirely to himself, and that patronage which being divided among three or four would still have left him better off than the best of his predecessors, being concentrated upon him has put him in possession

of an immediate circulation greater than has ever before been attained by a poet with so few popular qualities.

This uninterrupted possession of the field is, however, scarcely sufficient by itself to account for the phenomenon in question. A great change, and in some respects a great improvement, of popular taste must also be conceded. The people do not buy Mr. Tennyson's poems only because there is no other popular poet, or because he is the Laureate, — though, no doubt these, and other considerations equally apart from the poet's true merits, have some weight with his readers. No inconsiderable discernment is shown by the public in their selection of favourite pieces, and neglect of others. The *Lillians*, *Claribels*, *Madelines*, *Adelines*, *Mermen* and *Mermaids* of Mr. Tennyson's youthful muse, though these poems would seem to be more of a nature to please an immature taste than any others in his volumes, are by no means the most popular. 'Mariana in the moated Grange,' the song in *The Princess* beginning 'Tears, idle tears,' 'Break, break, 'break,' among the short poems, are as well known and appreciated, notwithstanding their high and genuine, and somewhat out-of-the-way character, as any of the more obviously excellent songs of Burns or Campbell; and next, and deservedly next, in the popular estimation, as far as we have been enabled to observe it, stand 'The Miller's Daughter,' 'The Day-Dream,' 'The Gardener's Daughter,' 'Godiva,' 'Dora,' 'The Lord of Burleigh,' and two or three more of the same class, in which Mr. Tennyson stands above all other modern poets, except Goethe, whose 'Alexis and Dora' is perhaps, in this kind, the crowning work which no other poet has ever equalled, and beyond which further excellence in the same way is scarcely possible. That such poems as these should have enabled their author to divide the plaudits of a popular assembly with the favourite hero of the Crimea, is a fact suggestive more than any other we can remember, of a hope that this country is not always to lag behind her neighbours in her appreciation of uncompromisingly 'real art.'

The blaze of a reputation such as Mr. Tennyson's acts in two different ways on two different classes of persons. It makes the inconsiderate ready to accept anything for excellent at the hands of its possessor; but, to others, it increases the difficulties of criticism by the production of just the opposite bias. Although, by reason of the extent and vagueness of the subject, nothing is more easy than to say something about poetry that shall pass for being worth the saying, there are few subjects upon which it is harder to write truly; and

the great ordinary difficulties of just poetical criticism are certainly not lessened by the sort of familiarity with which we, in common we imagine with most of our readers, regard the writings of the Laureate. We become too much accustomed to the virtues and defects of an old companion not to be in some danger of confounding them; and too well affected towards the friend of some of our pleasantest hours, to be without a certain amount of diffidence in speaking of either.

'Discipline must be maintained;' and, up to a certain period in a poet's career, it is proper to act upon the fiction that a poet has more to learn from a critic, than a critic from him. But now that we have had time to become imbued with those slow and sweet influences by which our singer beautifully says that poets 'make rich the blood of the world,' and are thus enabled to make some comparison of the gifts we have received from him with those conferred upon us by his predecessors, it becomes us to assume our real position as assistants to the formation of popular opinion, rather than tutors to such minds as those which have constituted the great new dynasty of Laureates.

'The Princess,' and 'In Memoriam,' though both published long after the collection in two volumes, were, we believe, in great part composed previously, so that these works do not illustrate an advanced stage of Mr. Tennyson's faculties, although they are examples of their operation in new and peculiar ways.

Neither 'The Princess,' nor 'In Memoriam' fulfil the hope to which we long ago (vol. lxxvii. p. 391.) gave expression,—that Mr. Tennyson would employ his evidently sufficient powers in the production of a work, which, though occupying no longer space than the contents of his collection of 'Poems,' should as much exceed them in value as a series of quantities 'multiplied into each other exceeds in value the same series 'simply added together.' But we have no right to quarrel with these works because they do not fulfil what was never attempted in them. The first condition of a great poem is a widely and durably significant subject; whereas the subject of 'The Princess,' so far from being great in a poetical point of view, is partly even of transitory interest. This piece, though full of meanings of abiding value, is ostensibly a brilliant serio-comic *jeu d'esprit* upon the noise about 'woman's rights,' which even now ceases to make itself heard anywhere but in the refuge of exploded European absurdities beyond the Atlantic. A carefully elaborated construction, a 'wholeness' arising out of distinct and well-contrasted parts, which is another condition of a great poem, would have been worse than thrown away on such a subject; accordingly Mr. Tenny-

son has not only neglected such construction, but makes an open avowal of its absence, the very scheme of his 'sevenfold story' precluding the notion of anything more regular than the 'medley' which this poem calls itself and is. The piece is fully all that it pretends to be ; and if we have any complaint to bring against its author, it is not that he has failed in what he attempted, but that what he has attempted was not worth doing, at least, not worth his doing. In reading this poem, the mind is palled and wearied with wasted splendour and beauty ; passage succeeding passage, without any sustaining human interest or total result, proportionate to the obvious difficulties of such brilliant execution. Here, we feel, is expended in pyrotechny a power which might have heaved the earth. This feeling is not altogether pleasant ; and Mr. Tennyson has proved himself to be possessed of artistic faculties which put it out of the question that he should himself be thoroughly satisfied with this performance. Indeed we fancy that we detect in the work itself such signs of discontent as might naturally be felt by a great poet who had begun his work half in jest and without any intention of writing a long poem, and had suddenly found that his joke had attained unanticipated dimensions.

'In Memoriam' is a work of much higher worth and poetical integrity, although much of its value depends on the manifest fact of its scarcely being a premeditated 'work' at all. Its only unity is unity of metre and the unity of feeling which results from a continual reference, sometimes very remote, of all its parts, to the incident of a real personal loss. It makes no pretensions to that totality which is necessary in a 'work of art,' though the sections of which it is composed have usually that quality in a high degree. The reflections and emotions which it records and describes might have filled five or ten volumes just as well as one. The only reason for this poem's stopping where it does, is, like Petrarch's sonnets, not the exhaustion of the subject, but the exhaustion of the desire of expressing thoughts and feeling in connexion with it. Like 'The Princess,' this work comes to us with an entirely unpretending air. Indeed the author of 'In Memoriam,' to our thinking, is too apologetic for a book which required no apology at all. The subject, though not a great one, for it is one in which very few can fully sympathise, is yet a sufficient one, and it is sincerely and worthily treated. 'In Memoriam' will rank in some respects with Shakspeare's Sonnets, as one of the curiosities of passion, remarkable, not as most great poems are, for the touch of nature which makes

the whole world kin, but for the exceptional feeling which makes the whole world wonder. Nothing but the indubitable and entire sincerity of the feeling, and the simplicity with which it is expressed, could have saved such a work from being charged by most people with extravagance and unfaithfulness to truth. On the majority of those readers who do not read 'In Memoriam' as an ordinary 'love poem,' (and, incredible as this may seem, it was in more than one place *reviewed* as such on its first appearance,) this work must necessarily appear as the superlative of love and grief in the wrong place. If so much is said of the affectionate relations of man and man, what, many will naturally ask, remains to be said of that incomparably profounder tenderness which is possible and common between man and woman? Between boys, or very young men—if such young men there are,—who have never been in love, a passionate and absorbing personal affection, founded generally on a diversity of character so great as to constitute a weak image of the inexhaustible contrast of sex, is not uncommon; though we dissent from Mr. Tennyson when he calls 'first love, first friendship, *equal powers*;' but 'In Memoriam' is the expression of no such immature affection at this. It is rather the affection of a man whose sympathies are so abnormally intellectual, and whose intellect is so exceptionally high, that he has as yet failed to find an equal partner for his heart among women.

But thousands of readers, for whom the feeling of this poem has had little meaning, and only an indirect interest, have been attracted by the exposition it contains, or seems to contain, of the poet's religious philosophy. It is a great proof of the depth, sincerity, and simplicity of a man's faith when each sect of religion claims him as its own. The compliment becomes a little too extensive when sceptical philosophy puts in its claim as well. Such, however, is the singular, and most assuredly uncoveted fortune, of the writer of 'In Memoriam.' He has gained the hearts of the best thinkers of all the denominations of Christianity by the emphasis of feeling with which he has dwelt, in several of his poems, but particularly in this, upon the simple first foundations of all possible religion, namely, a belief in a personal Divinity, and in

'The head and mighty paramount of truths,
Immortal life in never fading worlds.'

Perhaps from the notion that this very emphasis implies an occasional obscurity of faith, and from a few careless expressions which we ourselves regret, Mr. Tennyson has had the unhap-

piness to be honoured by some persons as one of the high priests of Pantheism ; and others, who have read him with too much understanding and attention to fall into so great a blunder, believe on a more plausible, but still false view of the same grounds, that they have in him at least an impugner of historic Christianity. But Mr. Tennyson knows the nature of his singing robe too well to think of turning it into a surplice. He limits his published creed, for the most part, to those two articles without which, not only religion, but poetry is impossible, and for the rest, he humbly and wisely says : —

‘Urania speaks with darken’d brow ;
Thou pratest here where thou art least ;
This faith has many a purer priest,
And many an abler voice than thou.

‘Go down beside thy native rill,
On thy Parnassus set thy feet,
And hear thy laurel whisper sweet
About the ledges of the hill.’

Far be it for us to find fault with Mr. Tennyson for imposing these limits on his muse : we only wish that throughout ‘*In Memoriam*’ he had observed them more strictly ; for when he exceeds them he seems to lose his, in other cases, extraordinary power of exact and appropriate expression, and, but for perfectly satisfactory contradictions in other parts of the poem (sects. 30, 31, 32. for instance), we should be led to the adoption of the inferences against which we have now protested, by such lines as occur in the introductory piece and in section 33. Besides these vexatious ambiguities of meaning, there is an absolute defect of taste in such expressions as (speaking of his friend),

‘Dear as sacramental wine
To dying lips is all he said ;’

and in a less unpleasant way, what can be worse, or more *un-Tennysonian*, than such a periphrasis as

‘the kneeling hamlet drains
The chalice of the grapes of God.’

These indeed are small, but by no means insignificant spots, in a poem of which the chief characteristics, feminine tenderness and almost matchless grace, are of a nature to make the slightest discord jarring.

The defects of this poem are soon disposed of, but it is difficult to praise its beauties, without falling into the injustice of innumerable omissions, or the insipidity of the vaguest generalities : we must, however, dwell on one quality which seems

to us to render this poem an accession of real importance to British classical literature. Although, in some few places, this work wants that perfect polish which distinguishes the author's lesser poems, upon the whole it is not only the best specimen of poetical style which Mr. Tennyson has produced, but it surpasses, in this respect, all poems of equal magnitude written during the past century. Without any of that dissolution of metrical character, which is naturally to be looked for as the accompaniment and price of such a quality, the expression of thought and feeling throughout 'In Memoriam,' is commonly as free and clear as in the most translucent prose paragraphs of Southey or Sydney Smith. It has nothing of metre but the charm; we are never jolted by those unworthy concessions to the difficulties of verse, to which we are accustomed in all other modern poems of any length, except, perhaps, one or two by Coleridge. The style which has been attained by other recent poets, only in short songs and crack passages, is here the average style, and must henceforward be that of all verse having any chance of permanence. Harshness, verbal inexactness, ungraceful inversions, and the other ordinary signs of incomplete workmanship, will not be tolerated now that such a standard, not of poetical possibilities, but of regular and undeviating practice has been established: but we warn our poeticising readers against imagining that any amount of labour and polishing is likely to produce such finish, without previous indefatigable years of metrical discipline. Indeed, such finish is incompatible with very great labour: the labour must have gone to the production of less perfect work, and the gradual formation of a habit of easy execution. 'In Memoriam' has many beauties which much hammer and anvil work would inevitably have spoiled. From numerous scarcely less exquisite examples of perfect finish, combined with an execution absolutely free, we select the following stanzas:—

'The Danube to the Severn gave
The darken'd heart that beat no more;
They laid him by the pleasant shore,
And in the hearing of the wave.

'There twice a day the Severn fills;
The salt sea-water passes by,
And hushes half the babbling Wye,
And makes a silence in the hills.

'The Wye is hush'd nor moved along,
And hush'd my deepest grief of all,
When fill'd with tears that cannot fall,
I brim with sorrow drowning song.

'The tide flows down, the wave again
Is vocal in its wooded walls;
My deeper anguish also falls,
And I can speak a little then.'

Let the reader compare the ordinary style of this poem with that of Mr. Tennyson's earlier works, say the 'Palace of Art.' In one case nature seems to be reflected in the depths of a clear lake, its surface gently rippled with the breath of emotion, making the picture softer, and almost fairer than the truth; in the other we find all forms reflected with minuteness, hardness, and chilling brilliancy, as in a mirror of polished steel. There is no comparison between the value of these two species of effect: but the confident and habitual mastery of hand, which produces the first, is scarcely to be attained without a long apprenticeship to the difficulties of the last.

We now turn with diminished pleasure from 'In Memoriam' to Mr. Tennyson's recently published volume of 'Maud and other Poems:' for the qualities we appreciate most highly in the former are precisely those which are most wanting in the latter. The history of the supposed speaker of the principal poem, Maud—(we cannot call him 'the hero,' for he has not the remotest pretensions to the name, his voluntary activity being limited to 'mixing his breath' in the last stanza, 'with a loyal people shouting a battlecry,')—is hard to describe, since his moral constitution makes the finding of a shell on the sea-shore almost as eventful as the killing his man in a duel.

He begins by describing a certain 'dreadful hollow' behind a wood, which has been made hateful to him by its having been the scene of his father's death. Were Mr. Tennyson writing in his own person, we should feel disposed to quarrel with the expression 'blood-red heath' with which the fields are 'dabbled,' for even the recollection of a death connected with blood, could hardly endue the deepest-coloured heath with such a colour; but on finding out that the supposed writer is a mad man in embryo, we can only admire the care with which this fact is recollected by Mr. Tennyson in every part, one of the most popularly recognised symptoms of incipient madness being a constant dreaming of, and recurrence to, the idea of blood, and the colour red.

In a pit in this hollow, the father's body had been found without any sign to indicate whether or not the fall had been intentional; though the son believed that his father had committed suicide, in despair at having lost his fortune in an un-

lucky speculation. This indeed seems likely enough, if one may judge of the father from the son, for the morbid constitution of the latter is too well pronounced not to have been inherited. The speculation which ruined one man, had enriched another, the 'old man now lord of the broad estate and the hall,' who, from this fact, incurred the hatred, jealousy, and suspicion of the son. Having related his history thus far, the indignant orphan bursts into a general anathema on the present state of society, cursing peace as the mother of many and grievous ills: —

'Peace sitting under her olive, and slurring the days gone by,
When the poor are hovell'd and hustled together each sex like
swine;
When only the ledger lives, and only not all men lie;
Peace in her vineyard, yes! but a company forges the wine.'

The druggist who 'pestles a poison'd poison,' the doctor who 'cheats the sick of a few last gasps,' the baker who gives the poor 'chalk and alum and plaster,' the ruffian who 'tramples his wife,' the housebreaker, the 'Mammonite mother who kills her child for a fee,' are all laid to the charge of peace, and war is called for as a balm against this universal disease.

'For I trust if an enemy's fleet came yonder round by the hill
And the rushing battle bolt sang from the three decker out of the
foam,
That the smooth-faced, snub-nosed rogue would leap from his
counter and till,
And strike if he could, were it but with his cheating yardwand,
home.'

But how war is to effect even an individual reformation of this kind, for a longer period than each particular rogue should be called upon to use his energies in other work than cheating, we are at a loss to determine, nor can this *non-sequitur* have been intended otherwise than as the sickly outgoing of a diseased brain. To praise or blame this portion of the poem, as representing Mr. Tennyson's personal opinions, as some have done, shows but little appreciation of those pieces which the poet has not written in the character of a lunatic.

Next we hear of Maud, only daughter of the rich man. She was a child, 'the delight of the village,' when she was at home, but is now travelling and grown to a marriageable age. Rumours of her great beauty have reached her native place, and the appearance of workmen at the hall seem to foreshow her return. With the boding of a curse in connexion with her, the first part closes. Maud returns, but a glimpse of her 'clear cut face,' from a carriage window, convinces her father's

enemy that he has nothing to fear from the power of her beauty. By slow degrees, however, the charms of her countenance become more operative; a song overheard, and a bright smile at meeting do wonders; but the affection thus fragilely based upon 'the shows of the senses' is still allied with insane hate, mixed with insane suspicion. The admirer is held back by a fear that the smile was suggested to Maud by her brother,—

‘That jewelled mass of millinery,
That oil'd and curl'd Assyrian Bull
Smelling of musk and insolence,’—

who will be wanting the vote of his poor neighbour at the approaching election. A meeting of eyes at church seems to do away with this suspicion, when another cause of discomfort springs up in the person of a young lord, who appears at the hall, and is set down by the lover as a rival. This lord meets with the fate of all, but Maud, who have the misfortune to be named by her lover. After consigning his grandfather to 'a blacker pit' for having employed workmen to work his mines, and made a fortune thereby sufficient to found a house, our hero abuses the inheritor of this money for the newness of his 'gewgaw castle,' the newness of his title, his power of 'plucking' 'the slavish hat from the villager's head,' for his 'waxen face,' his 'rabbit mouth that is ever agape,' and much more, without however making it at all plain that Maud would not have had as good a husband in him, as in his very unmanly abuser. A rabbit mouth is certainly less to be dreaded than a rabid mind, and as the misanthrope himself asks,

‘What shall I be at fifty,
If nature keeps me alive,
If I find the world so bitter
When I am but twenty-five?’

To add to the lover's troubles, he at this time meets Maud's brother, who passes him without recognition, and

‘Leisurely tapping a glossy boot
And curving a contumelious lip,
Gorgonised me from head to foot
With a stony British stare.’

Between all these unpleasant passages there occur parts—perfect poems in themselves,—where Maud is the only subject; but as our immediate object now is to give a sketch of the plot, we will not stop for eulogy.

‘This lump of earth has left his estate
The lighter by the loss of his weight,’

and the time seems come for speaking. The favourable result of an interview with Maud is told in an exquisite passage. The happiness of the lovers is but short-lived. The brother returns and gives a political dinner, when all the neighbours, save he, 'who kept but a man and a maid, *ever ready to slander and steal*,' (his foes were already of his own household), see 'Maud in all her glory,' that is to say, decked in jewels and satin. The lover waits by appointment in the garden to render homage to 'queen Maud in all her splendour.' Here the brother and the 'wax-faced lord' find them, and the former strikes the intruder, which leads to a duel, in which the rich man is killed. The slayer goes abroad and his mistress dies. Then follows page after page of despair and madness; wild and incoherent, except when love is the subject; without external incident, until we find the madman restored to his wits (for a very short period it is to be feared) by the tonic properties of a war with Russia, — the very last lines, however, indicating a considerable confusion of ideas and images, and a recrudescence of the symptoms with which the poem commenced.

This is not an attractive history. It belongs to the same class with the author's earlier poem, *Saint Simcon Stylites*. Both have the serious defect of leaving the mind of the reader in a painful state of confusion as to the limits of the sane and the insane. Both are written with unquestionable power and an undercurrent of 'dramatic irony.' But it is impossible to discover in either, where the irony is intended to end and the truth to begin. Of one thing, however, we may be sure; and this is, that the vast proportion of what most of Mr. Tennyson's would-be-complimentary critics regard as the expression of his own views and feelings is irony; and, that it should have been mistaken for anything more, is a remarkable illustration of the carelessness of modern habits of reading and thinking.

The early dramatists and song-writers took what we cannot help thinking a morbid pleasure in this subject of insanity. It is true that the perfectly wholesome mind of Shakspeare also dealt largely with this theme; but it is to be observed that, in his plays, insanity is always an illustrative accessory, instead of being, as it commonly was in his contemporaries, a principal object of illustration. In '*Maud*,' it is neither. If we make out Mr. Tennyson's purpose rightly, — and of this we are doubtful, for we confess that careful and repeated perusal has not enabled us to apprehend with any distinctness the leading intention and subjective idea of this poem, — the element of a morbid mind is introduced, less in order that it should illustrate or be illustrated,

than as a means of pitching the tone of the work in a key of extraordinarily high poetic sensibility, and at once providing for the expression of thoughts and feelings with the strongest emphasis, and with almost total irresponsibility on the part of the writer. Several ideas, expressed only incidentally in Mr. Tennyson's former poems, but which are of a character to strike an attentive reader very forcibly, either from their intrinsic novelty, or from a certain air of conviction in the way of uttering them which has all the effect of novelty, such for example as the remorselessness of

‘Nature, red in tooth and claw
With ravine;’

and the notion, more than once suggested, of man's being but ‘the herald of a higher race;’—several ideas such as these, only hinted at before, are now put forth with far greater force; as thus:

‘Nature is one with rapine, a harm no preacher can heal;
The May-fly is torn by the swallow, the sparrow speared by the shrike,
And the whole little wood where I sit, is a world of plunder and
prey.’

And again:

‘However we brave it out, we men are a little breed.
A monstrous eft was of old the lord and master of earth,
For him did his high sun flame, and his river billowing ran,
And he felt himself in his force to be nature's crowning race.
As nine months go to shaping an infant ripe for his birth,
So many a million of ages have gone to the making of man;
He now is first, but is he the last? is he not too base?’

The same ægis which, whether intended to do so or not, protects these and the like propositions from too close a philosophical investigation, covers a good deal of less abstract, but even more startling declamation: joy that ‘the long, long canker of peace is over and done;’ the Emperor of Russia denounced as ‘a giant liar;’ the condition of society in the present time regarded as one of unprecedented and unmixed falsehood and gloom; and a good deal more of the like, is wisely put into the mouth of a man who has had a natural ‘nervousness’ exalted to an extreme degree by

‘Living alone in an empty house

Till a morbid hate and horror have grown
Of a world in which he has hardly mix'd,
And a morbid eating lichen fix'd
On a heart half turn'd to stone.’

Since the views and feelings which such a man is made to entertain and utter concerning the world, cannot have, and can scarcely be intended to have, much value in themselves, we must of course seek a further poetic purpose in their relations to other elements of the poem, of which the real heart and soul are in its love passages. These are as brilliant, true, and attractive as the others are, for the most part, perhaps intentionally, the reverse. We do not remember anywhere to have seen the passion of love described with the combined intensity and refinement of some passages in this poem. We cite as an example the following verses, which, for grace and tenderness, we can compare to nothing in modern art, except one or two of the best of Mendelssohn's 'Songs without words.'

'I have led her home, my love, my only friend.
There is none like her, none.
And never yet so warmly ran my blood
And sweetly, on and on
Calming itself to the long-wished-for end,
Full to the banks, close on the promised good.

'None like her, none.
Just now the dry-tongued laurels' pattering talk
Seem'd her light foot along the garden walk,
And shook my heart to think she comes once more ;
But even then I heard her close the door,
The gates of heaven are closed, and she is gone.

'Here will I lie, while these long branches sway,
And you fair stars that crown a happy day
Go in and out as if at merry play,
Who am no more so all forlorn,
As when it seem'd far better to be born
To labour and the mattock-harden'd hand,
Than nursed at ease and brought to understand
A sad astrology, the boundless plan
That makes you tyrants in your iron skies,
Innumerable, pitiless, passionless eyes,
Cold fires, yet with power to burn and brand
His nothingness into man.

But now shine on, and what care I,
Who in this stormy gulf have found a pearl,
The countercharm of space and hollow sky,
And do accept my madness, and would die
To save from some slight shame one simple girl.

'Would die ; for sullen-seeming death may give
More life to love than is or ever was
In our low world, where yet 'tis sweet to live.

Let no one ask me how it came to pass ;
 It seems that I am happy, that to me
 A livelier emerald twinkles in the grass,
 A purer sapphire melts into the sea.

‘ Has our whole earth gone nearer to the glow
 Of your soft splendours that you look so bright ?
 I have climb’d nearer out of lonely Hell.
 Beat happy stars, timing with things below,
 Beat with my heart more blest than heart can tell,
 Blest, but for some dark undercurrent woe
 That seems to draw — but it shall not be so :
 Let all be well, be well.’

These, and several other scarcely inferior passages in ‘*Maud*,’ might well have been entitled ‘music without notes.’ This kind of poetry which is almost a modern invention, and of which Mr. Tennyson is probably the greatest master, asks to be read as it was written, in a mood in which reflection voluntarily abandons for a time its mental leadership ; and thought follows instead of guiding, the current of emotion. A vague spiritual voluptuousness takes the place of distinct conceptions ; and we should as soon think of judging such verses by the ordinary laws of language as of determining the merit of a drama by the melodies of an opera. A sustained passage of this sort is perhaps one of the rarest if not the highest triumphs of poetry, ‘that sweeter and weaker sex of truth.’ It is only after a very complete mastery has been obtained in the lower excellences of his art, that the poet can trust himself thus completely to the direction of his feelings and his instinct of rhythm. It is no argument against the high value of such results that ‘feminine ‘grace and tenderness’ is the fullest commendation which a single phrase can give them. Such qualities are utterly opposed to, and incompatible with, the ‘effeminate,’ and they as nobly and rarely distinguish the strongest manhood as they do the eminently ‘manly art’ of poetry,—an art in which no woman can be shown to have attained more than a second-rate rank ; and in which, of the two or three who have attained even that eminence, not one has reached or seems to have attempted the kind of excellence which we thus describe by identifying it with that which is loveliest and most characteristic in the woman’s nature.

About the love-strain which we have called the soul of this poem, the other parts range themselves like pitchy clouds about the moon, to the great increase of its loveliness and their own obscurity. But, notwithstanding the service thus rendered by the latter to the former, we cannot help wishing the clouds

away. They are not the clouds of nature, even in a morbid state, but contain a large admixture of London smoke, or some such murky element, which renders them unfit for a poetical picture. The fever of politics should not have been caught by the Laureate, even under the disguise of a monomaniac, or, at all events, of one who has so little method in his madness as to assume that the metropolitan grocers will put less chicory in our coffee, because 'the long, long, canker of peace is over and done,' and we are paying double income tax for a reviving fight with the Czar. We know that many people differ from us in our dislike of these passages. The public are widely afflicted just now with certain odd notions of what poetry ought to be, and are ready to catch at any thing which sufficiently contradicts the established laws of the art as a realisation of their views. The oddest of these notions is that a poet must belong to his age; whereas our forefathers have always held that a poet ought to belong to no age. All great poets, and even all small ones, do and must 'reflect the character of their time,' as the cant phrase runs; but how? Not by taking the bread out of the mouth of the demagogue, or by doing the work of the parliamentary committee-man; but by the possession and consequent reflection of those peculiarities which constitute the permanent contribution of the age, whether for ill or for good, to the ever-growing tradition of civilisation. Such possession and such reflection evidently cannot be conscious. Accordingly no man reflects our age more truly than Mr. Tennyson does, when he is not thinking of doing so.

The superior external refinement of the time; its advances in secular knowledge and its pride in them; its daring and careless habits of thought; its wandering contemplation, weakening religious faith not so much by denying it as by rendering it inactive; its impatience and intolerance of sustained intellectual effort; its admiration for, and indefatigable industry in producing, material completeness: these and the like qualities, with their vast train of moral and material consequences, constitute an atmosphere which we all breathe, and over the results of which upon ourselves, it is impossible that we should obtain more than a very imperfect command. We may not all take the epidemic, but few escape without the premonitory symptoms; and of all persons the poet is most liable, by the conditions of his temperament, to imbibe and propagate the moral contagion.

Another strange notion which many persons have adopted of late years, and which is likely to make the least admirable quality of this work, namely, the dubiousness of its purpose,

a source of admiration, is that a poem cannot be profound unless it is, in whole or in part, obscure. The people like their prophets to foam and speak riddles. The profoundest artistic forms, no less than the profoundest philosophical statements, have usually a simplicity that scandalises the groundlings.

'Action, action, action,' again, is a demand which is made, with very indistinct apprehensions of what those who make it really desire, and which, inasmuch as the word is very generally confounded with *incident*, is likely to be best satisfied with the least pleasing element of '*Maud*,' namely, its plot. It is complained that our poets, from Wordsworth downwards, have been psychologists instead of historians: but to our thinking, it would be a fairer complaint that they have been historians without being psychologists. This, however, is a fault which is not to be charged on Mr. Tennyson. It is verity we want from a poet, and he may give us, then, as much or as little action as he likes. We do not quarrel with Thomson's '*Seasons*,' because they have little action: we only wish they had less; for the narrative episodes are the only unveracious portions of that delightful work. Goethe's '*Herman and Dorothea*,' a true domestic epic, has about as much incident in it as each of Mr. Tennyson's lovely Idyls; but what makes this poem one of the noblest inspirations of modern times is the fulness and verity of the psychological commentary by which its slight thread of incident is illustrated.

Modern readers, especially of the critic-producing class, are in fact more 'morbid' than modern poets, morbid as some of the more recent of these must be admitted to be. Poets are now called upon to fulfil conditions which no poet ever was, or probably ever will be, able to realise; and it is not improbable that, were any of the great master-pieces of the world to appear for the first time now, they would do so in the face of an inveterate and stupid opposition from 'cultivated readers,' who too often mistake a stomach that rejects everything for a fine palate, and insist upon the poet's adding to the banquet of absolute and impossible perfection demanded of him by the Philosopher in *Rasselas*, some as yet undiscovered intellectual condiment which shall endow them with an appetite to relish that perfection.

The poem next in significance to '*Maud*,' in the present volume, is '*The Brook*, an Idyl.' This piece is of that class in which we have declared our opinion that Mr. Tennyson is incomparable. When we read his poetry in this kind we wish that he might 'ever do nothing but that.'

The style of this poem, its subject, and the refinement with which the very startling, yet natural denouement is suggested, are exquisitely beautiful; and we regret that we are unable to convey an adequate idea of it without quoting the whole. Indeed, it is a work of so masterly a kind, that no touch can be omitted from the rural picture. Mr. Tennyson never wrote anything more wholesome, sweet, and real than this *Idyl*, which seems as if it had been expressly composed to refresh the spirits and restore us to a sense of life and nature after the feverish dreams of '*Maud*.'

This poem and the '*Ode on the Duke of Wellington*,' which contains some noble passages; the love-passages of '*Maud*,' and other parts of this unequal volume, prove that the author is at present in the enjoyment of his most peculiar poetical gifts in their perfection; and, upon this proof, we once more call upon him to do the duty which England has long expected of him, and to give us a great poem on a great subject. On such a subject it is no secret that he has long had his consideration engaged; it is one with which he has amply shown his power to grapple, and if he, 'through thinking much 'of the end, cannot begin,' and so allows the prime of his life to slip away without further actual result, he will not have acted up to the responsibilities imposed upon him by the possession of his extraordinary gifts.

The striking metrical novelties of this volume call for one or two remarks. In the greater portion of the principal poem, we have a complete return to the Anglo-Saxon principle of isochronous bars, of which the filling up is left to the will of the poet. Hitherto, all poets, since the total disuse of the Anglo-Saxon measure, which long survived the Anglo-Saxon language, have held themselves bound by certain classical laws, fixing the invariable use, or at least the great preponderance, of one and the same kind of 'foot' in the same kind of verse. Coleridge, in '*Christabel*,' was the first to make a systematic attempt to regulate his verse simply by equi-distant accents. In his preface to that poem, he seems to regard this idea as a discovery of his own; whereas it was merely a return to the original principle of English verse. But Coleridge's practice was not by any means a full development of the principle; for throughout '*Christabel*,' it will be found that, in each considerable passage, there is a preponderance of a particular foot, conferring on that passage a 'dactylic,' 'trochaic,' 'iambic,' or 'anapaestic' character, as the case may be. But, in the greater part of '*Maud*,' there is really no other metrical foundation than equality in the number of accents in each verse. The measure, for the

most part, is an hexameter of the most lawless kind; and, if the reader will be at the pains of comparing a few of the opening verses of 'Maud' with the observations of Rask upon the hexametrical character of the Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic verse, he will at once admit the justice of our assertion that this new metrical mode belongs essentially to the same category. There are these differences, however. Mr. Tennyson's metre employs rhyme, which the Anglo-Saxon did not; and it does not make any systematic use of alliteration, which was essential to the Anglo-Saxon. But these differences are not fundamental, though they may seem so at first. Rhyme in the greater portion of 'Maud' has no metrical value; and that Mr. Tennyson felt this is proved by the immense intervals at which the rhymes commonly occur, and still more by the total irregularity of those intervals. Again, it was the monosyllabic character of the Anglo-Saxon language which rendered alliteration necessary for the indication of the places of the accents; but modern English is no longer so characterised; and in a line, say of from fourteen to eighteen syllables, we have seldom any difficulty about the situation of the metrical stress in any one of its six places.

The metre of 'Maud,' then, is a real metre, though a very lax one. Indeed, to the best of our recollection, it has no equal in ancient or modern verse for its freedom from law. Such freedom is always an immense disadvantage for any but the greatest masters; and if it be hard to make up, by perpetual self-control and internal law, for the defect of external bond in ordinary blank verse, which is a comparatively strict metre, how hard (might we not say how impossible?) must it be to write up to the requirements of the new hexameter of which Mr. Tennyson is the inventor. Neither sound nor sense can reconcile us to such lines as,

'Now to the scream of a maddened beach dragged down by the wave,'

or to

'The deathful grinning mouths of the fortress flames,
The blood-red blossom of war with a heart of fire.'

The present volume contains other metrical experiments, which deserve more consideration than we can afford to give them. Indeed, the whole collection is a series of bold novelties in this way. We hope that the Laureate will not allow his skill, and, as in the case of 'In Memoriam,' great success, in the invention or adaptation of metres, to seduce him into an over-valuation and inordinate exercise of this peculiar faculty; and that the more important work which we still expect from

him may be written, if not in some well-recognised, at least in some safe form of verse, the choice of which, for a great poem, is a consideration of significance, second only to that of the subject.

The interest and attention which the subject of Metre is at present exciting is a curious fact in our poetical history, which seems, in this regard, to have traversed a great cycle of change, and to have returned to an experimental era much resembling that which commenced with Surrey.

From Surrey to Cowley, the poets were nearly all experimentalists. Imitations or attempted importations of classical metres were constantly repeated, from the time when the first of these poets made his notable trial of translating part of the *Æneid* into rhymeless iambic brachycatalectic trimeters, or 'blank verse' as this measure has long been exclusively called, to that in which the last wearied the world with the lawless vagaries of the so-called 'Pindaric Ode.' The amount of labour and science brought to bear upon these, for the most part, fruitless experiments, by the poets of the era specified, is only appreciable by such as have made themselves acquainted with the minor, rarely read, and chiefly youthful effusions of those songsters, each of whom seems to have undergone an ordeal of metrical doubts and difficulties, from which only a few ever thoroughly escaped into a free, natural, and instinctive practice of English verse. The immoderate addiction of the succeeding poetical period to that most unheroic of all metres, the 'heroic couplet,' was a not unnatural result of the metrical extravagances into which Cowley, Donne, George Herbert, and others had fallen. From Dryden to Cowper, scarcely a considerable poem was written in any other metre than that couplet or 'blank verse:' and, although few of the poets of even that unimagined age were able to resist the pleasure of proving that they also could scale the empyrean on the unruly Pegasus of their predecessors, their cold-blooded attempts in the 'irregular ode' were only perpetrated once in a way, and to show their breeding. On the whole, the poets of this period entertained a wise dread of metre, and dispensed with it as far as possible, keeping, in their principal works, not only to the simplest and most prosaic measures, but to the simplest and most prosaic types of those measures, namely, the 'Pope couplet,' with the 'caesura on the fourth syllable' and a strong stop at the end of the second line; and 'blank verse,' which if verse is anything more than a dull succession of similar sets of alternately strong and weak syllables, must be looked upon as very 'blank' indeed.

A third era commenced about the time of Cowper, when satire ceased to be the main region of the poet, and an ill-comprehended classical authority gave place to more natural thoughts and feelings expressed with more spontaneous music. The poets of this period, with almost the single and great exception of Coleridge, have knowingly and purposely despised and neglected the consideration of metre as an art. The consequence has been that the verse of the last half century presents a curious series of illustrations, both of extreme poverty of metre, and of very high spontaneous metrical character, the last being of course in small proportion to the first. In our own day, as we have said, we not unfrequently witness a sort of recurrence to what we have called the experimental age of English metre. Experiments which were tried and ended in failure three centuries ago, are now being tried over again, probably for the most part in ignorance of what has already been done. The last few years have been distinguished by quite a rage for the impossible revival of the dactylic hexameter. But modern experimentalists have not stopped at imitation. The living and lately deceased poets of England and America, have almost without exception tried to originate new and striking metres. A few decided and even brilliant successes may be picked out from amongst the immense number of ignorant and unhappy failures. Coleridge, Campbell, Hood, and Mr. Tennyson have made real additions to our collection of standard metrical forms, and have remarkably contradicted the assertion of the author* of a recent 'Treatise on English Versification,' that 'in the whole compass of English versification, there does not appear to be any room left for discovery.' On considering the condition of English metre in its latest stage, as displayed in the writings of the present Laureate, we seem to comprehend metrical possibilities beyond anything as yet attained. One of the most powerful means of metrical effect remains as yet comparatively untried by English poets. We mean the element of metrical contrast, as developed by the Greeks in their antistrophic poetry. This effect has often been attempted by a formal imitation of the Greek dramatic choruses; but such imitations have necessarily failed; because, not to speak of other causes of difference, these choruses assume the assistance of music, diversity of persons, and stage arrangement, without which their complex metrical symmetry cannot be rendered or artistically felt. Elaborate metrical contrasts and corre-

* Rev. W. Crowe.

spondences, if the poet would have them affect the feelings with due simplicity and decision, must depend upon far other principles; and these principles, we think, are only beginning to be apprehended. We see no reason why there should not occur a new development of the powers of metre analogous to the wonderful development in modern times of the corresponding art of music. Mr. Tennyson, in a few of his poems, particularly in that called 'The Vision of Sin,' has succeeded better than any other poet, except Coleridge, in the exceedingly difficult work of employing different metres, with right effect, in one and the same poem. 'The Brook' affords another example of such success. The laws of metrical transition have never been examined, and very few poets have attained to the effective practice of such transition, although most have attempted it.

Another quality which worthily distinguishes the writings of the Laureate and the best of our recent poets, is the great development which their practice has conferred upon some of the long-established English metres. Take, for example, the old ballad-stanza, as it is used in Mr. Tennyson's 'Talking-Oak,' the eight-syllable quatrain in the 'Day-Dream,' and blank verse in 'Ulysses,' and the 'Morte d'Arthur.' It is impossible not to perceive that a permanent increase of power and beauty has accrued to these metres from that poet's practice. The work of developing the powers of those great standard metres which have proved themselves to be in harmony with the genius of our language by centuries of custom, is perhaps the highest as well as the safest way in which a poet can at present prosecute his art. There are not more than six or eight measures which have gained really extensive popular approval, and of these the powers of not more than the moiety have ever been duly and fully exhibited by recent writers. No modern poet has done full justice, in a long poem, to the eight-syllable couplet, which, as treated by Chaucer and Fletcher, is one of the very finest of our metres; or to 'rhythm royal,' that most famous measure of the most famous ages of English poetry. Yet, with these admirable, approved, and manageable metres at hand,—metres which our early poets have shown to be suited to the most sustained and varied flights of poetry, most of our rising versifiers persist in writing in measures, which, like 'blank-verse' and the 'heroic couplet,' labour under the triple disadvantage of being extremely easy to write ill in, no less difficult to manage properly, and of having had their powers developed to the utmost by great and recent poets.

ART. IX. — 1. *Transcaucasia. Sketches of the Nations and Races between the Black Sea and the Caspian.* By BARON VON HAXTHAUSEN. 8vo. London: 1854.

2. *Haxthausen. The Tribes of the Caucasus.* 12mo. London: 1855.

WHATSOEVER may be the result of the present war in the East, it can hardly fail to revive and extend our acquaintance with the border-lands of Asia and Europe. Since Constantinople became a Mohammedan city, there have been, until a comparatively recent period, few motives for visiting these regions. The chances of gain scarcely compensated for the certainty of being fleeced, if not worse entreated, by an interminable series of men of prey — inn-keepers, guides, government officials, and professional highwaymen, — and it argued no ordinary zeal for art and science to carry a portfolio into Georgia, or to study the strata and flora of Armenia. As regards Europe, indeed, these countries have stood still for many ages, and an account of them in the fifteenth century would require little alteration in the nineteenth. But written descriptions of these regions are few in number and meagre in their contents. The Byzantine historians, so diffuse on matters of court etiquette and theological squabbles, rarely condescend to notice their immediate neighbours; and but for the wars of the Roman and Persian empires, we might have searched their pages in vain for the names of Armenia and Georgia. At the time when the Genoese occupied the harbours, and penetrated far into the interior of the Transcaucasian provinces, Europe was too much engrossed by its own divisions to feel much curiosity respecting them; and the few travellers who passed through this district were more anxious to learn the price of furs and bees-wax in the market of Tiflis, than to describe the people, their employments, and their productions. After the lapse of nearly five centuries, the curtain has begun to rise: within the last thirty years the isthmus which divides the Euxine and Caspian seas has been frequently visited; and our knowledge of its physical and social aspects has been advanced, sufficiently for a tolerably accurate delineation of them.

Of recent sketches of the lands and races between the Black Sea and the Caspian Baron von Haxthausen's work is one of the most generally instructive. He is very far, indeed, from being a methodical writer, and his readers have often just cause

to complain of the erratic propensities of his pen. He shifts the scene 'from Thebes to Athens' with more than poetic license; and to have opened any subject is with him generally a signal for dropping or postponing it to some other page and occasion. The English reader, indeed, can hardly be grateful enough to the English translator: and, if he has not essayed to read the original, cannot be aware of the amount of his obligation. Generally when there are French and German versions of the same work, it is better, if time be a consideration, to have recourse to the former, not so much because there are any insuperable difficulties in the German language, as because not one German writer in a hundred has the least conception of the due dimensions of a sentence. But the French version of Haxthausen's *Transcaucasia* is an exception to the rule. It is better because it is easier to read than the German original. The English translation, however, is a great improvement on both. While the matter of the original is scrupulously retained, the form in which it is presented is made lighter and more agreeable; and the author, always a very instructive companion, is rendered by Mr. Taylor's skill a very pleasant one also.

The Baron von Haxthausen is one of those locomotive and inquisitive persons, to whom all who stay at home by choice or constraint, as well as those who keep to the beaten roads of the world, ought to be very grateful. For their benefit and behoof he has undergone during many years,—we believe more than a quarter of a century,—annoyances and privations, which to people of average organisation, are nearly as serious as the discomforts of an excursion-train or the hold of a slaver. Has he not endured the horrors of Russian beds, board and lodging, and that too in regions unvisited by even the rudiments of civilised cooking and cleanliness? And let no uninitiated person talk lightly of a man who can sleep and feed without a murmur on the beds and the fare of ordinary Russian inns. In comparison with the diet, the prodigal son in his worst estate fared delicately; and with regard to the lodging, it is universally preoccupied by tenants, which, like the monsters in Bunyan's vision, are 'of the nature of flesh-eaters.' 'All 'these and many more' discomforts 'come flocking' in the outlandish tracts where the Baron has so often encountered the winter's cold, and the summer's heat — to say nothing of 'foul 'ways, spavined jades,' and carriages that, after dislocating their owner's limbs, end every other day with a compound fracture of themselves. Yet he seldom complains of these or any other ills that travellers are heirs to in Eastern Europe, and we rather infer his casualties than find them recorded in his pages. And

his sturdy patience is, fortunately for his readers, accompanied by an unwearied spirit of curiosity. He is none of those mealy-mouthed travellers, who would pass from Dan to Beersheba without asking a single home question, or prying into other people's business. Thus partly with the information he has gained directly from official documents and personages, and partly with the wayside hints he has picked up indirectly, the Baron has amassed nearly as much useful knowledge as would fill an ordinary parliamentary report. We shall now proceed to profit by his diligence, and survey briefly the very interesting region which he visited.

There are districts of the globe which seem destined in all ages to be the highways, rather than the permanent abodes, of civilisation. Among them is the isthmus that divides the seas of Azof and the Euxine from the waters of the Caspian. Its northern mountains are believed by the soundest ethnologists to have been the cradle of the human race; its plains were the homes of the first emigrants. To its highlands ascend equally the streams of primeval history and of the most ancient myths: the ark of Noah and the vulture of Prometheus. Over this ground have passed 'the drums and trappings' of a hundred invaders. It was the road of Odin and his Asæ to the Elbe and the Baltic. On the shores of a lake at the foot of Mount Ararat, Nimrod is still believed to have been slain by the Caucasian dalesmen. To its coasts the Argonauts steered through 'the blue Symplegades;' through its valleys the Scythians poured themselves upon Western Asia. The river Koor still echoes the name of the prophetic and historical Cyrus; and that of Alexander the Great is familiar even now to every Circassian minstrel. It was the centre of the kingdom of Mithridates, and the scene of his last irretreivable defeat. For centuries Rome and Parthia contended for the possession of it. Goth and Hun successively over-ran this ground. It was for ever coming 'between the pass and fell incensed points of mighty opposites.' Its civilisation has been rapidly matured, and as rapidly blighted. It has been wasted by 'the tenth wave' of barbarian desolation; by the hosts of Tamerlane and Genghis Khan. In the middle ages its hills were covered, like those of the Rhine land, with the strongholds of a feudal aristocracy, which in their turn, like every other province and appanage of the Byzantine empire, yielded to the Turk. The Turk has in his turn been partially supplanted by the Russian, and the day may not be far distant in which Western Europe may again contribute to the population of this often won and often lost borderland.

Nor is the sea-bord of the Transcaucasian provinces of less historical interest than the interior. Centuries before the Christian era, the shores of the Black Sea were studded with Hellenic colonies, which bartered their corn, hides, and timber for the fabrics and the luxuries of Corinth and Athens. The granaries of Constantinople were here, as those of the elder capital of the empire were in Sicily and Egypt; and as the Byzantine dominion collapsed, the Greek settlers gave place to the Genoese. Even at the present hour the Georgians and Mingrelians celebrate the good harness and weapons of the 'Igenois,' and show their respect for their former allies by offering up prayers in the churches which they erected. Nor is the ancient spirit dead in this land of mutations 'frequent and fierce.' The Muscovite has indeed established himself in many of its plains and fenced cities; he has supplanted the kings of Georgia, and shares with the Turk the possession of Armenia. Yet in the mountains of the Caucasus, and in most of the eastern valleys of the Isthmus, his power is set at nought, and his advance towards Central Asia has been arrested, in the first instance, by races whom Western Europe has at present hardly taken into account.

The physical aspect of this region is not less remarkable than its historical associations. The sister continents which are united by this broad neck of land seem to vie with each other in stamping upon it their respective characteristics. Europe contributes her sterner features, Asia the pomp and prodigality of her vegetation. The climate of Georgia and Mingrelia is genial, resembling that of southern France; while Armenia endures almost the rigours of an arctic winter. The flora of the former districts is that of Italy and Spain, while that of the latter resembles northern Germany in its sumptuous forests of beech and oak. Wheat and millet are both of them indigenous crops in this region; and in one day's journey the traveller beholds the olive, the cedar, the ilcx, and the pine. In some parts he encounters a sterile desert, or an impenetrable morass, in others the land is 'as the garden of God.' The inhabitants are nearly as various as the soil and its productions, and in the features of its tribes the ethnologist discerns the opposite peculiarities of the races which drink the waters of the Oxus, or inhabit the sandy islands and rock-bound coasts of the Baltic.

We shall perhaps afford our readers some insight into a region so rich in its historical associations and its natural capabilities, if we follow the Baron von Haxthausen's route, with as much regularity as his own eccentric movements will permit. The sketch will be necessarily slight, as a full account of the

Transcaucasian provinces is incompatible with our limits; but we shall endeavour to render it as complete as they will allow, by dwelling only on the prominent features of the land, its people and productions. The Baron indeed is an excellent guide for fireside travellers. Nothing comes amiss to him, or is regarded as beneath his notice, in men or cities, agriculture or trade, in the prosaic present or the legendary past. Nor is it any disadvantage, but rather the contrary, either to the author himself or his readers, that he visited Transcaucasia twelve years ago, long before the eddies of the present war disturbed its social surface. In a season of profound peace, and with every aid from the Russian government, he surveyed the space between the Euxine and the Caspian, as deliberately as he could have surveyed England from the Severn to the Tweed. He is not, indeed, free from Russian predilections, as we shall have occasion to note presently; but neither, on the other hand, has his judgment been warped by the present controversy between Russia and the Western Powers; and he may accordingly be accepted as a fair witness of her administration of provinces in which her authority is only partially established, but which in another generation would, without the intervening delays of the present war, have been inseparably attached to her empire. Before we commence our tour in the Baron's company, we will say here, in order that we may not be obliged to digress from the subject at a less convenient point, that we are not among those who regard, as they phrase it, the present war as one absolutely of civilisation against barbarism. We cannot presume to speak of Russia at the present moment, as Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries justly spoke of Turkey. We cannot forget the material progress of the great northern empire, during the last century and a half. We cannot, because we are now unfortunately committed to strife with her, forget how recently we prized her alliance; we cannot ignore, because our friendship has been interrupted, the courtesy and accomplishments of her sons, the vigour and vigilance of her rulers, and the wisdom, or at least the policy, which has guided her general intercourse with Europe. It would be as unjust to deny that Russia has forwarded the interests of civilisation, as it would be absurd to affirm that Turkey has promoted them. But Russian civilisation, however well adapted to its own empire, and to Asia especially, is alien to the civilisation of Europe generally, and its merits and defects are alike fraught with danger to its western and central powers. Persia under its great monarchs Cyrus and the first Darius, was a powerful instrument in civilising the nomade races of

the East, from the shores of the Euxine to the Indus. It redeemed them from the rudeness of shepherd and robber tribes, and by the machinery of its great satrapies, brought them within the verge and scope of regular government. But, on the other hand, the absorption of the Asiatic Greek communities, by the same power, was a calamity for the world, since the civilisation which raised the Bactrians and Assyrians, depressed the Ionians and Dorians, in the social scale. At the present moment, Russia, as regards Western Europe, occupies a very similar position to that of Persia, as regarded Greece 2000 years ago. To the races on its eastern borders, it stands in the relation of a protector and improver: 'stepping westward' it is converted into an oppressor and corruptor. Its mission may be on the grand plateau of Asia, but not among the seats of Roman or Teutonic civilisation.

On the 1st of August, 1843, Baron von Haxthausen, accompanied by Prince Paul Lieven and two other fellow-travellers, crossed over from Kertsch to Anapa—names familiar just now as household words, but then presenting only the ordinary associations of Russian garrison towns. His description of Kertsch may be acceptable to our readers:—

'The view of the town of Kertsch, and the surrounding country seen in the bright morning light, was extremely beautiful. The town rose before us in an amphitheatre; and upon a steep projecting hill to the extreme left, the newly erected museum for the reception of the Taurian antiquities, built in the form of a Greek temple, terminated the masses of elegant buildings. Behind these heights, arose loftier mountains, everywhere studded with conical hillocks, the mysterious and ancient sepulchral Kurgani. The houses in the town are built in the Russian fashion, with rows of pillars, balconies, and low roofs. The Greek churches, with their endless green cupolas and colossal gilded crosses, had an extremely picturesque appearance in the distance; while the whole scene wore quite a southern aspect, and presented to the imagination a rich store of reminiscences of the ancient Pantikapæon, upon the site and out of the ruins of which Kertsch is built—of the empire of the Bosphorus, —of Mithridates, and his tragical end, which took place upon this spot.'

From Anapa the travellers followed the eastern shore of the Euxine, as far as Redout Kalé, touching at several military stations of note, both in ancient and modern history. From Kertsch to the frontiers of Asia, the Russians had established a chain of fortified posts, requiring for their defence a force of nearly 25,000 men. This, at least, was the peace-establishment twelve years ago. The forts themselves are described as, for the most part, weak, consisting only of palisades, and sur-

rounded by shallow trenches, usually dry,—a description which has been almost repeated in the details of our recent expeditions to Anapa and its neighbourhood. The maintenance of her Transcaucasian provinces is represented by Haxthausen as a heavy burden on Russia, and he is good enough to ascribe her undertaking it, to the philanthropical purpose of civilising eventually Central Asia! We assent more readily to his suggestion that should European enterprise be steadily directed to these regions—and their productions would well reward it—these military outposts would expand into flourishing markets and harbours, such as have already, at two distinct eras, lined the coasts of the Black Sea.

At Redout Kalé, the journey into the interior commenced. At first, the most striking feature of the road was the forests through which it ran. On the southern spurs and acclivities of the Caucasus, the vegetation of the north blends itself with that of the south of Europe. The beech, the oak, the elm, and the pine are intermingled with planes, chestnuts and walnuts, with olives, laurels, and cherry-trees. The howlings of the jackals at night proclaimed also the neighbourhood of Asia. The vine in Mingrelia is married to the elm, but not by the hand of the vine-dresser. Its luxuriant festoons of foliage and fruit cover the stems and boughs of the supporting trees, but the grapes and the wine are equally worthless. The soil of Mingrelia is well adapted to tobacco, but its cultivation is slovenly. The whole district, indeed, suffers from the indolence of its inhabitants, the exactions of its government, and the absence of capital and markets. The tiller of the ground is little better than a squatter. Air, pasture, water, and wood are, according to traditional law, public property, and the rights of the chase are free to every one. His forest right, among others, the Mingrelian does not suffer to lapse through neglect of usage; and these primeval woods, which under proper management would supply half the dockyards of Europe with timber, are scandalously maltreated by him. When he 'marries and settles,' or on any pretext leaves his paternal roof, he cuts or burns down a clearing, builds himself a log-house, hedges in the homestead and a few acres of land, and lazily commences his part of *pater-familias*. His dwelling is commonly devoid of the simplest conveniences, having neither chair, table, nor chimney. He burns or scalds his meat, and his bread is a vile compound of maize-flour, ill-dressed and worse baked. Yet, like all semi-barbarous people, the Mingrelians are excessively fond of personal ornament. The women go barefoot, but wear on their heads kerchieves of gold brocade; and without a shirt to his

back, the peasant often displays no inconsiderable amount of gold or silver decorations. Feudalism pervaded and lingered in the Transcaucasian provinces long after it had generally declined in the rest of Europe. It is remarkable, however, that the idea of serfage, if not introduced, has been greatly promoted in both Georgia and Mingrelia, by their Russian masters. In the latter country, under its native rulers, the cultivators held their lands of the crown, the church, or the nobles. The nobles, indeed, were at all times eager to convert their tenants into serfs, but the innovation was successfully resisted, and only within a recent period has it prevailed to any extent. The holders of church and crown property are still free, although their ancient privileges have been seriously curtailed by their present rulers. In another generation, unless the progress of Russian assimilation be arrested, all the distinctive features of Mingrelia will have become things of the past.

Of the condition of the upper classes of Mingrelia, even a few years ago, we have the following glimpse in Maxthausen's account of the late Dadian or Prince. It differs little from that of a German suzerain of the 15th century : —

‘The old Dadian spent his time in hunting, and in contests with the northern warlike and predatory tribes: he was constantly engaged in hostile excursions with his suite of young nobles and princes, and during peace passed his time in the chase accompanied by his hundred princes,—the number of adult male members of the princely families. On these occasions the herdsmen used to give information one to another, of the direction which the prince was taking, in order to conceal their cattle; for if the party came upon a herd, some of the beasts would, without ceremony, be slain upon the spot, roasted and eaten. Whenever any stranger or traveller visited the Dadian or met him on these hunting excursions, the latter instantly presented him with the finest horse that chanced to be at hand, without asking the owner's leave; but it not unfrequently happened that the owner watched for the stranger's departure, and took back from him the Dadian's present.’

This free-handed hunter of men and beasts was contemporary with some persons yet alive who little suspected the presence in their generation of such a mediæval patriarch. Few things are more curious than such collateral varieties of social life. Addison and Pope passed their lives within a few hundred miles of the scenes of Rob Roy's operations, and were as ignorant of his raids and levyings of black mail, as the freebooter himself of the ‘Spectator,’ and ‘Rape of the Lock.’ And the Dadian of Mingrelia, with his hundred princes, went forth to the chase and returned to the banquet as the generations before them had ever done, while a few days' journey to the west, the railway

was flinging its radii over the earth, and steam by land and water was drawing into proximity London, and Calcutta, and New York.

It is obvious that the first step towards the improvement of Mingrelia will be the establishment of markets, which raising the value of its raw productions—its timber, hides, wax, and honey—will also introduce among its people a desire for the conveniences and luxuries of Europe. If the present war should have no other issue than the re-opening of the Black Sea to general traffic, an important step will have been made towards the civilisation of Transcaucasia. Haxthausen occasionally points out the opportunities which Russia possesses or neglects of turning these provinces to good account. We accept his suggestions with the following amendment,—that whatever it may be competent for Russia to effect, it is practicable for the more civilised and commercial states of Europe to attempt, in the good work of ameliorating the civil and social condition of this border-land. The memory of the Genoese colonists is still cherished by the Georgians and Mingrelians. England and her allies may confer upon Transcaucasia more lasting and extensive benefits than it derived from a petty Italian republic: and while they rescue so fair a portion of the earth from the conscriptions and exactions of a military despotism, they will at the same time open new avenues to commerce, and provide dépôts in a fertile and remunerating soil for their own redundant population.

Our travellers, although now and then unlucky in their carriages, were singularly fortunate in their guide and interpreter. We have, indeed, been somewhat ungrateful to this personage, who contributes not a little to the entertainment of Haxthausen's readers. Peter Neu, who was engaged as courier and 'flapper' general to the party at Tiflis, was 'a perfect original.' He had trundled through the world with a happy indifference to creed, manners, and customs, and everywhere found himself at home. He had come when a lad with his kinsfolk and countrymen from Würtemberg, settled at Odessa in the first instance and afterwards in a German village colony near Tiflis. But Peter Neu was neither a home-keeping youth, neither had he a homely wit. He had a remarkable talent for acquiring languages, and knew at least a dozen European and Asiatic tongues. Besides constant ramblings in the Transcaucasian provinces, he had visited Asia Minor and Persia, where, if he can be said ever to have had a local habitation at all, he established himself, being retained for eight years as interpreter to the crown prince, Abbas

Mirza. But he had a gift more extraordinary and valuable than even the rapid acquisition of foreign idioms. In the course of his travels he had picked up as many legends as Scheherazade herself and embellished them nearly as agreeably with the aid of a strong poetical fancy. Day and night would Peter, whether at rest or in motion, pour forth his stories: and he was always adding to his budget, if village, hill, or cavern that came in his way had any story to tell. Moreover he added to these virtues a love of mischief and buffoonery that constantly brought him into scrapes with his graver companions. 'Hardly a day passed,' says the Baron, 'without his receiving a downright scolding for his stupidity.' But the scolding might have as well been bestowed on more vulnerable ears than Peter Neu's. It only brought out fresh demonstrations of affection and stolidity; for as soon as the storm was over, he embraced and kissed his master in the tenderest manner. We trust that in 1855, as in 1843, Peter may still be the guide, philosopher, and friend of travellers, and be daily adding to his stores of pleasant and merry tales.

We now approach Georgia. The first aspect of this ancient kingdom is described by Haxthausen as combining grandeur with luxuriant beauty. At the little town of Khori, on the Mingrelian frontier, the travellers surveyed a panoramic view, comprising on the north the glaciers of the Caucasus 'tinged with the rosy hues of morning,' and on the south the summits of the Elbrouz and Kasbech mountains, towering above the lofty ridge of Akhalzik. The spurs of this mountain-basin are everywhere covered with ruined castles, and the valleys display the opulence of tropical vegetation. The farm-houses and hamlets, bosomed in the forests, impress the stranger with favourable impressions of the well-being and industry of the Georgian people. But the land and its inhabitants have fallen from their earlier and better estate, and have little reason to congratulate themselves on their incorporation with the Russian empire.

It must be owned indeed that their native government was ill-adapted to render the Georgians a prosperous or contented people. Its basis was a feudal constitution, perfectly analogous to that of the Romano-Germanic races of Central and Western Europe. The sovereign was lord and chief of the superior order of nobles: the inferior nobility looked up to the higher as their lords in turn; while the peasants, though not subjected to bondage, were liable to military and seigniorial service and tribute. The hierarchy corresponded to the temporal feudal state, with which it was closely connected, and the gradations of spiritual rank were modelled on the system of the secular grandees. But

the change which was gradually wrought in European feudalism, by the increasing power of the towns and the influence of commerce, scarcely affected Georgia. For although the kings attempted to elevate trade by constituting the merchants a separate class, nearly equal in dignity to the Aznauri or nobles of the third order, the military prejudices of the nation looked down on the mercantile interest, as a Pariah class of pedlars and hucksters. Few Georgians indeed voluntarily incurred the degradation of commerce. They left it to the Armenians, who from time immemorial had been established in their towns, and who, like the Jews in the middle ages of Europe, manage to extract and retain nearly all the circulating wealth of the land.

We collect these particulars from very various portions of Haxthausen's work: but it is far from easy to follow his frequent digressions. We glean enough, however, from them to perceive that, while the rest of the western world advanced with greater or less rapidity, Georgia has remained unprogressive, and hardly availed itself at any period of the natural resources of its soil or situation.

Yet its ancient military and feudal condition was preferable to its present subjection to Russian centralisation. In the former, though they may lie dormant for ages, the seeds of improvement exist: under the latter the martial vigour is suppressed, while no compensation is afforded by the greater freedom or encouragement of material enterprises. Into Georgia, as into Mingrelia, Russia has introduced serfage. Accustomed to regard the peasants in their own country as serfs, the Russians have depressed to that condition the predial tenants of the nobles and princes of this land. Physically their lot for the moment may not have been rendered worse; but morally it is unquestionably deteriorated; and the Georgian serf has fewer motives for exertion than his ancestors, clogged and encumbered as they were by feudal services. But the imposition of serfage is not the only evil which the country has to deplore under its present masters. The nobles in their civil relations are supplanted by Russian officials, and their military pomp and pride are extinguished by the dreary uniformity of the imperial service. Even Haxthausen, who is by no means disinclined to view the progress of Russia favourably, is constrained to admit that its theory and practice of government bear heavily on the Transcaucasian provinces. He remarks that: —

‘In Russia the system of government is derived singly and simply from the theory and practice of modern bureaucracy. It is undeniable that centralisation and generalised forms of government in the higher

departments of administration, perfectly correspond with the character of the Slavonic race, and are peculiarly adapted to Russia. But as there is a deep-seated contrast between the native character of the German and Slavonic races, a system which is adapted and necessary to Russia is wholly unsuited, and perhaps fatal on the shores of the Baltic, and in the provinces of the Caucasus.'

With few motives to produce more than he can himself consume, or at least more than the neighbouring markets require, the tillage of the Georgian peasants is slovenly, and their dwellings are poorly and incommodiously furnished. Apparently they were by no means forward in gratifying Haxthausen's curiosity respecting their internal arrangement. Of the *saklis* or houses into which he was admitted, he says:—

'The rooms have a miserable appearance: in the middle is a small hearth, with a hole directly over it in the roof through which the smoke passes; on one side is a kind of closet, in which the beds are piled up, and on the opposite side another closet, or pantry, where the food is kept.'

The farming in Georgia is nearly on a par with the discomfort of its dwellings. The people are described as naturally indolent; but the fault lies probably as much in their institutions as in their natural disposition. Although no longer harassed by the incessant wars of their forefathers, many, if not most of the feudal incumbrances on industry survive. In the first place, may be reckoned the precarious tenure of property in land. At no period has Georgia been a thickly peopled country, and there are still tracts around many villages which have never been brought into cultivation. The farmers have consequently no strict allotment; so that if, for example, a man dies, leaving a son in his minority, the nearest neighbour takes the seigniorial land, with the taxes to which it is liable, and the heir on coming of age, takes his share from the waste land.

Nor is this the only discouragement to individual enterprise or the employment of capital in land. There is great irregularity in the assessment of the land-tax; in some districts it is paid by personal service; in others it has been commuted for a payment in money. The assessment in either kind varies from a tenth to a fifth or sixth of the produce. The waste land also, which is the property of the commune, has been, especially of late years, encroached upon by the territorial nobles, and the predial population has consequently swelled the mass of the mendicant populace in the towns. That agricultural improvements should have been introduced into districts nearly devoid of capital, was not to be expected. The Georgian farmer, indeed, scrupulously clings to the rude usages and implements of his

ancestors. He is burdened with traditional customs. Eight, or ten yoke of oxen must be put to each plough. His wheat is threshed out upon a floor made of fir-planks, in the open air, by a curious instrument of a triangular form, constructed of boards fastened together, and armed with small stones and blunt iron pins. Even the German colonists have adopted this slovenly fashion. The culture of the vine is scarcely better understood by the Georgians, who apathetically allow the German emigrants to double at least the produce of the vineyards. The soil would well repay the labour of cultivation. Haxthausen saw vines 'in old neglected gardens, with stems measuring a foot in diameter, and bearing grapes as good as those on ten-year old plants.' He describes the better class of vines as resembling those of Spain and Burgundy; but with little aroma. Viticulture, however, is not generally encouraged in Transcaucasia. The wines are not exported; the Tatars, from religious scruples, never partake of the juice of the grape; and the Armenians leave to their neighbours the wine-trade as an unremunerative speculation.

We have dwelt the longer upon the people and productions of Georgia on account of the importance of the country as one of the principal highways, for Europe and Russia alike, to Central Asia. The ruler of Georgia commands, provided he understands and is firm in his position, the whole commerce of the regions east of the Caspian. He commands also the resources of Persia, and holds in his grasp the means of direct communication with the tribes north of the Indus. Hitherto Georgia, though boasting of its remote antiquity as a kingdom, and pretending to trace its royal house to the stem of David, can scarcely claim to have been an independent nation, since she has never been able to defend herself against the Persians on the one hand, and the Russians on the other. The rulers of the latter people have not read history in vain, and during half a century of occupation have studiously encouraged the weakness of their Georgian subjects. The royal house fell an easy prey into their hands; the interval has been employed in dividing and degrading a warlike nobility, and in attempts to transform an agricultural race into a manufacturing one, duly bridled by government regulations and monopolies. The attempt indeed has been but partially successful, owing to the repugnance of the natives themselves to forego their ancestral habits. Yet as regards Georgia and the Transcaucasian provinces generally, the policy of the czars cannot be mistaken. In the first place, they would willingly create or stimulate so much manufacturing industry as should render them independent of other countries,

and of England in particular; and, in the next, they aim at forestalling the artisans of the West in the markets of Central Asia. For these ends Transcaucasia affords the raw materials, while its labour would enable Russia to connect with herself the tribes which she will hereafter employ as stepping-stones across the deserts between the Caspian Sea and British India.

Could Sir Walter Scott have visited Georgia and familiarised himself with its people and its legends, we might very probably have now possessed another series of 'Tales of my Landlord.' The Georgian nobles retain even now much that is picturesque and chivalrous in their customs and demeanour, and though not unacquainted with the comforts and refinements of Europe, are still tenacious of their mediæval or rather oriental peculiarities. About thirty years ago began the first innovations in the national costume, and the novelties were very properly introduced by the ladies. In Europe the changes of fashion usually affect the head in the first instance; in Georgia they begin with the feet. The embroidered leathern half-boots, and the high-heeled slipper gave way, after much grumbling and opposition from the conservative party, to European shoes and stockings: and this *chaussure* is now commonly adopted by the upper and middle classes. European inventions, however, did not stop with the nether extremities; for, adds the Baron pathetically, 'there is a large school in Tiflis, in which the Georgian misses chatter in French 'and read Balzac's novels!' All, however, is not lost. The picturesque head-dress, with the long-flowing *tschadra*, or white gauze veil, is still worn by all ranks. Long may it be before the Georgians abandon it for our inconvenient coverings of the head. The thin partition between European and Asiatic life throughout Transcaucasia is nowhere more conspicuous than in Tiflis. Its population is a medley of races. Besides the Russians and Germans, who are mostly artisans, artists, or merchants, it comprises Armenians, Georgians, and Tatars. The indolence of the Georgians is not confined to the country. In Tiflis a large majority of this race are needy and professional mendicants. Those who work at all are mostly gardeners; but they abandon shop-keeping to the Armenians, and the Tatars are the smiths, saddlers, and carpenters.

As regards its buildings and external aspect, Tiflis is a city divided in itself. There cannot be a more striking difference than that between the New and the Old Town. In the quarter inhabited by the Russians, the city has a perfectly European look: 'straight streets, rows of modern houses, elegant shops, milliners, apothecaries, even a bookseller, with cafés, and churches 'with cupolas and towers.' The dress of the passengers in the

streets is European: 'the various Russian military uniforms 'blending with French frock coats and paletôts.' But immediately on the verge of the New Town, begins one of a perfectly Asiatic character. The unromantic uniformity of streets and 'squares, as imported from St. Petersburg,' is exchanged for bazaars, caravansaries, and long narrow alleys, in which the various trades are carried on in open shops. Particular quarters are occupied by particular trades: 'in one part is seen a row of 'smithies, the men all hammering away on their anvils, heedless 'of the crowds of passers-by: 'in others the tailors, shoemakers, and farriers are lords paramount, and brook no invasion of their proper domains.

'The population,' Haxthausen observes, 'is no less varied and 'interesting: here Tatars, in the costume from which the so-called Polish dress is evidently derived; in another part, thin 'sunburnt Persians, with loose flowing dresses, Koords with a bold 'enterprising look, Serghis and Circassians, engaged in their 'traffic of horses; lastly, the beautiful Georgian women, with long 'flowing veils and high-heeled slippers, nearly all the population 'displaying a beauty of varied character, an effect heightened by 'the parti-coloured, picturesque, and beautiful costumes.' Amid a population so various and where trades have almost the fixity of *castes*, we might expect to find corporations in full vigour. Yet although at Tiflis every craft has its guild, the institution of companies is not, strictly speaking, Georgian originally. They were introduced into Georgia at the epoch of the Persian invasion. Once established, however, they have rooted themselves firmly, and are now, according to Haxthausen 'fully organised and exactly similar to those which 'prevailed in Germany from the time of the middle ages.' Centralisation will probably obliterate these institutions, since attempts have already been made to reduce all the varieties to the uniform pattern of a Russian guild.

From Tiflis Haxthausen proceeded to Armenia, collecting, with his wonted energy, legendary lore and local and statistical information. Armenia is more exclusively oriental in its aspect than Georgia, and presents fewer contrasts between indigenous and exotic cultivation. As the cradle of the human race this land possesses an absorbing interest which is heightened by its sublime conformation, its diversified beauty, and the social characteristics of its people. Ararat, the crown of the Armenian highlands, presented itself to our travellers' eyes at the most favourable moment for such a spectacle - 'in the loveliest 'morning light.' His road ran along the shore of Gotschai (Blue Sea), which is about the size of the lake of Constance.

Then diverging from the lake it ascended a hill from the top of which 'the Mountain of the Ark' (Arghidagk), as the Armenians denominate it, revealed itself 'in all its sublimity.' The Elbrouz, indeed, is a few thousand feet higher, but the impression of its height is much lessened by its rising from the lofty range of the Caucasus; whereas Ararat towers in solitary 'grandeur from the plain to an elevation of more than 16,000 feet above the level of the sea,' and is terminated by a conical summit. Geographically speaking, this mountain is one of the signal positions of the globe. It is celebrated by native poets and historians as the centre of the world, and in some measure science confirms the assumption. For, in the first place, Ararat is actually the central point of the great terrestrial line drawn from the Cape of Good Hope to Behrings Straits; in the second, it is the central point of the great Asiatic-African range of deserts, the ancient bottom of the ocean; and thirdly, it has the same position with respect to the series of inland waters which run from Gibraltar to Lake Baikal. Its mythical and historical associations are no less remarkable than its geographical site. The sacred annals of the Hebrews and the Persians continually refer to Ararat and Armenia. The Medes regarded Armenia as the mother-land of the human race, and upon this central mountain were laid the foundations of the house of Madai. Here too was the central point of the Chaldean worship of the stars, and to this region oriental tradition affixed the legend of the twelve Chaldean watchers of the star of the nativity, three of whom, on seeing it rise in the fulness of time, followed it, until they reached Bethlehem in Judæa. Traditions too of primæval history are met with in every part of this district. In the Armenian language *erivan* or *eravan* signifies 'visible'; and it is said that when Noah, after the flood, looked for the first time from Ararat and beheld on the site of the present city of Erivan the dry ground, he exclaimed, 'It is visible;' and hence the city and the surrounding lands derived their name. The Persians call Ararat Koh-i-noo-ie, Noah's mountain; the region round the eastern part of the mountain is named Archnoisda, or foot of Noah, because it was there he alighted from the ark. The village of Manard implies 'the mother is here,' Noah's wife having been buried there; and his dwelling place was at the village of Agorhee, for there he planted the vine which he brought with him from Paradise. The genius of a country is exhibited in its legends, and these mythical records are no less characteristic of Armenia, than the Romulian fig-tree or the Palladian olive of Rome and Athens.

The destiny of the Armenian nation has in all ages been

singular and infelicitous. 'Inter Parthorum et Romanas opes 'infida Armenia' is the pregnant phrase of Tacitus concerning them. The struggles of these rival empires for the possession of the common frontier of both, on the one hand prevented the development of Armenia either to the west or the east, while the internal opposition of the Parthian and Roman factions weakened the kingdom, and it was condemned both as a Pagan and a Christian state to play a secondary part in history. Its children, cooped up within an unproductive mountain barrier, exposed to the privations of a rigorous climate, and cut off from the sea, have sought in foreign lands the freedom and advantages denied them in their own. Commercially speaking they are the Swiss of the East. They have at all periods issued in swarms from their home, but as individuals or families, not as colonists, or they have been forcibly transported by thousands into the lands of their conquerors to fill up the voids of populations wasted by Turkish or Persian misgovernment. Like the Jews they are 'a people of dispersion.' Armenians are to be found at Benares and New York, in Alexandria and Stockholm. They have schools at St. Petersburg and churches at Jerusalem. They are the general dragomans of the Levant: they are clerks and factors in half the counting-houses of southern Europe: they take degrees at Göttingen and Bonn. Yet although the Armenian frequently leaves his home in childhood and does not revisit it until his hair is thin and grey, he is warmly attached to the land and faith of his forefathers, and cherishes with religious zeal its history and its legends. No spiritual or temporal monarch exacts or receives more implicit or readily accorded homage from his subjects than the Patriarch of the Armenians: no hierarchy is more liberally supplied with free-will offerings than the Armenian Church. In his exile the Armenian displays generally the qualities of a good citizen: he is frugal, sagacious, persevering, and industrious: as shrewd, but less sordid than the Jew in his dealings; and apparently needing only a well-regulated government at home, and greater latitude for his commercial energies, to induce him to desist from wandering to and fro on the earth.

The distinctions between the Armenians and Georgians are strongly marked, and sufficiently disprove the theory, sometimes advanced by the elder Armenian writers, of a common origin. Their languages, as well as their national and social institutions, exhibit, indeed, scarcely any similar features. In all the Georgian provinces the feudal character is prominent: princes, nobles, and peasants forming, from the highest to the lowest, a connected chain of dependence. In Armenia the

political state is essentially democratic. There is no perceptible distinction or opposition of classes and conditions, no antagonism, as in Georgia, of town and country. In Armenia serfage is unknown: the nobles are held in respect, accorded to them by national custom, but in no other way are they raised above the level of the people. Their equality is shown in the absence of prejudices of rank as regards marriage: the Armenian who has substance enough to support a household, may select his partner indifferently from the castle or the cottage.

The condition of women in Armenia partakes of European freedom and Asiatic restraint—the restraint being laid on the wife, and the freedom allowed to the maiden. To all, except Armenians born, this appears a perilous, or at least a preposterous regulation. Yet, practically, it would seem to lead to no evil results, and at the worst renders households tranquil, though, it may be, rather dull. If marrying and wooing in Armenia were, as in more civilised climes, affairs of the heart, and not the private business of fathers and guardians, we might justly expect that the Transcaucasian young ladies would become a nation of vestals or amazons, so to avoid the uncomfortable doom which surely awaits them in the married state. While unwed, they go where they will and converse with whom they please; are not plagued with bonnets or veils, nor accompanied by chaperons; and, in short, are insidiously allowed by their masculine enemies to tread for a few brief years the ‘primrose path of life.’ But with the words pronounced at the altar female liberty is at an end. The lords of the Armenian creation are of opinion not merely that a ‘voice soft, gentle, and low, is an excellent thing in woman,’ but also that rigid Pythagorean silence is wholesome for the sex. For six years the wife is condemned to almost complete taciturnity. No more gadding abroad for her; no gatherings at the village fountain; nor dances under the umbrageous arcades of the wood. Even in her own house she must go about veiled: if a stranger comes on the premises, she hides herself in the innermost chamber: and twice only in the year is she permitted to appear in the street, and then she is escorted to church and back again by some bearded and booted marital or fraternal dragon. She may speak to her husband when alone with him; but neither to father nor brother, and as for cousins they are not so much as mentioned in her presence. Whatsoever communications are indispensable must be made by gestures, or through the alphabet of the fingers. Her first step towards enfranchisement is the birth of her first child. She may talk to her infant, and, should they happen to be on good terms, to her mother-in-law. Gradually her

intercourse is extended to her nearest female relatives, and the experienced matron is occasionally licensed to address her male kinsfolk. But the disease of garrulity has been tolerably reduced by this discipline of six years: and an Armenian lady has seldom the chance of becoming fluent in conversation, unless she attains the years of the sibyl or 'the treble-dated crow.'

During his first residence at Tiflis the Baron acquired a friend no less serviceable to him and of a higher grade than Peter Neu. It was, indeed, no slight advantage to our traveller that he frequently corrected and counteracted the influence of his Russian patrons by becoming acquainted with accomplished and intelligent natives of the provinces which he visited. Among these in the narrative before us an Armenian gentleman of an ancient house claims precedence.

Abovian was descended from the family of an hereditary village-chief. By some strange caprice of the Russian government, such families in Georgia and Immiretia are recognised as of princely rank — in Armenia they are not accounted even as noble. Abovian's original destiny was to take monastic vows in the convent of Echmiadzin. Fortunately for himself and for his countrymen, he was dissuaded from so entombing himself by the traveller Parrot, who, having discovered his singular abilities, induced him to become a student at a German university. A residence of four years at Dorpat completely *teutonised* the Armenian; and he not only spoke and wrote German like a native, but took to himself a German helpmate, and established in Armenia a German household.

There was 'much matter in this convertite,' for he thoroughly understood his own countryman, and communicated much useful information respecting them to the Baron von Haxthausen. We have had some difficulty in extracting from his pages a clear and connected account of this worthy Armenian, since no sooner does he mention him than he passes on to some other topic. Of all the privileges accorded to travellers no one is so dear to the Baron, or so much abused by him, as that of digression.

We shall offer no apology to our readers for presenting them with the following portrait of Abovian's ancestors. The freshness and singularity of the incidents render it one of the most delightful passages in Haxthausen's work. We must premise that a custom prevails among the Armenians of celebrating the memory of their departed friends on the Monday after each of the five great festivals of the Church. On these occasions the less wealthy carry meat, bread, wine, and fruit to the graves of the deceased, which, after the benediction of the priest, are distributed among the poor; the opulent lay their

gifts before the altar; but they are the most happy who can afford a yearly pilgrimage to the cathedral of Echmiadzin. The pilgrims on their return home relate with deep emotion all the circumstances of their visit, and in the long nights of winter are never weary of repeating to the circle around the hearth — ‘how they had seen the holy place, how the patriarch had laid his hands upon and blessed them, how they had kissed his knees, and partaken of the consecrated bread and wine.’

Every year Abovian’s grandfather made a pilgrimage to Echmiadzin, accompanied by his wife and sons, and he gave the following account of this stately yet cheerful observance to his guest.

‘The preparations for the pilgrimage were made in my grandfather’s house, long before the time. My father was seven, and my uncle nine years of age, when they were first allowed to accompany their parents to Echmiadzin. On this occasion they were newly clothed in the finest cloth and silk dresses — one year of a brilliant scarlet, the next in bright green, then blue,* then yellow, — in short, every year of a different colour. Their shoes were of fine green leather, made of horse-hide, which is too expensive for any but the wealthy. The blooming boys had an angelic beauty, mounted on two brisk nags, with a dirk stuck in their belts, and a little sabre hung at their side. The grandfather, mounted on a magnificently caparisoned steed, rode in front with his wife, followed by a numerous cavalcade, and two or three beasts of burden laden with presents for the convent. In every village the people all collected to see them pass, and one said to another, “Here comes again the pious man upon his pilgrimage! there is no one like him for goodness.”’

After describing the receptions of the pilgrims generally, the dress of the patriarch, the clerical ceremonies and the benediction, the special interview accorded to Abovian’s ancestor is thus related:—

‘It was different with my grandfather: the patriarch welcomed him as a dear old friend. When he entered, all ceremony was at an end. “Dear, dear grandfather,” exclaim the little boys; and breaking away from the hold of their parents, who try to restrain them, they run up to the Patriarch and throw their arms about his neck. The old man rises from his seat, and with outspread arms advances to meet his guests. “Welcome, my dear son,” he says: “Thou light of my church, and tower of strength to our convent! And thou too, my dear mother, welcome, faithful daughter of my church! You have had us sinners in remembrance, may the springs of Eden richly water your dwellings! May the holy St. Gregory protect you, children of my heart! Ye innocent flowers of the spring, come to my heart! Long have I waited anxiously to see you, and now my eyes have received their light again. Come, seat yourselves near me, and let us be happy.”’

‘The patriarch then sits down, with his guests close around him,

and caressing the children upon his knees ; and whilst he converses thus with the parents on matters concerning their family, the commune, the nation, or the church, the little boys run about the room, jump on his knees, play with his beard and hands, draw the rings from his fingers and slip them on their own. Then the parents try to stop the fun : but the old man intercedes for his little friends, who emboldened by his kindness, run out of the room, and race through the palace of the convent and round the garden, continually stopped and caressed by the bishops and priests. The boys want to play with the fishes in the pond, and run to complain to the patriarch that the fishes will not let themselves be caught, and that one of the black men tries to stop their running about. "Never mind, little boys," replies the patriarch ; "I will teach the naughty man better than to offend my children : and the disobedient fishes shall come of themselves to my table, as they would not let you catch them." It may readily be imagined that this annual visit was an occasion of the greatest delight to the children, and of the highest honour to their parents : my father always spoke of it as the dearest recollection of his youth.'

Amidst this variety of races and institutions, the influence of one central power sagacious in discerning, and prompt or patient in following out its schemes of incorporation is necessarily great, and may be irresistible. The rulers of the Russian empire have not now to learn the value of the maxim '*divide et impera*.' They have long been proficient in the Roman policy of breaking up national unity, by transporting, through the machinery of their army, the best and bravest of a race to alien and uncongenial climes. The youth of Britain and Gaul were employed by the politic Cæsars in garrisoning the cities of Syria and Egypt, and the Celtic capitals of York and Colchester were familiarised with the dark complexions of recruits drawn from Orontes and the Nile. With a similar policy, the Transcaucasian militia are removed to the plains of Poland and the fortresses of the Baltic, while their place is supplied in Tiflis and Erivan by the '*cerulea proles*' of the North, or by Finns, Tatars, or an indiscriminate crowd levied in Upper Asia. The evils of such division are imperfectly apprehended by nations having in themselves no common bond of union, and no pressing motives for adhesion. Unity of creed, so powerful a tie where others are wanting, is of little avail as regards the Transcaucasian provinces, since besides the capital divisions of the crescent and the cross, there are infinite subdivisions of usage and belief. Affinity of government there is none, in theory or in practice among races enjoying either a rude freedom or contented for centuries with an unprogressive despotism. Fusion by commerce is necessarily imperfect and

remote among nations that are satisfied with their own produce and have not yet learnt to need the luxuries that render them dependent on others. Indeed, as we have already seen, the Transcaucasian races, in the nineteenth century, are nearly in the condition in which the Byzantine empire left them in the fourteenth. They have not receded into barbarism, they have not advanced materially in civilisation. To all appearances they lie a prey to the fowler: ready to be entrapped and absorbed by any power disposed or strong enough to appropriate them, and enterprising and sagacious enough to turn to account the position and the natural advantages which they have in all periods neglected to improve.

At the issue we do not presume to guess. The destiny of these provinces will probably be determined in one or two generations. With their vast material wealth, and with a population, which, though inert and degraded, is not without many germs of life and promise, they will undeniably be an important appanage to the empire that amalgamates them. *Up to the present hour Russia, by its proximity, its intrigues, and its stealthy advances, would seem to have the fairest chance of succeeding to Persia and Turkey in this rich inheritance. Yet, now that the Western Powers have shaken off their long slumber, and measured by the force of its resistance the power of Russia in the East, the hour may not be far distant for the regeneration of Transcaucasia. Than a free and active commerce with the Isthmus there is no more efficient barrier against the progress of Russia. With the wants stimulated by trade will be imported the seeds of political freedom: and without foregoing their mixed nationality—for the borderland of two continents will always retain some of the features of each—the Mingrelian, Georgian, and Armenian may be engrafted upon the European stem, and become a barrier scarcely less impregnable than the Caucasus itself, against the advances of an empire which since the accession of the House of Romanoff, has barely veiled its purpose of re-acting the part of Rome, ‘a Gadibus usque ad Ganges.’

- ART. X.—1. *The History of the United States of America.* By RICHARD HILDRETH. New York: 1849.
2. *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth.* By ALEXANDER YOUNG. Boston: 1844.
3. *Chronicles of the first Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.* By ALEXANDER YOUNG. Boston: 1846.
4. *Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth, the First Colonists of New England.* By JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A. London: 1849.
5. *Felt's Salem.* Salem: 1845.
6. *Savage's Edition of Winthrop's Diary.*
7. *Charters of the Old English Colonies in America, with an Introduction and Notes.* By SAMUEL LUCAS, M.A. London: 1850.
8. *The Scarlet Letter.* 'By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

AMERICAN archæologists, especially of late years, have been smoothing the way for American historians. The work which stands first in the foregoing list has, therefore, some positive advantages over its predecessors. In a negative sense it is also acceptable, because it is not made the vehicle for any of those ambitious inferences and speculations which delight our American brethren. In this instance we encounter the muse of American History descended from her stump and recounting her narrative in a key adapted to our own ears. For the first time, we believe, we have here the story of the founders of our New England colonies recorded in an ample and explicit manner, with a consistent care to exclude errors and exaggerations. Mr. Hildreth is not only conscious of the spirit in which he has addressed himself to his task, but he has stated it frankly at the commencement of his preface. 'Of centennial sermons and 'Fourth of July orations, whether professedly such or in the 'guise of history, there are more than enough. It is due to 'our fathers and ourselves, it is due to truth and philosophy, 'to present for once on the historic stage the founders of our 'American nation unbedaubed with patriotic rouge, wrapped 'up in no fine-spun cloaks of excuse and apology, without stilts, 'buskins, tinsel, or bedizzenment.' Animated by this spirit, Mr. Hildreth has availed himself, though hardly to the utmost, of his peculiar resources.

For we may add the resources for such a work *are* peculiar in a very obvious sense. The States of America, unlike the

States of Europe, have originated within the limits of familiar history. They possess what no nations of the Old World are able to boast—*written annals* ascending to the earliest period of their existence. Of these annals it is open to us at this day to obtain the great majority in the form of reprints, the originals usually finding their way to America. If, however, occasionally, as is still possible, especially at some old mansions in the eastern counties or the west of England, we fall in with a shelf of the little brown quartos, which were the current coinage of the Puritan mint, we may find among them, in their earliest shape, a few of these first records of the English migration. In these old tracts,—for they are little more—contemporary archives of intrepid adventure, and redolent yet to a discerning fancy of icy blasts and the foam of the sea,—we have the story of the founders of our early colonies, as far as they thought fit to make it public in England. The regions in which such tracts are chiefly to be found, comprising the homesteads of those who emigrated under the auspices of the Council for New England, implies that they were addressed to sympathising readers; and accordingly we learn that it was a tradition of the ‘Old Planters’ that ‘a letter from New England was venerated as a sacred script, or as the writing of some holy prophet, it was carried many miles, where divers came to hear it.’* These ‘sacred scripts’ are not, however, on a par for authentic candour with the ancient records to which their readers piously compared them, and we cannot accept their partial version of colonial history. In the New England States it usually happened that the ministers were at first the only annalists; the chief priests and scribes were identically one, and truth was not much advantaged by the combination. They warred alternately with the sword of the spirit and the sword of the flesh. In the colony of New Plymouth, for example, Winslow was accredited to fulfil its controversial requirements with his pen, as Miles Standish was commissioned to do battle for it with his sword. At the same time, as contemporary records of facts, there is no dispensing with these pamphlet-narratives or denying their value; and treating them with the caution which is always allowable to a suspicious witness, we may gather enough from the Hubbards and Mathers to substitute for the evidence of the rest.

Passing over the motives which led to the migration, and which have been variously represented, we may, first of all,

* Appendix to ‘Anniversary Discourse,’ Mass. Hist. Coll. (2nd series), vol. i. p. 29.

take account of the physical circumstances in which the colonists found themselves in their adopted country. It was a characteristic of the first planters of New England that they were almost to a man prepared, by their antecedents, to regard their settlement in the light of a home. Their 'greatest ambition,' as they stated to Charles II., was 'to live a quiet life in a 'corner of the world;' and their expressions consequently manifest the excitement of an enduring interest in the objects they encountered. Their terrors and privations are recounted in the style of men who had set their lives upon a single cast, whose hopes and desires were for ever bounded by the pathless woods and the desolate shore. At one time they bemoan the piercing cold; at another they gaze in terror at the Atlantic rolling beneath its unparalleled tempests; or they shudder with awe at the Northern Lights, which seem to their eyes 'so 'bloody and fiery that they may be regarded as the heralds of 'the Second Advent.* At other times their impressions are of a more genial cast, exhilarated, for instance, by the 'sweete 'cristall fountaines,' which 'jet most jocundly over the pebble 'stones,' or refreshed by the great abundance of fruits, 'almost,' they say, 'as wild as the Indians.† A great source of astonishment was the 'ayerie regiment' of pigeons, having neither beginning nor ending of their millions which joined together the pine trees by their nests, and excluded from the earth the light of the sun.‡ The sea-serpent was already an exhibitor in public, for he was seen 'coiled up like a cable on a rock at Cape Ann.§ And there were presentiments, even then, of some Californian El Dorado before the colonists had been twenty years in their settlement. Darby Field, for instance, brought report of certain White Hills with shining stones, 'which induced many to travel 'thither to no purpose.¶ Others, again, at the dictates of their terrors or imagination, peopled the interior with monstrous races, reproducing many of the extravagant fictions which are told in the earliest books on America. For a long time it was a matter of general belief that they were menaced by the most terrible wild beasts of the Old Continent. 'Some likewise being lost in the 'woods have heard such terrible roarings as have made them 'much aghast, which *must* either be devills or Lyons.¶¶ In fact,

* New England's Plantation.

† New England's Prospect.

‡ Id.

§ Josselyn's 'Two Voyages to New England.'

¶ Savage's 'Winthrop.'

¶¶ New England's Prospect.

some of their maps contained in the corner the figures of lions or leopards, as of beasts native to the country.

As might have been expected in these novel circumstances, the tendency to dwell upon the supernatural received an extraordinary impulse. As colonists they conceived they had a stronger title to the intervention of particular providences, while they imagined that the fiends of the pit were in league against them, in order to discourage and baffle their enterprise. Occasionally they were cheered by mysterious tokens. As early as the year 1619, a blazing star in the west had announced their coming*; while the Indians had been swept out of the circuit of their first settlement by the convenient mercy of an exterminating pestilence. At Watertown (July, 1632) was observed a combat between a mouse and a snake, in which the mouse conquered. The Rev. Mr. Wilson put his interpretation upon the phenomenon in the manner of an ancient Egyptian soothsayer. The snake of course was their enemy, the devil, the mouse as obviously 'the poor people who had come over.'† In a similar manner they obtained intimation of various dangers which threatened them from the Indians. Now it was the galloping of ghostly chargers, and now the whistling of invisible bullets, or an eclipse of the sun took the shape of a human scalp, or the more discerning beheld with consternation that the form of an Indian bow was delineated along the sky.‡ From a throng of these supernatural incidents we select the following for what may have been its literary significance. Josselyn, in one of his voyages to New England, picked up a story of a Mr. Foxwell who, passing in a shallop along a barbarous strand, was wakened at midnight by a loud voice calling upon 'Foxwell, Foxwell,' to come on shore, and who at the same time beheld a great fire upon the sand, and men and women dancing round it in a ring; whereupon, when he landed the following morning, he found the traces of feet 'shod with shoes' and an infinite number of half-consumed brands. Later we have another story of something similar, respecting which Endicott writes inquiringly to Wintrop*; and possibly the former of these stories, communicated

* Hubbard.

† Savage's 'Winthrop.'

‡ Mather.

§ 'I heare you have great sights upon the water, seen between the castle and the towne;—men walking on the water in the night ever since the shippe was blowne up, or fire in the shape of men. There are verie few do believe it, yet here is a great report of it brought from thence the last day of the weeke.' These were doubtless the apparitions described by Hubbard:—'On the 18th of January, 1643, there were strange sights seen about Castle Island and the Governor's Island over against it, in form like a man, that

in one of the 'Sacred Scripts,' may have reached the ears of the youthful Milton, who sang in 'Comus' of

' Calling shapes and beck'ning shadows dire,
And airy tongues that syllable men's names
On sands, and shores, and desert wildernesses.'

Undoubtedly the Puritan divines of England were indebted for some of their most 'remarkable providences' to the experience of their godly brethren on the other side of the Atlantic.

At all events there can be little question, that in New England itself the prevalence of such impressions tended to deepen and exaggerate the spiritual convictions which were allied to superstition. The Puritan enthusiasm was heightened in the presence of so many earthly and unearthly wonders, and grew more stern and sombre by their formidable proximity. From its isolation it derived both a motive and an opportunity for carrying out its principles with a mordant rigour, which is one of the most instructive examples in history. It may be thought superfluous at this day to repeat that the founders of New England were systematic tyrants. But the propriety of reiterating an admitted truth depends upon the sincerity with which that truth is recognised. Those who are conversant with the popular histories of America will be conscious, indeed, that the heroic energy and iron fortitude of the Pilgrim Fathers were not unalloyed with harsh and ferocious bigotry; but they will find their eyes continually diverted by judicious treatment from the darker portions of the picture. When even Mr. Bancroft, a superior example of his class, speaks of 'transient persecutions' as of 'a train of mists hovering of an autumn morning over the channel of a fine river that diffused freshness and fertility wherever it wound,' it concerns us to know that they were not so transient nor so slight as he pictures them, but that they suffused the whole atmosphere of colonial life with a depressing terror and a long-impending gloom. There is the further reason for reopening the case that, thanks to transatlantic diligence, more is known of it. While the sketches of Mr. Hawthorne

' would sometimes cast flames and sparkles of fire. This was seen about eight of the clock in the evening by many. About the same time a voice was heard between Boston and Dorchester upon the water in a dreadful manner crying out, "Boy, boy, come away! come away!" and then it shifted suddenly from one place to another a great distance—about twenty miles. About fourteen days after the same voice was heard in the like dreadful manner. Divers sober persons were ear-witnesses hereof at both times on the other side of the town towards Noddle's Island.'

in the 'Scarlet Letter' have been questioned as the coinage of imagination, archæological inquiry has popularised the means of showing that even these fall short of the reality.

To comprehend thoroughly the compressive energy of this state of society we must bear in mind, that the Massachusetts polity, which was the leading type of the other New England States, was the identification of Church and State upon a Puritan basis, whereby the senior ministers became virtually the lawgivers for secular interests. 'According to the system established in 'Massachusetts,' says Mr. Hildreth, 'the Church and the State 'were most intimately blended. The magistrates and General 'Court, aided by the advice of the *Elders* (so the ministers 'were designated), claimed and exercised a supreme control in 'spiritual as well as temporal matters; while even in matters 'purely temporal the elders were consulted on all important 'questions. The support of the elders, the first thing considered in the first Court of Assistants held in Massachusetts, 'had been secured by a vote to build houses for them, and to 'provide them a maintenance at the public expense. . . . 'The polity of Massachusetts conferred, in fact, unlimited power 'in matters of religion, as in every thing else, upon the majority 'of the Church members, as represented by the magistrates 'and general court. Those in the minority, whether churches 'or individuals, had no rights, and no alternative but silence 'and submission or withdrawal from the colony.' The acceptance of a cramped theological creed was made the condition of a complete enjoyment of civil rights as well as of a participation in the political franchise. No man, unless he were a member of the Church, could be a magistrate or officer, or *serve upon a jury*; and the tendency of this restriction becomes apparent when we learn that juries gave verdicts on 'matters of 'equity, and even of *heresy*.' Lechford, of Clement's Inn*,

* In his 'Plaine Dealing, or Newes from New England,' from which the above information is derived, Lechford also details the particulars of the ordeal which persons had to undergo to become members of the Church. First of all they had to acquaint the elders of their design, and to go through a catechising and confession in the private assembly; then their names were published in the church, with an invitation to any who knew anything against them to communicate it to the elders, or to be ready to give it in testimony when the postulant should be called forth before the whole church. If there was no communication to the elders in the interim, on an appointed day the postulant had to make his appearance in the middle of the church, and the congregation were invited to bear testimony individually either against or for his admission. Thus there was some-

whom we here quote, and who was an attentive and competent witness of their mode of procedure, remarks, that 'in the General Court and Great Quarter Courts before the civil magistrate are tryed all actions and causes, civill and criminal, and also ecclesiastical, especially *touching the non-members*; and they themselves say, that in the General and Quarter Courts they have the power of Parliament, the King's Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, High Commission and Star Chamber, and all the Courts of England, and in divers cases have exercised that power upon the King's subjects, as is not difficult to prove. They have put to death, banished, fined men, cut off men's eares, whipt, imprisoned men, and all these for ecclesiasticall and civill offences, and without sufficient record.' He complains, also, in another place, that the proceedings were not entered upon record at all, and that to the constitution of juries, such as it was, no practical check existed in the form of facilities for challenging them. Moreover, the Courts, even with this crushing machinery, were not content to decide *secundum allegata et probata*. 'The jury,' says the accurate Hutchinson*, 'sometimes gave their verdict that there were strong grounds for suspicion, but not sufficient evidence. Yet the Court would give sentence upon this verdict, and punish for many offences which, by the evidence upon the trial, the party appeared to them to have been guilty of, although he was not convicted of the particular crime he was charged with.' With this mode of procedure it was, perhaps, immaterial what were the provisions of the laws administered; but it will be interesting to recall a few of them to remembrance.

Massachusetts has been absolved, by the researches of Mr. Gray†, from the charge of inflicting the punishment of death for *every* offence which was made capital by the Law of Moses.

times a space of many months between a man's first propounding and the day appointed for his reception, and then he had to make his public confession and profession of faith, after which the question was again put to the brethren of the congregation, were they satisfied? before the right hand of fellowship was extended; until this was done, the applicants could neither receive the sacrament, nor could their children be baptized. The consequence was that, such was the feeling against encountering this ordeal, that the majority in New England, as far back as 1640, were not of the church. Yet the non-members, as we learn from Savage's 'Winthrop,' were excluded from juries until 1665, when the royal injunction of 1662, till then evaded, could no longer be disobeyed:

* Hist. Mass. vol. i. p. 453.

† Mass. Hist. Coll. (3rd series), vol. viii.

But the Rev. Mr. Cotton's 'Abstract,' which was intended to have been the basis of the Massachusetts Code, proceeded to this extremity*; and when the magistrates and elders, 'who 'were not forward' in drawing up any code of laws, but procrastinated as long as they could to save their arbitrary discretion, adopted the document called the 'Body of Liberties,' its prefatory article admitted the inference that, 'in case of the 'defect of law in any particular instance' a man might still be punished by the General Court, even to the extent of taking away his life, on the assumed sanction of the Word of God. Explicitly, indeed, the Body of Liberties stopped short of its Hebrew precedent; only in the cases in which it punished crime with death it followed the Levitical law. Thus idolatry, witchcraft, and blasphemy were made capital offences. In addition to these, the revised Code of 1649 assigned the penalty of death to 'stubborn and rebellious sons,' and to 'children 'above sixteen who curse or smite their natural father or 'mother,'—enactments similarly borrowed from the Jewish law-giver. The ninety-first of these Liberties legalised slavery, as Mr. Hildreth observes, many years before any thing of the sort was to be found in the statutes of Virginia or Maryland. The forty-fifth Liberty authorised the application of *torture* in certain cases, and under certain restrictions; implying that 'Liberties' were peculiarly interpreted by men who have been represented as Champions of Freedom. As a whole, this Code affords conclusive evidence that the liberty to obey their own consciences practically included the more definite liberty to oppress all who differed from them.

The result was, by a singular interchange of positions, that their most conspicuous victims appealed elsewhere for toleration. Massachusetts has reverentially enclosed with a railing the supposed footprints of the Pilgrim Fathers; but Rhode Island can exhibit another rock on which its founder, Roger Williams, first set *his* foot as a fugitive from the precocious tyranny of Massachusetts. We have not space to refer to the incidents of

* It referred to the Scriptures also to sanction the commonest operations of government. The power of issuing warrants was deduced from Joshua, xxvi. 1., and the propriety of registering acts from 1 Kings, iv. 3. The Courts of Massachusetts were permitted to have secretaries, because there was a case in point, of Elihoreph and Ahiah, the sons of Shisha, scribes, and Jehosaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. A similar sanction is said to have been sought for the celebrated 'Blue Laws' of Connecticut; and 'there was no 'trial by jury at Newhaven, no warrant being found for it in the 'Word of God.'

a life which, in conjunction with that of the indomitable Anne Hutchinson, is the most attractive in early American biography. The simultaneous efforts of these congenial spirits ended by involving them in a common exile, which, in the case of the heroic woman, was concluded by the Indians' knife, to the ferocious joy of some whom she had tested in controversy. The importance of these examples consists in the evidence they afford of a continued struggle to bring the Governors of Massachusetts to a milder disposition. One of these attempts was made with such perseverance, that we may usefully have recourse to Mr. Mildreth, who has given the details of it with his customary precision.

In the year 1646 a petition had been presented to the General Court, signed by seven citizens, in the name of themselves and others, for the rights of English subjects, with complaints of the exclusion, under the existing system, of all but Church members, from civil and ecclesiastical privileges.

' Though sufficiently moderate in its tenor, this petition had given great offence "to many godly, both elders and others." The zealous Johnson denounces those who signed it as "of a very linsiewolsie" disposition, some for Prelacy, some for Presbytery, and some for "Plebsbytery." Several replies to it were now presented to the Court, which, by order of that body, were summed up into one; not, indeed, by way of answer, because the petition was adjudged a contempt, and therefore not worthy of an answer, but as a declaration of the Court's opinion touching this audacious assault upon theocratic rights. Dr. Child, a young physician, recently from London, whose name stood at the head of the signers, being summoned before the General Court, alleged, on behalf of himself and the others, that it was no crime to petition. He was told in reply that it was not for petitioning they were questioned, but for the "miscarriages" which their petition contained, specified on the spot to the number of twelve, of which the principal were, calling the existing government an "ill-compacted vessel," ascribing the misfortunes of the colony to its bad government, intimating that many persons were discontented, charging the government with tyranny, and claiming a right of appeal to England. To these specifications the petitioners returned elaborate answers in writing, to which the Court rejoined extempore, to the entire satisfaction of an assembled multitude of church members, whose exclusive right to political authority the petitioners had presumed to question.

' Thus beaten in argument, Child and his associates were fined from 10*l.* to 50*l.*, \$50 to \$250 each, and were exhorted to be quiet, to study to mind their own business, and to recollect the sin of Korah in resisting Moses and Aaron. On promise of the remission of their fines "if they would ingenuously acknowledge their miscarriage," some of the petitioners, of whom Maverick was one, submitted; the others appealed to Parliament, and tendered their appeal in writing;

but the Court refused to accept, or even to hear it read. The majority was decisive in favour of this denial of appeal. Three, however, of the magistrates, Bellingham, Saltonstall, and Bradstreet, with two of the deputies, desired to be entered "contradicentes in all these proceedings."

'A similar effort in behalf of religious liberty had been made in Plymouth colony about the same time by Vassall and others. One of the magistrates had made a proposal for general toleration, and two others had supported him. "You would have admired," wrote Winslow to Winthrop, "to see how sweet this carrion relished in the palate of most of the deputies." But Governor Prince, sustained by a majority of the magistrates, refused to put it to the vote, "as "being that, indeed, which would eat out the power of godliness."

While Child hastened to get ready to go to England in a ship about to sail, he and his friends bestirred themselves to get up a petition from the non-freemen, setting forth their grievances, and praying the Parliamentary commissioners for relief. This was esteemed by the majority of the magistrates a new and still more serious offence; and an order was issued to arrest Child just as he was about to embark, and to search his trunk, and also the study of Dand, another of the petitioners. Nothing was found in Child's trunk, but in Dand's study were seized, in the hands of Smith, another of the petitioners, copies of two memorials addressed to the Parliamentary Commissioners for Plantations; the one from Child and his associates, setting forth their case, the other from some non-freemen, 'pretending,' as Winthrop tells us, 'to be in the name and upon the sighs and tears of many thousands,' praying for liberty of conscience and the appointment of a Parliamentary governor.

'How dangerous a thing it was to meddle with such a petition was sufficiently evinced by the case of one Joy, "a young fellow, "a carpenter," who had been very busy in procuring signers, and who even presumed to question the constable who searched Dand's study, whether his warrant were in the king's name. This audacious young carpenter was kept in irons till "he humbled himself, "confessed what he knew, blamed himself for meddling in matters "belonging not to him, and blessed God for these irons upon his "legs, hoping they would do him good while he lived. So he was "let out upon reasonable bail."

'The offence of Dand and Smith, in whose custody the petitions had been found, was still more serious. It was held, indeed, under the fundamental laws, to be "in nature capital," being no less than treason against the Commonwealth, and bail was refused. At the General Court immediately following, Child and the others were very heavily fined. Unable to pay his fine of 200*l.*, \$960, Dand was kept in prison more than a year, and was only discharged at last upon a humble submission.'

The obnoxious petition was, however, intrusted to the care of one Vassall, with whom the magistrates of Massachusetts hesitated to meddle, not only because he belonged to Plymouth colony, but for the more powerful reason that his brother was an influential member of Parliament. He undertook to convey it to England, but just before the vessel sailed, Cotton, in his sermon at the Thursday lecture, advised the passengers, if a storm arose, to throw Vassall's trunk overboard, as containing the Jonah that would certainly sink them. A storm did arise, and, to appease the superstitious fears of some of the company, a package was thrown overboard containing copies of the obnoxious papers; but Vassall took care to preserve the originals.*

Vassall might, indeed, consider himself fortunate that he had the means of withdrawing when the fire became too hot for him. Others were not so privileged; who, notwithstanding they removed beyond the limits of the Massachusetts's grant, were dragged back into its territory. There was the previous case of a man named Gorton, 'a wild but benevolent enthusiast,' as he is termed by Mr. Bancroft, who, with certain of his followers, had taken up his residence at Shawomet, and whose doctrines were so unwelcome to the divines of Massachusetts, that, though out of their jurisdiction, they took measures to silence him. Gorton has narrated his story in a tract called 'Simplicities Defence against the Seven-headed Monster,' which Winslow replied to under the title of 'Hypocrisy Unmasked;' and from the two combined we partly gather these particulars. 'When the New Englanders,' says Gorton, 'perceived his settlement to be a refuge to such as were oppressed, &c., then they went about to bring those parts to be under their jurisdictions by all possible pretences.' The most available appears to have been an apocryphal claim of the Indians of Shawomet to a tract of land which Gorton had purchased of the Sachem Miontonimoh.

* This occurrence is alluded to in the title of a pamphlet, 'New England's Jonas cast up at London,' presently published by Child's brother, a major in the Parliamentary army, containing a copy of the original petition to the Massachusetts General Court, and an account of the proceedings upon it. Winslow, the Massachusetts agent, published, in answer, 'New England's Salamander discovered,' alluding to Vassall, a man, it was said, 'never at rest but when in the fire of contention.' Yet the fire of New England proved too hot for him. His leaning toward episcopacy, or, at least, toward toleration, had made him obnoxious even in Plymouth colony; and though his family remained there, he never returned.

With respect to this claim the evidence of Gorton was destroyed by a convenient but ungrateful surrender of Miontonimoh to the murderous designs of his enemy Uncas. Uncas not only tomahawked him *more suo*, but devoured the shoulder of his fallen antagonist, declaring that it made his heart strong, and was the sweetest morsel he ever ate. At the same time the magistrates of Massachusetts, triumphing after their fashion, sent, first, a summons, and subsequently an armed commission to come to conclusions with the heretical Gorton. A proposal was made by Gorton to the Commissioners, through the mediation of some people of Providence, to submit his case to arbitrators, and to pledge the cattle belonging to his party as a security to abide their decision; but this reasonable offer having been rejected, after a short resistance he and the majority of his followers were captured and carried as prisoners to Massachusetts. Gorton alleges, but Winslow denies, that the Commissioners treacherously violated the terms of the capitulation. At all events, when they had lodged the Gortonists in safe custody, the motive for the outrage was freely manifested in the readiness with which they waived the civil charges, and proceeded exclusively on the ground of heresy. Their ‘prisoners of war,’ as they termed them, were subjected to an inquisitorial examination on their theological tenets, in which Gorton displayed the most troublesome address. While his trial lasted, and he was doubling through the mazes of Puritan controversy to the great perplexity of his polemical ferrets, the reverend disputants, by allusions in their sermons to Agag and Benhadad, suggested a summary conclusion of the controversy. A majority of the magistrates were prepared to put Gorton to death, but the deputies dissented; and, ultimately, he and six of his companions were condemned to work in irons in the extremity of a New England winter, under pain of death, if by speech or writing they attempted to publish or maintain any of their ‘blasphemous and abominable heresies.’ Their cattle, to the number of eighty, were seized to pay the expenses of their arrest and trial, assessed at 160*l*. After they were chained, and before they were sent to the townships, among which they were to be distributed, they were made a spectacle, in the dearth of other amusements;—that is to say, as Gorton himself describes it, ‘We were to stay till Master Cotton his lecture day, and then were all brought to the congregation in that our iron furniture, for the credit of the sanctuary which had set the sword at work for such good purpose.’ It was found, however, that, notwithstanding the threat of death which was hanging over them, these stubborn enthusiasts were still making

converts; and therefore it was ordered, at a subsequent court, that they should depart out of the jurisdiction within fourteen days, and not return to Massachusetts, Providence, or even their former settlement of Shawomet, under peril of the last extremity. This proceeding was afterwards, though with little effect, made the subject of official investigation in England.

We have stated the circumstances of this case at some length for the reason that they are not only interesting but instructive. If Massachusetts went beyond her chartered limits, usurped a jurisdiction to which she had no pretence, and committed illegalities of which her apologists were conscious, in order to crush a little band of fugitives from whom she had received no detriment and could apprehend no danger, we may conceive what would be her treatment of those who, being legally in her grasp, had the rashness to take liberties with her cherished uniformity. To such, it is not exceeding the truth to say, that her little finger was heavier than the loins of the Government they had fled from. There were not a few who experienced the disadvantages of the change, and who, to quote the words of a certain Blackstone, had left England 'to get from under the power of the Lord Bishops,' but found that in America they 'had fallen under the power of the Lord Brethren.' Of such the Papists and the Baptists or Anabaptists had their several experiences; but those who encountered the most wholesale inflictions in confutation of their tenets were the unhappy sect of Quakers. The Quakers, it is true, as Hutchinson observes, solicited persecution; but even they, he adds, must have been surprised at 'the imprudence of the authorities in gratifying this humour as far as their utmost wishes could carry them.*' At first they were suspected or accused of dealing in the 'Black Art,' and the persons of the Quaker women were searched for 'devil's teats,' or other signs of witchcraft; but, as these were not discoverable, they were found guilty of heresy, and 'thrust out of the jurisdiction.' Subsequently, to recur again to Mr. Hildreth,—

'The existing laws of Massachusetts against heretics were not thought sufficient for the occasion. A special law was presently enacted, in the preamble of which the Quakers were denounced as "a cursed sect of heretics lately risen in the world." To bring a "known Quaker" into the colony was made punishable by this law

* One of the ministers proposed to treat them as wild beasts. 'We shall be as ready to take away your lives as you shall be to lay them down,' said Endicott with a species of bitter pleasantry. (*Coit's Puritanism*, p. 312.)

with a fine of 100*l.*, besides bonds to carry him back again, or, in default thereof, imprisonment. The Quaker himself was to be whipped twenty stripes, sent to the house of correction, and kept at hard labour until transported. The importation or possession of Quaker books was strictly prohibited; all such books were to be brought in to the nearest magistrate to be burned. Defending Quaker opinions was punishable with fine, and, on the third offence, with the house of correction and banishment. Even these enactments did not suffice. By a law of the next year, the fines before imposed were increased; every hour's entertainment of a known Quaker was subjected to a fine of forty shillings; every male Quaker, besides former penalties, was to lose one ear on the first conviction, and on a second the other; and both males and females, on the third conviction, were to have their tongues bored through with a red-hot iron. Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, on the recommendation of the Commissioners for the United Colonies, adopted similar laws.'

Rhode Island alone adhered, with admirable consistency, to the great principle of religious liberty. •

'But neither good advice nor good example made any impression on the United Colonies. A new law of Massachusetts, imposing fines on all who attended Quaker meetings, or spoke at them, did but increase the disposition to speak and to hear. In spite of whippings, brandings, and cropping of ears, the banished Quakers persisted in returning. They flocked, indeed, to Massachusetts, and especially to Boston, as to places possessed with the spirit of intolerance, and therefore the more in need of their presence and preaching.' (Vol. i. pp. 405, 406.)

Yet even these measures of persecution did not suffice, and these Christian Fathers did not scruple to shed the blood of the most inoffensive and unresisting of Christian sects.

'In hopes to put a stop to the annoyance of returning Quakers, the Commissioners for the United Colonies finally recommended that such as returned a second time should suffer death. The name of the younger Winthrop, who sat as one of the Commissioners for Connecticut, a man of much more tolerant spirit than his father, is affixed to this vote; not, however, without the following qualification: "*Looking at it as a query, and not as an act, I subscribe.*" But it did not long remain a query. In spite of a vigorous resistance on the part of the deputies, a law for the capital punishment of returned Quakers was presently enacted in Massachusetts, and Marmaduke Stephenson, of Yorkshire, William Robinson, of London, and Mary Dyer, of Newport, were soon found guilty under it. Mary Dyer (formerly a conspicuous disciple of Mrs. Hutchinson), widow of William Dyer, late recorder of Providence Plantation, was reprieved on the scaffold, after witnessing the execution of her two companions, and set at liberty on petition of her son, on condition of leaving the colony in forty-eight hours. The magistrates vindicated

the execution of the other two in a long Declaration, in which they dwelt with emphasis on the case of Mary Dyer, as proof that they sought "not the death, but the absence of the Quakers." There was this peculiarity, indeed, in all the New England persecutions, with the single exception of Gorton's case, that heretics were persecuted, not so much as enemies of God, whom it was fit and meritorious to punish, but rather as intruders, whom it was desirable to get rid of, or at least to silence. Mary Dyer, however, did not escape. Impelled by "the Spirit," she presently returned again to "the bloody town of Boston," where, like her fellow-convicts, she underwent death by hanging. The fortitude, and even triumphant joy with which these victims met their fate, the sympathy which their execution excited, and the readiness with which their places were supplied by others, prepared and even anxious for a like extremity, alarmed and intimidated the magistrates. Not only the doubtful effect in the colony, but the late revolution in England, and the uncertainty how these proceedings might be regarded there, gave additional reason to hesitate. Several other returned Quakers were sentenced to death, but only one more execution, that of William Leddra, took place. Several others, condemned to death, were pardoned and discharged upon acknowledgment of their error.'

Other means of expulsion and repression were subsequently adopted, which inasmuch as they were certainly more lenient, were the natural result of a recoil against bloodshedding. The elder Winthrop, as he lay on his deathbed, had hesitated when solicited by Dudley to banish some heterodox offender. 'I have done,' said he, 'too much of that work already.' In a similar position his successors might content themselves with their unparalleled contributions to the list of Quaker witnesses. But some of them, we know, with undisguised reluctance abandoned the practices to which they had been so long habituated. Mr. Hawthorne, with happy conjecture, has described the Puritan children at the game of torturing Quakers; like the infantine boat-launchers depicted by the artist Turner in the foreground of the 'Building of Carthage.' Such fanciful pictures approve themselves as accurate when they harmonise with the spirit developed through a long history.

Mr. Hawthorne's suggestion of the capacity of Colonial Puritanism to infuse its bitterness into the impulses of childhood, may lead us to remark its social manifestations more attentively. There was this peculiarity about the New England settlement which rendered its *régime* more than usually irksome. In these little townships, hemmed in by the forest, and environed by the dread of the Indians or the ocean, there was no ready outlet for rebellious vivacity; while the narrowness of their limits enabled the magistrates, by the exercise merely

of an ordinary vigilance, to give stringent effect to some of their dreariest devices. A foretaste of the system which they enforced in Massachusetts was afforded by an expedition to throw down a maypole which one Morton had erected in a neighbouring settlement. The name of the place it occupied, which the owner had called 'Merry Mount,' was changed into 'Mount *Dagon*;' and eventually his house was burnt down, 'that the habitation of the wicked should no more appear in Israel.' The keeping of Christmas-day was punished by fines; and *mince-pies* are said to have been proscribed in Connecticut.* In 1639 a law was passed by Massachusetts against the drinking of healths; while the fate of a pleasant fellow was repeatedly illustrated in the case of one Samuel Maverick, whom Josselyn describes as 'the only hospitable man in the colony,' and whose 'sociable and jolly disposition,' according to Mr. Hildreth, 'was the means of getting him into abundance of trouble.' Dudley and Endicot patronised an attempt to put down long hair by means of a voluntary association, while they curtailed the ladies' dresses by peremptory enactment. So early as 1633, even the wives of the Elders were conspicuous, according to Winthrop, for luxuries in food and apparel. The peculiar form of their excesses is not described, though we infer one particular from Endicot's antipathy to veils. In the following year 'costly apparel' and 'immodest' fashions were the subject of legislation; so that wearing veils was not the only delinquency of the fair sex. Four years later, so incorrigible were these daughters of Eve, that 'costly apparel' and '*new fashions*' were again under consideration. Later in the history of the colony, the 'younger sort of women' had the open audacity to sport 'superfluous ribbons;' and the ministers were only consoled for the enormity by the fact that 'musicians by trade, and dancing schools' were not encouraged. Randolph states that the magistrates of Massachusetts regarded one of their Indian wars as a visitation 'for women wearing borders of hayre, and for cutting, curling,

* As the laws of Newhaven, better known as the 'Blue Code of Connecticut,' were never printed, this and similar statements are principally traditional. In addition to mince-pies, it is said that these laws proscribed all musical instruments, except the drum, trumpet, and jew's-harp. The two former would be required for public ceremonials, but why the latter should be exempted we cannot conjecture, except for the presumption that it was the instrument played on by David. The published records of Connecticut show provisions of a later date against shuffle-board, cards, dice, tables, 'or any other game wherein the great and solemn ordinance of a lott is expressly and directly abused and prophaned.'

‘and laying out the hayre,’ coupled with other equally heinous offences.

Mr. Hildreth concludes that they ‘attempted to make the colony a convent of Puritan devotees, subjected to all the rules of the stricter monastic orders, except in the allowance of marriage and money making.’ On the subject of marriage, we may note a conflict between their theory and their inclinations. The first marriage in the colony of Plymouth was solemnised somewhat hastily. William White died Feb. 21st, and the wife of Edward Winslow on the 24th of March in the same year, 1641. On the 12th of May, their disconsolate relicts mutually consoled themselves by a second engagement. Winthrop the elder left his *fourth* wife a widow; and Bellingham, overpowered by the ‘strength of his affection’ for a second bride, violated the publication law, and, by virtue of his authority as a magistrate, performed the marriage ceremony himself. The magistrates early assumed the authority of granting divorces,—not for adultery only, but for such other causes as they might consider fit. At the same time, courtship without permission of parents was visited severely by fine and imprisonment; and the fate of a certain culprit whose unlicensed arm was detected encircling a fair damsel’s waist is deliberately recorded. The damsels themselves were continually coming within the sweep of the law for their levities and transgressions,

‘Straight-laced, but all too full in bud
For Puritanic stays;’

and the painful romance of the ‘Scarlet Letter’ is no imaginary illustration of human frailty incurring inhuman retribution. The pages of Winthrop and Hubbard show the recoil of natural passions against unnatural laws, and the pressure of a barbarous code is clearly visible in their superabundant examples both of crime and insanity.

But one passion from the first evaded all control—the *auri sacra fames* of the guardians of the Puritan sanctuary. So early as 1634, Winthrop narrates a circumstance ‘which brought them and all the Gospel under a common suspicion of cutting one anothers’ throats for beaver.’ Josselyn, whose experience must have been peculiarly unsatisfactory, describes them as ‘full of ludification and injurious dealing; generally in their payments recusant and slow;’ and even William White declares in a letter to Winthrop that ‘he sees such harsh dealing among the shopkeepers there, in price, weight, and measure, that he thinks that love is wanting which is the main key of religion.’ Ethically it would seem that the debit and credit

sides of their account were ingeniously balanced. A tenderness for their own commercial delinquencies was compensated by the mortifications of the affections of their children and of the rural appetites of their men-servants and maid-servants. Some of the magnates who were most conspicuous for their austerity were the most lax in respect of their avaricious mode of trading. The elder Dudley, who died with some doggrel against toleration in his pocket, had a notorious weakness on behalf of that receptacle which scandalised some among his leading contemporaries. Hugh Peters is an example that the ministers themselves were not incompetent hands at a bargain, for he did what might be termed 'a fine stroke of business' in the codfish and lumber line while he resided in the colony; and indeed, to give play to his business activity, he hazarded the suppression of the Salem weekly lecture, — subtracting from his sermons liberally to swell the contents of his ledger.

Remembering these operations, we can agree with Mr. Hil-dreth that a zeal for the main chance was a notable abatement from the conventual character of the New England system. On the other hand, we are doubtful in what light to regard an appreciation of creature comforts which was its notable accompaniment. Those who condemn the Puritans as perversely ascetic should in fairness be informed of their lenient endurance of the physical consolations they met with in the wilderness. Endicott and his company during their first year's occupation in 1629, are described as 'making shift to rub out the winter's cold by the fireside, turning down many a drop of the bottell and burning tobacco with all the ease they could.*' When the summer came, their resignation took another form. The reverend divine Mr. Francis Higgeson, said to be 'mighty in the Scriptures,' and who wrote a description of New England's plantation in 1630, observing on the mildness of the *aire* says, that 'whereas I clothed myself beforetime with double cloathes and thicke wastcoats to keepe me warme, even in the summer time, I doe now go as thin clad as any, onely wearing a light stuffe cassocke upon my shirt, and stuffe breeches of one thickenesse, without linings.' We must further acquit them of any obstinate aversion to the succulent solids they happened to fall in with. Of the harbour of Plymouth it is said, 'This bay is a most hopeful place; innumerable store of fowl *most excellent good* . . . crabs and lobsters in their time infinite.' The reverend divine already referred to delivers it as his doctrine that the 'parsnips, carrots, and turnips are here bigger and

* Sion's Saviour.

'sweeter than is ordinary to be found in England; the turkies are far greater than our English turkies, and *exceeding fat, sweet, and fleshy.*' 'Fresh cod,' says Winslow, 'in the summer is but coarse meat with us.' That 'worthy and useful instrument,' as he is denominated in the 'Memorial,' had a faculty for compounding a duck broth, which he benevolently turned to account on one occasion for the benefit of a sick Indian. It is also said of the colonists generally that 'in their feasts they had not forgotten the English fashion of stirring up their appetites with variety of cooking their food.' Before long, they permitted certain liquids of even a *recherché* class to lubricate these *opsonia*. Dudley wrote to the Countess of Lincoln in 1631, that they had only 'good water to drink till wine or beer could be made;' but before twenty years had elapsed, such was the 'wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England,' that 'Portugall had had many a mouthfull of bread and fish from us in exchange for their Madeira liquors, and also Spain.' In short, the toleration of any 'wonder' that was sufficiently savory or nourishing was proclaimed with extreme promptitude. On the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers, 'the master on shore brought with him a *very fat* goose to eat with us; and we had a fat crane, and a mallard, and a dried neat's tongue; and so we were kindly and friendly together.' On the voyage of the founders of Massachusetts in the 'Arabella,' the captain complained that their 'victuals' impeded the working of the ship. It was also 'a common fault in our young people that they gave themselves to drink hot waters very immoderately.' Whatever were the wants of their seniors in this respect, they fortified their weakness more reservedly and judiciously.

It is observable, that if they tolerated a few of the comforts they were also not inexorable in respect of the pomps of this wicked world. It was no part of their design to promote the advent of that equality which now obtains on the American soil. 'A discrimination between gentlemen and those of inferior condition,' says Mr. Hildreth, 'was carefully kept up. Only gentlemen were entitled to the prefix of "Mr.;" their number was quite small; and deprivation of the right to be so addressed was inflicted as a punishment. "Goodman" or "Good-woman," by contraction "Goody," was the address of inferior persons.' Winthrop received from Cromwell the Bucanear a present of an elegant sedan-chair, which had been intended for the sister of the Viceroy of Mexico. Whether he rode about in it, we are not informed; though it seems improbable that he should receive it as a piece of ornamental lumber.

venture to affirm that hereafter men will wonder, not at the protracted duration of this siege, but at the rapidity with which it was brought to a glorious termination.

These have proved to be the true elements of victory to the Western Powers. They had not at their command the innumerable legions of the Russian armies, for their military forces were on a peace establishment. They had not accumulated stores of war at their disposal, which it appears to have been the constant object of Alexander and of Nicholas to collect during a period of forty years, for the eventual subjugation of the East. But the Western Powers brought into action the superior energy and civilisation of Europe; and there can hardly be a more vivid picture of the contrast between these antagonists than the railway train hissing from Balaklava to the camp, with the mighty stores of the besiegers, and the long convoys of *arabas* toiling painfully over the steppes of the Crimea to the relief of the besieged. Had Russia expended on railways, and internal improvements, one half of the millions she had squandered on military preparations, she would have been infinitely more formidable to Europe and far better able to resist the present invasion of her territories. As it is, we owe the evacuation of Sebastopol to the exhaustion of the Russian armies rather than to the destruction of its works. The system of internal defence was unsubdued to the last, and the fall of the place has not lessened the respect with which we regard the authors of the remarkable system of fortification thrown up around it. At the moment at which we write it is only of the fall of Sebastopol that we can speak as an accomplished fact, but we entertain the strongest hopes that before the termination of the campaign the same strategical causes which have mainly brought about this important result, will be followed by the evacuation or loss of the Crimea by the Russians.

The military results of the siege of Sebastopol, however great they may be, are of secondary interest to its political consequences. The maritime preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea is for a long period destroyed: the fortress from which an embassy or an expedition perpetually threatened the shores of the Bosphorus is dismantled; but above all, England and France have shown the world that gigantic as this enterprise undoubtedly was, they had not overrated their own strength in engaging in it. To have failed in such an undertaking was impossible, for it would have dimmed the glory of the Imperial Eagles of France, and lowered the renown and influence of Britain. There was, no doubt, a moment when the disappoint-

ment of the premature hopes raised after the battle of the Alma, and the excessive hardships endured by the allied armies, induced the neutral states of the Continent to form an erroneous estimate of our strength and of our determination. The winter campaign, the impassioned appeals of the Press to the sympathy of the public, the partial dissolution of the British Cabinet, the angry and dissatisfied attitude which the House of Commons retained throughout the session, were all construed on the Continent as proofs of the decline of our real power and the hopeless confusion of our political institutions. The world had forgotten that under a free government it is easier to heal wounds than to hide them; and that though a melancholy list of disasters was daily thrust before the nation, the nation never desisted from its heroic labours to repair them. Other armies have suffered quite as much or more in proportion than our own. The losses of the Russians were enormous; and even Austria found that the concentration of her troops in Galicia, where not a shot was fired, cost her as many men and horses as a bloody campaign. But these sufferings were concealed, and it might be supposed that the hardships of the winter campaign had fallen with tenfold severity on ourselves. If such were the expectations of the enemy, or of our more timid allies the Austrians, they were mistaken. The spring and summer found the British divisions of the allied army fully equal to every duty that could be required of them. But when such constant efforts had been made in this country, partly from ignorance, partly from misplaced zeal, and partly from less honourable motives, to misrepresent the policy of the Government and to underrate the resources it had brought into the field, we can feel no surprise that foreign States, forming their opinion of our power from this imperfect information, should have exaggerated our inefficiency, and rushed to the conclusion that the military power of England had set for ever. It is very clear that the motives which actuated the Cabinet of Vienna on the 2nd of December, when a treaty was signed binding it to concert ulterior measures if the Russians did not accept the four bases before the end of that month, had materially changed when the period of action arrived; and the most rational explanation of this change is the distrust of the success of the Allies, felt by the time-serving cabinets of Central Europe. This opinion was of course fostered by the indefatigable agents of the Russian Government, and it extended to every part of the globe. It was circulated among the native princes of India, and might be traced by our diplomatic agents in the United States, in South America, and even to the barbarous islands of distant seas. The greater was then the doubt, the greater is now the triumph; our victory is measured

by the obstacles it has overcome and the sacrifices it has cost ; and although it is possible that Sebastopol might have fallen into the hands of the allied armies by a sudden attack after the battle of the Alma, it is clear that the success of such a surprise would not have had one-tenth part of the same effect on the *prestige* of the Russian Empire, or on the opinion of the world, as the laborious and sanguinary triumph the allied generals have at last accomplished.

As far as this country and France are concerned, the capture of Sebastopol and the destruction of the Russian Black Sea fleet accomplish the most prominent and immediate objects of the war. Of the four principles laid down in the past negotiations as the indispensable conditions of peace, some are partially and some effectually attained. The Principalities are freed from the protectorate of Russia ; the treaties imposed by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg on the Porte are annulled ; the invasion of the Principalities has been punished ; and it only remains for the Allied Powers to cause a form of government to be established in those fertile countries which may inaugurate a happier æra than that passed under the scourge of Russian protection. The Septennial Hospodariate of Prince Stirbey terminates in May 1856, and before that time it is essential that new institutions should be established in the Principalities on the principles already agreed to at Vienna. This object is the more pressing from the extreme unpopularity of the Austrian occupation, and the inordinate corruption and profligacy of the wretched government now existing in Bucharest and Jassy. Nor can we discover any reason that the Porte and its allies should not at once take measures to place the government of these dependencies of the Ottoman Empire on a permanent foundation — an object to which the assent of Russia is indeed a matter of secondary consideration. Her recognition of the established Moldo-Wallachian government would then become one of the conditions of peace.

The navigation of the Danube was the point on which the Conference at Vienna in April last was most successful ; but, as was suggested by Lord John Russell, the complete restoration of the right bank of the stream to Turkey, as it was before the treaty of Adrianople, should be an essential condition for the maintenance of this arrangement.

The events of the 8th and 9th September may be said to terminate for a lengthened period the preponderance of the Russian maritime power in the Black Sea ; but they also give us the right to require, in a more peremptory form, conditions calculated to ensure and preserve the permanent and complete independence of those waters. The Crimea being once in the possession of the

Allies, becomes a material guarantee for these conditions. Enormous expenses and sacrifices have been incurred to conquer it; but having destroyed the Russian fleet and driven out her armies, the principal positions in the Peninsula can be held with very little cost or danger by the maritime States. Sebastopol would be secure in the hands of a French garrison of a few thousand men and a squadron to watch the bay of Odessa; whilst a detachment of our own troops might hold Kertch and Yenikale and command the navigation of the Sea of Azoff until the termination of the war. The whole of this service might be efficiently performed by the steam frigates and corvettes of the fleet, the enemy having lost his whole maritime force. By these means, if the war be prolonged, the Allied Powers may at a very small expense extinguish the trade and political influence of Southern Russia, and ultimately restore to her the liberty of navigating the Black Sea on their own conditions.

It has always appeared to us that in reality the internal condition of Turkey and the relations of the Christian subjects of the Porte with their own government and with the Christian Powers, involves far greater difficulties than any other question raised by this quarrel. For those difficulties are not occasional but chronic, and they have their origin not so much in the policy of this or that Power as in the social condition of Turkey itself, and in the irreconcilable antipathy of races, of religion, and of eastern and western principles of government. At the present moment we shall not attempt to unravel so intricate a skein, but we shall venture on one observation. The campaigns of 1854 and 1855 have stamped the impress and displayed the power of western civilisation on the East in a manner which had not occurred since the crusades. The Russian Czar had been adored as the impersonation of power and authority by those nations which groan under the yoke of the Moslem and aspire to political independence. To the utter astonishment of the orientals, a power now surrounds and protects them infinitely more rapid, and irresistible than the Emperor of Russia at the head of his legions. The genius of civilisation has once more revisited the haunts from which she was driven 400 years ago by the sword of Mahomet II.; and we trust her influence will abide, in some form or other, with the imperial city of Constantine and Justinian.

We do not infer, even from the success of our late operations, that we are approaching the termination of this contest, or that the resources of Russia are already so exhausted as to compel her to sue for peace on terms which would satisfy the Allied Powers. But we conceive that the war may henceforward be carried on in a manner extremely onerous and injurious to the

enemy without requiring any corresponding sacrifices from us. We are exposed to no danger of any offensive movement on the part of Russia. We are in possession of an undisputed influence in the Black Sea and throughout the East, except on the confines of Georgia, to which the strength of the Turkish army may next year be directed. We can cut off the Russian Empire from the greater part of its commercial and political relations with the rest of the world, and we can pursue in the East that policy which is most consistent with the enlightened progress of the population of the Turkish Empire. The Russians fall back on the assurance that their vast territory offers an impregnable barrier against invasion; and no one is prepared to repeat the experiment of an attack which would only drive back the enemy across interminable plains from one devastated town to another. Nothing is to be gained by such modes of assailing Russia, nor have we any reason to seek to penetrate within her dominions. It is her external policy and influence to which the western alliance is opposed, and that is already at our mercy.

Amongst the most considerable results of the campaign (although on this point our information is necessarily limited) must be reckoned the consequences of this unexpected defeat upon the public opinion of the Russians themselves, and upon the internal stability of the Imperial Government. At the outset of the war the proclamations of the Emperor Nicholas, the fanatical excitement of the people, and the language of all the Russian organs, indicated the most absolute confidence in the superiority of the forces they could bring into the field. We have no doubt this confidence, though mistaken, was sincere, and that the Court of St. Petersburg saw with unbounded astonishment its soldiers beaten in every encounter with the Allies; its stronghold destroyed; and a great portion of its army dissolved. The Emperor Nicholas died of grief at the spectacle, though he saw not the end. Russia believed that she was absolute mistress of the East by the strength of despotism and military power; but the lesson she has received annihilates the faith of the Imperial Government in its ambitious destiny and the faith of the nation in the success and strength of the Government. For half a century every thing has been sacrificed to prepare for this great contest, of which Constantinople is the prize; and what is the result? The Russian Government has not given to the nation that physical domination which flattered its fanaticism and its ambition. These enormous sacrifices have been made in vain. A new reign, destitute of the influence of established personal authority, begins under these gloomy auspices; and it is not impossible that the essential principle of the Russian Government has

received a blow which may lead to extraordinary and unforeseen perturbations in the Empire.

We cordially respond to the general feeling in this country, that we are bound to take full advantage of our successes, and that no peace can be signed by the Allies which does not recognise the triumph of their arms and secure the grand objects of their policy from future aggression; but it must be borne in mind that England and the British Government are not acting alone in this war, and that the maintenance of our strict and confidential alliance with France is an object of even greater moment to the general welfare and to our own interests than the defeat and humiliation of Russia. One of the fundamental conditions and securities of that alliance has been the moderation of its object, and the disinterested character of the war. We united the policy of two great nations, which had been too long and too frequently engaged in rivalry and hostility, because we agreed on both sides to lay aside all separate considerations of interest, advancement or conquest, and to co-operate for a grand object of European independence. That limitation of our object and our desires still exists; it is in the highest degree honourable to the Western Powers; and the basis of the alliance serves to define the duration of the war. We have great faith in the good faith of our allies, and in the temper, firmness, and judgment uniformly shown by the Emperor of the French in these transactions. But when we hear extravagant pretensions raised,—when we are told that the power of Russia is to be annihilated, her territory dismembered, the oppressed nationalities of Eastern Europe roused to insurrection, and the war prolonged with unrelenting fury for objects which formed no part of the original designs of the Allied Powers,—we answer that none of these exaggerated views are to be found in those treaties of alliance on which we mainly rest the success of our cause; and that to endeavour to engraft on our present successes schemes of conquest, or extensive changes in the territorial condition of Europe, would be to place that alliance in jeopardy, and in fact to begin another war for objects of a far more questionable character. One of the predictions most constantly made by the timid politicians of Europe, who were caballing against the frank and manly policy of the Western Cabinets, was, that we were letting loose the fiends of war on Europe, that the war would soon acquire a revolutionary character, and that the conflagration would spread from the confines of Turkey to Italy and the Rhine. We hold, on the contrary, that the honour of the Western Powers is concerned in refuting these sinister prognostications. They went to war for a political object, not to gratify any private passions or even any national ambition.

They have shown that the great military and naval resources of their empires are equal to the completion of a most arduous enterprise; but they will also show that great as these resources are, they are entirely within the control of their respective governments, and that these governments are not prepared to exceed or deviate from the course they at first marked out for their operations. Admirable as the conduct of the armies has been — whether French, British, or Sardinian,—their achievements have been due to a high sense of duty, rather than to any other cause. The siege of Sebastopol offered little excitement to military enthusiasm, and none of the ordinary rewards of military adventure. It was a stern act of destruction, accomplished with infinite toil and suffering, and marked throughout by the severest trials to which the moral energy of an army can be exposed. After so great an effort, and so great a triumph, the military honour of the allied forces is completely satisfied; and when we are assured that the political objects of the war are within our grasp, the chief causes of hostility are materially diminished, if not altogether removed. It may be that Russia, and Russia alone, will prolong the contest in the vain hope of recovering some portion of the influence and reputation she has already lost; but from her inability to attack any of the Allies with any prospect of success, it appears that we may pursue, and even complete, the main objects of our intervention with or without her concurrence.

The results of this campaign have, therefore, brought us to a point which the most sanguine members or adherents of the Allied Governments had scarcely anticipated for the present summer; and if a wise and conciliatory spirit were manifested at St. Petersburg, it is not impossible that negotiations for peace might be renewed in the course of the approaching winter, with some prospect of success. The chances of such a war admit of no favourable prospects to Russia. Her utmost success consists in no more than this, that she may not be immediately defeated, and that she may continue to hide her ships and armies, with some success, behind stone walls and earthworks. Her course, from the date of the Menschikoff mission to the close of the Vienna Conference, has been a series of blunders, arising from a miscalculation of her real strength, and an absurd attempt to maintain an impracticable position. Every concession has been made too late; every attempt to restore peace has been marred by her preposterous reservations; and her boasted diplomacy has served only to distil to the very dregs the cup of humiliation and defeat. If we were animated by sentiments of deep and permanent hostility to the Russian nation, which we do not profess to feel, we could discover no means of reducing her power,

and throwing back her imperfect civilisation, more effectual than the suicidal continuance of a war she alone provoked.

We now turn from the consideration of the results of the campaign abroad, to the effect of the present state of affairs on our prospects at home — a subject which has been less considered during the excitement of this conflict, but which concerns the welfare and progress of this empire even more than the success of the allied armies in the Crimea. Amongst the difficulties this country has had to overcome, the greatest and most unfortunate was the peculiar character and condition of the Administration which was suddenly called upon to put forth the whole strength of the nation in war. A Coalition Cabinet is at all times liable to the infirmity of purpose arising from a fusion or compromise of opinion; and when such a government has to deal with a great emergency in public affairs, the inherent vice of its constitution becomes painfully conspicuous. Of Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet we wish to speak with the highest respect, for it comprised all that was then most eminent, most able, and most virtuous in the councils of this nation, and the spirit in which it was formed, by the surrender of many personal claims and party associations to the public service, commands our admiration. Nor do we believe that if the history of that administration were thoroughly known, it would be found to have been less harmonious and united in its policy than many governments which have been formed out of more uniform materials. But the total dissimilarity of the circumstances which led to the formation of that administration and of the events it had to deal with upon the outbreak of war — the absence of a guiding master mind in a Cabinet containing so many statesmen of equal strength,—and the reaction of these different influences on the unsettled state of parties in the House of Commons, — were causes of weakness which soon showed that Lord Aberdeen's Administration could not resist the pressure of public opinion both in and out of Parliament. For the purposes of war it had not obtained, and it could not command, the full confidence of the country; and the disasters of a winter campaign were visited upon the head of the Prime Minister and of the Secretary of State for War. Other circumstances led shortly afterwards to the retirement of the remaining adherents of the late Sir Robert Peel; and although at the time the loss of the eloquence of Mr. Gladstone, and the administrative ability of Sir James Graham were regretted, circumstances have since proved that the Administration has gained more in unity of purpose and vigour of determination by their withdrawal than it has lost in oratorical or official strength. The Duke of Newcastle, though an unfortunate minister, stands

in a very different position in the eyes of the country, from those with whom he was formerly connected; he has openly withdrawn from their coterie and disapproved their conduct; and although he has ceased to direct the military forces of the Empire, it fell to his lot to witness from Cathcart's Hill the final triumph of the expedition which he had been one of the first to promote.

At the outset of the second campaign, with an army decimated by the hardships it had undergone, and an immense enterprise incomplete, England found herself without a government. Lord Derby made a vain attempt to constitute a Cabinet by an alliance with some of his former antagonists, whose ambiguous sentiments on the great question of the war were still unknown. Lord John Russell was unable to succeed in the same task; and Lord Palmerston assumed the direction of affairs when there was no one to dispute with him that coveted preeminence. Called to that position by the hopes of his country, he has risen with the emergency, and never did we more require a Minister who should give stability to the measures of the Government. The task which Lord Palmerston undertook was a difficult and even a formidable one. With apparently diminished resources on the ministerial benches, he was to conduct the affairs of this great Empire at a moment of danger, when the public confidence in the Executive was singularly shaken, when the timid were disheartened, and the brave perplexed; when the House of Commons was alternately agitated by the artifices of faction and by scenes of extraordinary personal violence; and when the least failure would certainly have been followed by an irresistible combination against the Ministry. At this crisis Lord Palmerston displayed all that spirit, self-possession, and indifference to the rising storm which have endeared him to the people of England. He did not pretend to any extraordinary fertility of resources or any novel efforts for carrying on the war; but he awaited with unshaken confidence the results of the campaign in which this country and our allies had engaged a force which might well be deemed invincible. Thus he passed unmoved through the period of the negotiations at Vienna, and the incessant debates in Parliament which followed that abortive attempt to restore peace: and whatever may have been the effect of those discussions elsewhere, the attitude and the language of Lord Palmerston undoubtedly restored to the nation that confidence which had been tried and shaken to an alarming extent. In the most arduous and complicated portion of these labours, the Government was most ably represented at the Foreign Office by Lord Clarendon, who conducted the diplomatic correspondence with

such firmness, precision, and courage, that when the secrecy which enshrouds these transactions was partially removed, every Englishman found that Lord Clarendon had expressed his own heartfelt convictions, and all parties in the State paid homage to the ability of the Foreign Minister.

Our limits on the present occasion forbid us to undertake a review of the last session in the House of Commons, and indeed the task would be neither an agreeable nor a profitable one. But all the infirmities of purpose or of judgment which prevailed in the country or in the former Ministry with reference to the war, were represented with tenfold virulence and absurdity in Parliament. An illustrious Prince, whose observations on political affairs are as rare and temperate as they are sensible, publicly remarked that it was an experiment in our history to conduct a great war with the unbounded freedom of discussion this country now enjoys; and it was impossible not to feel that this circumstance exposed our alliances to some peril and gave not seldom an advantage to the enemy. The House of Commons, however, was deaf to this advice. It appeared at one moment ready to transfer the conduct of the war to a committee-room up stairs; and after having pledged itself by an address to the Crown to the full support of the war, it attempted to force on the Government a direct breach of faith with our Allies by refusing to sanction the Turkish loan, and it augmented a hundredfold all the difficulties the nation had to surmount. Meanwhile the demeanour of the nation itself was infinitely more composed, consistent, and rational than that of its representatives in Parliament. Out of doors there was no vacillation, and no fear, but a common determination and a manly confidence in the future.

It would not be difficult to trace to its origin the disorder and disorganisation which so discreditably affected the House of Commons during the last session. If we look back to the circumstances under which it was elected in 1852, an æra seems to have rolled away since that occurrence. Lord Derby was Minister; Mr. Disraeli led the House of Commons; the agitation of the free-trade contest still vibrated through the country; and that compact band of country gentlemen, who have remained for nearly three years on the left hand of the Speaker, are the identical patriots who were returned in 1852 to preserve British agriculture and restore protective duties. British agriculture has not altogether perished in the interval, but the occupation of the Country party was gone; and with one or two honourable exceptions, the Tory side of the House has been reduced to the meagre amusement it may derive from Mr. Disraeli's powers of invective. The Liberal party, however, had

also lost the bond of union which the cause of free trade had created between statesmen, differing materially in their views on almost all the other questions of government. No leader continued to exercise the influence necessary to combined action. The Government was weak, for the House of Commons was divided, and that assembly which needs courage, firmness, and an intelligible plan of action in its chiefs, looked for these qualities in vain.

Such was the condition of Parliament when the war broke out, and we found ourselves engaged in measures and in debates of the most momentous consequence to the honour and interest of the Empire. In point of liberality, and even profusion, no Parliament ever voted the supplies of war with greater readiness, and no limit was placed on the expenditure of the military departments, for to have refused the supplies would have been openly to betray the cause of the nation. But on every other question the House was turbulent and discontented; for it had not acquired confidence in its leader, and Lord Palmerston himself was well aware that, at such a time, this confidence was only to be obtained by military success. In a word, the fate of the Government was staked upon the siege of Sebastopol, and the consolidation of its power may be ranked, we hope, among the results of the campaign. Victory itself is not more precious to the country or more necessary to our national interests, than the restoration of greater stability in the counsels of the Executive Government; and there is no one subject to which we can turn our attention at the present time of equal importance to the maintenance of a fixed and definite power at the head of affairs.

We speak without the slightest knowledge of the intentions which may prevail in the higher regions of the State, and we express no more than our own independent judgment and convictions. But we think it evident, that there never was a time at which it more strongly became the duty and the interest of the Ministers of the Crown to appeal to the nation, and to rest their future continuance in office upon a vote of confidence, not of Lord Derby's House of Commons, but of the people. Enough has been done in the last few months to strip off many disguises, to remove much obscurity, to lower some great reputations, and to fix the confidence of the country upon those statesmen who have not wavered in their course. If that confidence be sincere, let us know it. If it be the will of the people of England to prosecute this war to a glorious termination, by an honourable peace, let them repudiate the captious and the time-serving, who, from different motives, have lent a practical support to the enemies of their country. Above all, let the experiment be tried

of a Parliament elected under a strong unanimous sense of patriotism and of duty, to promote those objects which can only be attained by a degree of forbearance and discipline which the present House of Commons has not displayed. Come when it may—and it is impossible the trial can long be delayed,—it rests with the constituencies of the United Kingdom to pronounce the verdict, and to choose for their representatives men who faithfully reflect the prevailing convictions of the nation. In the changes of modern political society, the members of the House of Commons are taught to look less to their ostensible leader on the front benches, and more to the directing spirit of the country. The divisions, the intrigues, the tricks of faction, and the cabals of personal ambition, lose their value and their force out of doors; and to the great detriment of the House of Commons—we may even add, to the great danger of the Constitution—a suspicion floats over the country, that a public opinion exists amongst us, more enlightened, more firm, more tenacious, than that which can be traced in the discussions of that assembly. Nothing can be more fatal to the existing institutions, and even to the liberties of this country, than such an opinion; and it is a matter of vital interest to the nation that the House of Commons should lose nothing of its dignity and authority in supporting the measures required for the defence and the government of the Empire. But if the authority of Parliament has sometimes allowed itself to be usurped by the Press, and if the judgment of the public has seen much to repudiate and condemn in the conduct of our representatives, the House of Commons is alone to blame for a course of action which threatens to impair its great influence. Within its walls, it is customary for its members to pay a frequent homage to the good taste, the wisdom, and the patriotism of its proceedings. But beyond those walls that Assembly is judged with the same freedom which attends every act of our public men; and the country, conscious of the indispensable conditions of military power, perfectly understands the mischievous consequences at such a crisis of the encroachment of the Legislature on the Executive Power. We trust that the next Parliament will raise the character of the House of Commons; but we should deeply regret to witness, for the sake of that House and of the Government, the recurrence of such a session as the last,—tending as we believe it did to lower the character of our institutions and of many of our statesmen in the eyes of Europe and materially to aggravate the difficulty of bringing the present war to a successful termination.

To these considerations may be added the argument (though it is one of secondary importance in our eyes), that a dissolution of Parliament, and an appeal to the nation, is the most complete

practical answer to the cry for what is termed Administrative Reform. The public are supremely unjust when they challenge the Government to employ men of higher ability, of greater energy, and in the vigour of youth in high offices, for it is not the Government which gives servants to the State, but the public, and more especially the constituencies of England, which regulate and limit the choice of the Government. The first condition to high political office in this country, and even to the secondary political offices, is a seat, and a secure seat, in the House of Commons. To this accidental circumstance must be added, consistent political conduct, competent abilities, a certain independence of position—for the English people despise and mistrust trading politicians—and the personal qualities of a statesman. Take at any time the House of Commons, as it is now constituted, divide it in halves between the party of the Minister and that of the Opposition, remove from it the incompetent, the indolent, the men engaged in professional life, the men engaged in vast private undertakings which they cannot sacrifice for the ephemeral distinction of office, and how many members of that House remain from whom a Minister can, with confidence, select thirty or forty statesmen to fill the chief offices in the State? If the country be not better served than it is, and if it be true, which admits of some doubt, that in this country private undertakings are better managed than public departments, the fault rests with the House of Commons, or rather with the constituencies, which make the House of Commons what it is. Those constituencies are sufficiently intelligent and powerful to make the House of Commons faithfully represent, and even exceed, their own standard of intelligence and ability; and it rests with them to determine, on the occasion of a general election, who are the men destined not only to compose the legislature, but to carry on the government of the country. We would most earnestly urge this consideration upon the serious attention of our readers, because we are not without hopes that the next elections may witness an increase in that moral power which most deserves to be represented in the Parliament of England. Is a man to be returned because he is rich, or because he is of an old family, or because he is chairman of the railway company, or sent down to a borough by the Reform Club, or the Carlton, or some charlatan versed in the clap-trap of the day, but utterly unfit to deal with the great interests of the nation? Or is he to be chosen by the voice of his fellow-citizens because they place confidence in his character and talents, knowing him to be a fit man to aid the deliberations of Parliament, and capable of taking an active part in the conduct of public affairs? The former

alternative gives you a Parliament of dullards and of jobbers, who, when called upon to take office, cover their party with ridicule, and the Government itself with contempt. The latter alternative can alone place within reach of the public service a Parliament of statesmen.

If the importance of this distinction were felt as it ought to be, for it affects the vital interests of the nation — if the sacred nature of this duty were not degraded to the brutality of a party conflict and sometimes lost altogether in bribery and corruption — if, in short, the constituencies of England would recollect that the maxim of ‘the right man in the right place,’ applies in the first instance to their own representatives,—an election, and the elective assembly, would assume a very different character. Instead of a candidate, fit or unfit, seeking to win a seat, we should see an intelligent body of electors seeking a candidate, and choosing him not for his accidental position or his importunity, but for the qualities which fit him to discharge the greatest trust that can be confided to him by the citizens of a free state. At the present time more especially the choice of the representatives of the people in the House of Commons becomes a duty of the highest obligation, for it will determine not only the temporary ascendancy of this or that party in the State, but the position which the British Government and the British Nation are to maintain in Europe. Not all the sacrifices of a revenue doubled by loans and war-taxes—not all the valour of our armies and fleets—not the sagacity of our diplomacy or the zeal of Ministers, can compensate for the inherent weakness of a Government wanting the strength of *STABILITY*,—that strength, in short, which the House of Commons and the people of England can alone confer. So strongly do we feel on this point, that we do not shrink from a declaration that any Minister who will preserve our alliances, cultivate our resources, and conduct the war with energy and judgment, deserves the public confidence; and that those politicians who can from factious or personal motives lend themselves at such a time to the practices of opposition are guilty of treason to their country. Upon a dissolution of Parliament the country would have the remedy for these backslidings in its own hands; and we cannot doubt that the returns would establish that the Administration which has had the good fortune and the merit to bring the present campaign to a successful result, continues to enjoy the confidence of the nation.

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The governors generally were not inclined to dispense with certain little ceremonies to enhance the dignity of their office. They were preceded by halberdiers when they went abroad, and they had the services of a trumpeter to make their proclamations. An amusing circumstance arose out of the quarrel in Anne Hutchinson's case, when the men who had carried the halberds before Vane declined to carry them before Winthrop, because they sympathised with the Antinomian side of the controversy. Had the bearers whom we assume he employed for his sedan been similarly favourers of the Baptist exodus, they might have deposited 'King Winthrop' in Boston Harbour; but we infer that these responsible officials were orthodox, as there is no intimation that he was submitted to this indignity.

Ascending in the scale of social precedence, we come again upon the dominant principle of the New England system in the extraordinary homage paid to the Ministers. As if in mockery of their human infirmity, the steam of adulation was poured around them till they breathed habitually an intoxicating atmosphere. Naturally enough did Josselyn remark their inclination to 'receive your gifts but as a tribute due to their transcendency.' In the eyes of their worshippers, 'that great light and divine plant, Mr. Samuel Stone,' or 'the holy, heavenly, sweet-affecting and soul-ravishing minister, Mr. Thomas Shephard,' were princes untrammelled by secular accessories. By the subjects of their congregations these and their coadjutors were invested with more than a monarch's pretensions. Their ecstatic gifts and celestial graces were a main theme of history; the clumsy harps of the New England poets twanged forth shambling elegies in their praise; and even comets condescended to give notice of their decease. It was only appropriate, therefore, that they should exercise a paramount influence in all mundane transactions. 'New England,' said Cotton Mather, 'being a country whose interests are remarkably inwrapped in ecclesiastical circumstances, ministers *ought* to concern themselves in politics.' Their intervention was on this account habitually recognised as framers of laws, as councillors of the magistrates, and as agents in embassies and political missions. Not only did they act as *doctores dubitantium* in private affairs, but they were the exhorters of the timid, the rebukers of the bold, and the deciders for the doubtful at elections and town meetings. If in any of these vocations they met with obstruction, their pride was compensated when they mounted the pulpit. There they had their opponents entirely at the mercy of their Scripture similitudes

and prophetic menaces. They could preach at, or pray for, their unfortunate victims with all the rigour of a despotism tempered only, and that uncertainly, by the sand in the hour-glass.* As we learn from a singular passage in Mr. Felt's 'Salem,' on such occasions they spared neither age nor sex. The boys were ranged on the stairs of the meeting-house, and 'a man was appointed to keep people from sleeping' by means of 'a short clubbed stick having at one end a knob, and at the other a foxtail with which he would stroke the women's faces that were asleep, and with the other would knock unruly dogs and men.' In the same place, Salem, as we learn from the same authority, two men were appointed to make a circuit of the town during service, and to mark down the non-attendants in order to present them to the magistrate, while, at the same time, three constables were appointed to keep watch at the three doors of the meeting-house to prevent any one from going forth 'till all the exercises were finished.' Neither in measure nor quality were the ministers inclined to stint themselves of a single particle of their flocks' adoration.

We may ascribe a part of their influence with their congregations to their intimate knowledge of the secrets of Providence, and to what we may even designate their thaumaturgical prowess. To suspicious eyes the following little circumstance reads like an exhibition of the latter accomplishment. Winthrop the younger had some books in the chamber in which he kept his corn. One of them was a Greek Testament, which was bound up together with the book of Common Prayer and the Psalms. The mice attacked the volume, and ate the Common Prayer *'every leaf of it,'* but scrupulously declined the rest of the contents, as also all the other books, 'though he had above a thousand there.' Without questioning that the Common Prayer had entirely disappeared, we may hint our impression that the destructive mice were again in some shape 'the poor people who had come over;' and we incline to credit the ministers with their edacity from the likeness of this to a portent, we shall mention presently, exhibited by one of the Mathers. A more frequent proof of the supernatural vocation of the ministers was afforded by their interpretation of omens and judgments; for in this department they were so experienced that, in case of any disparagement of their persons or doctrine, they were gene-

* Our readers will doubtless call to mind the well known portrait of Hugh Peters turning up this instrument with the familiar invocation, 'And now, my friend, let us take another glass!'

rally able to cite some retributive visitation. The town of Lynn, for instance, lost a great part of its cattle by a sudden disease through reducing the salary of the Rev. Mr. Cobbett. In Hubbard and Winthrop there is a chronicle of judgments against those who thwarted or slighted the Elders. One example, a young merchant died immediately after charging that 'none of those black crows (meaning the aforesaid) should follow his corpse to the grave.' Others, and especially the heretical Antinomians, were overtaken by still more exemplary catastrophes. Anne Hutchinson was on this account seized and slaughtered by the Indians; while the 'copartner in her heresies, Mrs. Mary Dyer,' gave birth to a monster, which, as described, would have been a priceless treasure at our College of Surgeons. The fate of one of the same sect—a barber, who 'was more than ordinary laborious to draw men to those sinful errors,' is memorable for this reason. A barber, if we reflect, was the only man who had a fair chance of competing in controversy with the ministers, as he was professionally secure of his one auditor, and had as summary means of compelling his attention. Accordingly, as we are told in 'Sion's Saviour,' 'he having a fit opportunity by reason of his trade so soone as any were set doune in his chaire he would commonly be cutting of their haire and the truth together.' The appropriate penalty followed that, one of Roxbury sending for him to draw a tooth, the Antinomian clipper of orthodox doctrine lost his way in the forest, and was frozen to death. His fate is set forth as an implied warning to barber chirurgens not to misuse their opportunities, while it serves to illustrate the effect of such examples in sustaining the principle of the Massachusetts theocracy. To resist it was like entering upon a contest with fate, for its authors dispensed judgments with as much facility as they issued and served common legal process; in short, if any one occasioned them trouble, a warrant or a miracle, it was difficult to tell beforehand which, was pretty certain to overtake the delinquent.

It was not in the nature of things that this complex machinery of beacles and spectres should work satisfactorily. But for fifty years the Puritan Zion was thus upheld, and the reign of the Saints upon earth anticipated. Happily it was not permitted by events that this struin upon human endurance should last; if it was too much to expect its relaxation from the ministers by whom and in whose behalf it was maintained. Repeated invitations were made to the latter to modify its rigours, but they were uniformly slighted. An example of this occurred in 1652, when Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the

original founders of the colony, wrote to Wilson and Cotton, ministers of Boston, the following letter : —

“ Reverend and dear sirs, whom I unfeignedly love and respect, it doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecution in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. First you compel such to come into your assemblies as you know will not join you in your worship, and when they show their dislike thereof, or witness against it, then you stir up your magistrates to punish them for such, as you conceive, their public affronts. Truly, friends, this your practice of compelling any, in matters of worship, to do that whereof they are not fully persuaded, is to make them sin ; for so the apostle (Rom. xiv. 23.) tells us ; and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for fear of punishment. We pray for you, and wish you prosperity every way, hoping the Lord would have given you so much light and love there, that you might have been eyes to God’s people here, and not to practise those courses in a wilderness which you went so far to prevent. These rigid ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints. I do assure you I have heard them pray in the public assemblies that the Lord would give you meek and humble spirits, not to strive so much for uniformity as not to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibility of judgment, when the most learned of the apostles confesseth he knew but in part, and saw but darkly, as through a glass ; for God is light, and no further than he doth illumine us can we see, be our parts and learning ever so great. O that all those that are brethren, though yet they cannot think and speak the same thing, might be of one accord in the Lord ! ”

‘ To this noble remonstrance—and it was not the first of the same sort which Saltonstall had made — Wilson and Cotton wrote a very elaborate reply. They profess to be friends of peace and moderation, but fully justify the punishments inflicted. “ Better be hypocrites,” they say, “ than profane persons. Hypocrites give God part of his due, the outward man ; but the profane person giveth God neither outward nor inward man.” “ You know not if you think we came into this wilderness to practise those courses which we fled from in England. We believe there is a vast difference between men’s inventions and God’s institutions ; we fled from men’s inventions, to which we else should have been compelled ; we compel none to men’s inventions.” Yet, after this downright claim of a divine character for their system, with an inconsistency too common to surprise, they add, “ We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment, or affecting uniformity ; uniformity God never required, infallibility he never granted us. We content ourselves with unity in the foundation of religion and church order.”

‘ About the same time Williams sent a warm remonstrance, to his

old friend and disciple Governor Endicott, against these violent proceedings. The Massachusetts theocracy could not complain that none showed them their error. They did not persevere in the system of persecution without having its wrongfulness fully pointed out.' (*Hildreth*, vol. i. pp. 382-4.)

The first modification of the system was due to the interference of Charles the Second shortly subsequent to the Restoration. By a royal order, which at that time the colonists were not in a position to dispute, they were deprived of one of their most cherished privileges,—the right to inflict corporal punishment upon Quakers. Later than this, in 1675, when the general court of Massachusetts, after consultation with the Elders, enumerated the sins which had brought upon them the visitation of the war with King Philip, in a spirit of contrition the persecution of the Quakers was renewed.* But the claimants for toleration who existed in the colony, and who had been encouraged in 1662 by the King's demands, were now a considerable party; while, on the other hand, the majority for the theocracy was decreasing. The predilection of the latter for a learned ministry also helped to modify their more obdurate convictions until their acceptance of the 'Half Way Covenant,' for years a fertile subject of contention, exhibited their weakness by involving them in a compromise. To this weakness, still more effectually than to the licence which had been partially procured by the Royal mandate, a great change in the temper of the colony was attributable. Nathaniel Morton concludes his *New England's Memorial* with a word of advice to the passing generation, expressing his apprehensions that they were 'degenerating into the plant of a strange vine.' As another of their influential divines had expressed it, they 'were straggling 'from the sound of the silver trumpets,' and preparing to follow music of their own. In 1680 the Baptists, after meeting for fourteen years in private houses, summoned courage to erect a new building in which they attempted to hold a meeting publicly.

A few years later, when the neglect of the Acts of Trade, the shelter afforded to the regicides and other irregularities, had

* These sins were declared to be:—'Neglect in the training of the children of church members; pride in men's wearing long and curled air; excess in apparel; naked breasts and arms, and superfluous ribbons; the *toleration of Quakers*; hurry to leave meeting before blessing asked; profane cursing and swearing; tippling houses; want of respect for parents; idleness; extortion in shopkeepers and mechanics; and the riding from town to town of unmarried men and women, under pretence of attending lectures;—"a sinful custom tending to lewdness."

brought upon Massachusetts the vacation of her charter, greater enormities were helplessly submitted to. Under Joseph Dudley, in 1686, a religious society even worshipping according to the forms of the Episcopal Church of England was organised in Boston, and, with Andros the year after, the colonists beheld the first appearance of the hated surplice. The proclamation of James's Declaration of Indulgence gave final toleration to Quakers, Baptists, and Episcopalians, and therewith the *coup de grace* to the Massachusetts' theocracy.

A year or two after its overthrow its restoration was rendered impossible by the provision in the *second* charter of Massachusetts, which bestowed the right of suffrage upon all freeholders of the annual value of forty shillings; but it had still strength to sustain the great thaumaturgic display, so awfully memorable, of the New England witchcraft. As to the immediate authors of this Reign of Terror, we are not prepared to give a positive verdict of conscious criminality; but we think that Mr. Hildreth dismisses too lightly all the evidence which points in this direction. It was doubtless a corollary of the Puritan creed that there was a covenant between the devil and certain unhappy persons which was a sort of parody on the covenant between God and His elect; but it is important to remember the circumstances under which this covenant was insisted on. Up to this date, although witchcraft was made one of the capital offences of Massachusetts on the authority of the text, 'thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,' the law against it had been resorted to but sparingly. The enforcement of this law appears to have been difficult, and the circumstances attending it show that, if not a test, it was at all events the occasion of a difference of opinion. In the case of Anne Hibbins, who was Bellingham's sister, it is not to be overlooked, that Bellingham himself was conspicuous for his opposition to his brother magistrates, that he represented the popular principle of 'Rotation,' that he was *contradicens* in Child's case, and that he was generally averse to intolerant proposals. The deputies who insisted that the old gentlewoman should be hung were notoriously more easily influenced by the ministers than the magistrates, who refused to accept the verdict of guilty; and it may or may not be a fair inference that they promoted her execution to admonish Bellingham himself. In the only other previous convictions for witchcraft we find mentioned, those at Hartford and Charlestown in 1651, the ministers were so officiously forward in the proceeding, that the people of Warwick loudly cried out, 'that there were no other witches upon earth, nor devils, but the ministers of New England and such as

‘they.’ We have already mentioned their attempt, which failed, to discover signs of witchcraft on the persons of the Quaker women; and thus the charge comes to us with a taint of suspicion as a weapon accessible, together with that of heresy, to combat objections to the ministers’ supremacy.

As we have said, we must remember the peculiar circumstances under which the charge was most vehemently pressed; and it is by no means calculated to remove our suspicions, that the famous and most fatal revival of the delusion was a crisis in which the empire of the ministers was passing away. In the struggle of opinion which was then going forward, a reluctance to believe in witchcraft was a symptom of antipathy to the theocratic system which had hitherto prevailed. As such, it was denounced by the ministers of Boston as ‘the old heresy of ‘the sensual Sadducees,’ of which it was further said, ‘how much it has gotten ground in this debauched age is awfully observable; and what a dangerous stroke it gives to settle ‘men in Atheism is not hard to discern.’ An agitation on the subject was zealously fanned which was calculated—and we only stop short of saying, which was consciously designed.—to give encouragement to imposture. The following circumstances, at all events, have to be reconciled with a belief in the ingenuousness of its chief promoter, Cotton Mather. He had taken a bewitched girl to his house to experiment on her symptoms, and obtained results which he published. As a specimen of these, he found that the bewitched could comfortably endure a Popish book, and not only read the book of Common Prayer, but took delight in it, while she was distressed beyond measure by ‘a precious little treatise,’ the work of the Rev. Mr. Willard, of Boston. Certain other books, which were published by Mather’s father and grandfather, were so antipathetic that one of them stunned the girl, while ‘my grandfather Cotton’s ‘Milk for Babes,’ or the Assembly’s Catechism, would bring on hideous convulsions. Cotton Mather incidentally availed himself of Satan’s testimony to the value of the remaining copies. ‘I hope,’ said he, ‘I have not spoiled the credit of the ‘books by telling how much the devil hated them.’ In the case of Goodwin’s children, Mather ascertained that they were permitted by the devil to enjoy both the writings and meetings of the Quakers. On the other hand, his bewitched *protégée* flattered him by declaring that the demons could not enter his study, or be permitted to do him mischief. We can understand that at this point his vanity conspired with his personal credit to induce him to regard ‘the denial of devils or witches’ as an insult to himself; but his credit for sincerity can only be sus-

tained on the assumption that he had less than ordinary penetration. In addition to these, there are other circumstances which ought not to be lost sight of. Mr. Bancroft has laid marked and well-deserved emphasis on the previous eagerness of Mather and his coadjutors for some manifestation on a grand scale. When his father obtained the nomination of the first officers under the second charter of Massachusetts, and appointed 'friends to the interest of the churches,' the son broke out with irrepressible exultation. 'The time for favour is come, yea, the set time is come. Instead of my being made a sacrifice to wicked rulers, my father-in-law, with several related to me, and several brethren of my own church, are among the council. The governor of the province is not my enemy, but one whom I baptized, and one of my dearest friends.' In his own prayers for some awakening sign, we see the temper which is apt to realise its aspirations. 'I obtained,' said he, 'of the Lord that he would use me to be a herald of his Kingdom now approaching.' In what sense he believed he had obtained this it is hard to say, for we have no commission to read the secrets of the heart; but the anticipation of a work of unusual nature, coupled with the means by which a tragedy of like import was sedulously prepared, will always afford grounds to some to say it was consciously premeditated.

It is not necessary that we should repeat the details of that famous process to which twenty persons were sacrificed in a few months under the most terrible and ludicrous circumstances it is possible to conceive. We remark, however, that the ministers were not only the instigators but the managers for the most part of the entire process. The earliest exhibitions which were followed up criminally originated in the house of one of them, Parris of Salem, of whom it is not inopportune to remember that he was engaged in altercations with certain of his flock. As the trials went forward, the advice of the ministers as to the nature of the proceedings was unhesitatingly given, and some of them went so far as to make strenuous efforts to reconcile the people to the spectacle of the executions. Cotton Mather appeared on horseback among the crowd on the occasion of the execution of Burroughs, and neutralised the effect of the prayers of the dying man by suggesting that Satan could take the garb of an angel of light. 'You are a witch,—you know you are,' said Noyes to Sarah Good, endeavouring to urge the poor woman to confession. 'You are a liar,' replied his victim, undauntedly; 'and if you take my life, God will give you blood to drink.' One of the accused, Procter, evinced his sense of the really responsible agents by sending a petition to Cotton

Mather and his reverend brethren. It is important, with a view to the *bona fides* of the latter, to remember at the same time the precautions which, according to Hutchinson, were taken to save the ministers themselves, if accused. When Mr. Willard, the minister of Boston—the same, we presume, whose ‘precious treatise’ was so efficient a witch-test—was inculpated with the rest, the witness was immediately sent out of court, and it was given out that she was mistaken in the person. When the wife of Mr. Hale, the minister of Beverley, was accused, it altered his judgment and disposed him, we are told, to be less active in the prosecutions. After the terror had subsided, none of the afflicted impostors were brought to trial, nor was any effort made to exact compensation from their abettors. The Royal veto against proceeding with the trials was the means of liberating such of the accused as were living, but the process was reluctantly abandoned on the part of the ministers. The form in which Cotton Mather accepted a compromise as a cloak to his confusion is highly significant. In a supplemental case of witchcraft, got up in his own parish, the fashion of denunciations having then become obsolete, the tormenting spectres accommodated themselves to the change, and, by appearing *veiled*, abstained from offering evidence.

We turn from this sanguinary mystery, which we are unable to fathom, to the broad conclusion on which we rest firmly. The ineradicable stain of a grievous tyranny rests on the memory of the founders of New England, and slurs and tarnishes their entire reputation. Every one is familiar with their nobler characteristics. They were staunch and sober, manly, self-sustaining; an arduous task devolved upon them, and they had the courage and capacity to execute it; they have a proud niche beside the fountains of American history; but their nearer aspect is odious. We are not solicitous to remark their English lineaments; but even the system they established might have had place in England, if the saints in this country had consolidated their triumph. The interest of their example to us consists in this—that what the ‘Little’ or ‘Barebones’ Parliament only aspired after, they attained with certain minor modifications. In their native island they were thrust back within the bounds of authority. But on the shores of New England they were fairly emancipated. Fortuitously or advisedly, all restraint was withdrawn, and they had liberty to do that which was right in their own eyes. Here then, to use the image of Jeremy Taylor, the tender stomachs which could not endure milk, accommodated themselves to the digestion of iron. In a colony which the mass of men carelessly

regard as founded in vindication of liberty of conscience, all its exponents would have suffered successively. Had Bunyan opened his conventicle in Boston, he would have been banished if not whipped; had Lord Baltimore appeared there, he would have been liable to perpetual imprisonment. If Penn had escaped with either of his ears the more pertinacious Fox would, doubtless, have ended by mounting the gallows with Marmaduke Stephenson or William Leddra. Yet the authors of these extremities would have had no admissible pretext. They were not instigated by the dread of similar persecution or by the impulse to retaliate. There was no hierarchy to invite them to the plains of Armageddon; there was no Agag to hew in pieces, or kings and nobles to bind with links of iron. They persecuted spontaneously, deliberately, and securely. Or rather, it might be said, they were cruel under difficulties. They trod the grapes of their wine-press in a city of refuge, and converted their Zoar into a house of Egyptian bondage; and in this respect we conceive they are without a parallel in history.

It has been urged, as it is invariably urged in similar cases, that the temper of their age may excuse them; but in this instance the plea is inadmissible. Neither the temper nor the practice of the age in the mother country, to which comparison is directed, can be cited for an equivalent. The excitement of a bloody contest, the exasperation of rival parties with the reprisals exacted in the hour of their alternate success, offer no parallel to the trophies of a placid legislation, working remote from such disturbing influences. From the confusion of ancient interests, and the fierce resentments which their conflict bequeathed, we can deduce no apology for a system contrived in the wilderness in contemplation of permanence, and under the auspices of peace. If the temper of the age is to influence our judgments, it should be the temper displayed under parallel circumstances by men who had like zeal and like opportunities. If we turn to the Code of Catholic Maryland, framed at a time when the exclusive system of the New England States was pressed with its extremest rigour, on the same shores, in a neighbouring province, the temper of the age admits this illustration. 'Whereas,' says the most celebrated provision of this Code, 'the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to have been of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person of this province professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof.' In accord-

ance with this provision, the Governors of Maryland took the following oath: — 'I will not by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion.' The 'Great Law' of Pennsylvania also secured toleration to 'all persons who confess and acknowledge the Almighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society.' It is true that this latter law was not promulgated till the Massachusetts theocracy was tottering to its downfall; but from 1649 to 1682, the respective dates of the two enactments referred to, the rulers of Massachusetts received various admonitions conceived in the same spirit; and if they advisedly rejected them all, neither imitating Lord Baltimore, nor anticipating Penn, it is vain to urge in their behalf the temper of an age of which, as regards its contiguous manifestations, they sturdily repudiated the most impressive characteristics.

It has been further attempted to be argued that they are not amenable to historic censure because they regarded themselves in the light of a private association whose function was to constitute a Church and not a State, — a view which can only be presented in disregard of numerous facts, and through the confusion which is commonly made between an explanation and an excuse. The rulers of Massachusetts were aware that they were founding a State, though they made the limits of their Church commensurate with its boundaries; they could not claim the license of a private association when they exercised some of the highest functions of government: the confusion of their ideas, exaggerate it as we may, can in no sense atone for the cruelty of their acts. On the other hand, had they been invested with sovereign prerogatives, though no tribunal could have called their acts in question, the absence of a remedy would not have excused the perversion of their sovereignty to tyrannical uses. But it is vain to combat theories which *others* may impute to them, but which obviously could not have been their own view of their predicament. They were not a private body, they were not a sovereign state; they were to all intents a subordinate government deriving, and this they practically understood, every tittle of their authority from a charter of the English Crown. The equivocation with which they covered their withdrawal from England, their subsequent concealment of their proceedings, their embassies, and professions to the mother country, substantially show that they were aware of their position. If we allow for some misconception where their Charter was silent, they knew, at all events, its positive obliga-

tions. Men who set such store by their 'Patent,' had scrutinised closely the terms in which its privileges were conferred. Yet, under an instrument which provided that all inhabitants of their province should have and enjoy 'all the liberties and immunities' of free-born Englishmen, they established a more compact and dreary tyranny than Englishmen elsewhere ever endured or sanctioned.

In taking leave of them, we are aware how little adapted is either history or criticism to do them perfect justice. Research is necessary to discover their traces, and to make out the import of these we require a few touches from the hand of Old Mortality. Mr. Hawthorne treads too tenderly among the tombs of his ancestors. His portraits admit of darker shadows and more depressed and angular features. He may hang a heavier sky yet over the roofs of Salem, and people it with an aggregate more sombre and repulsive. Every one is acquainted with the faces of which Baxter's is a type, — grim acrid visages, which appear as if they were eating into the steel on which they are engraved. A crowd of such is rising before us at this moment. But happily it is only in fiction that they can be reanimated,

ART. XI.—*The War from the landing at Gallipoli to the Death of Lord Raglan.* By W. H. RUSSELL. Correspondent of the Times. London: 1855.

IT belongs to our daily contemporaries rather than to ourselves to trace the varying incidents of a campaign, and to record with a fidelity unknown at any former period of history the fugitive impressions produced by the great spectacle of war. The volume before us deserves to retain a place in our literature from the extraordinary felicity with which, under circumstances the most various and sometimes the most adverse, Mr. Russell has presented to the British public the aspect of the successive encampments, the fields of battle, the murderous encounters, the appalling hardships, and the stout endurance of the British army in the East; and we must add that it is honourable to this gentleman, and to the powerful journal which employed him, that he has performed so delicate a task with fearless independence, strict veracity, and considerable judgment. The volume which comprises these letters in a collected form has already attained a circulation of 17,000 copies; and in reading over these communications, faithfully written at the time and on the spots they describe, we pass through all the successive emotions of the campaign. Much, however, that appeared conflicting, discouraging, and obscure is now cleared up by more complete

information; and though the journal of a campaign conveys the most vivid picture of its progress, the critic and the historian will form their judgment from a more dispassionate survey of the course of events.

It belongs to others to bear the heat and burden of the day, and to mingle in that conflict of emotions and opinions which the interests of the nation and the fate of the army hourly excite at such a period; but we cannot permit the great and glorious events of the last few weeks to pass unnoticed in this place, and we claim our humble part in the proud and grateful sentiments called forth by a national victory. The Allied Powers had staked on the siege of Sebastopol a large share of their military fame and of their political influence. Forty years had elapsed since any of the great Powers in Europe had been seriously engaged against each other in a grand operation of war. The object of this war was to set bounds to the excessive power of Russia, and by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances the attack on Sebastopol became the ordeal of our strength. To return from the contest without having succeeded on that point, would have been to return virtually defeated; to terminate the siege by a triumph, and by the forced evacuation of the place by the enemy, was already to secure, in the eyes of all mankind, the chief prize of the struggle. The result has fulfilled our expectations. It has rewarded the efforts of the Allies; and it has justified, more speedily and effectually than could have been expected, the Governments which planned and executed this vast enterprise. Nor is this feeling at all diminished by the fact, that the British attack on the Great Redan was unsuccessful, like those made by our gallant allies on the Little Redan and the Central Bastion: without detracting in the slightest degree from the glory of those brave French troops who carried the works of the Malakhoff on the 8th of September, and so struck the decisive blow at Sebastopol, the results of the campaign fairly belong, and in very nearly an equal degree, to all the troops which have been engaged from first to last, and on different points, in this great enterprise.

We confess that amongst the minor causes of satisfaction which so great a public success procures to us, we are enabled to look back with confidence,—and we shall be glad if we can induce any of our readers to look back,—to the remarks we have ventured to make from time to time in the course of these operations. Dispassionately considered, and cleared of that excitement which is sometimes raised by a glimpse of a distant object, the events of the war may be traced in their logical connexion from the landing at Gallipoli to the fall of Sebastopol. They bear evidence of a plan deliberately formed with

reference to the circumstances of the time, and executed with the utmost firmness and perseverance. Strange and novel obstacles undoubtedly did arise, as they must ever arise amidst the chances of war; but these were provided for and overcome with extraordinary rapidity, insomuch that—to sum up all in one crowning and demonstrative fact—the most difficult and laborious siege in history has been brought to a conclusion within twelve months by the sheer superiority we had acquired over the armies and arsenals of the enemy. We trust that looking at all these facts and to their results, some of those able and eager men who spent the spring of last year in exhausting every contingency of failure which their imaginations could suggest, will acknowledge that ignorance and impatience—not to speak of other motives—sometimes prevailed in their minds over reason and truth. We may well leave the past at rest. It is vindicated by the success of the policy of the Government and by the glory of ~~the~~ ^{his} army. But for the future we may presume to invite these hasty and sometimes unjust critics to consider the effects of the violent course they have hitherto pursued. Professing the utmost eagerness to support the Queen's Government in the conduct of the war, they have in fact exhausted every mode of opposition which could embarrass the Executive Power, weaken the confidence of our Allies, distract the councils of the nation, and even impugn the justice of our cause. To all these attacks what reply could be made by the Government or by its supporters? The grand justification of their policy is the plan of the campaign; but that cannot be disclosed. Next come the means employed to give effect to these projects; but they must be kept secret. The military officers are to be covered from the discouragement of parliamentary censure even when they have done wrong. Our communications with our Allies are of the most confidential character, for they involve not only the honour of this country, but the interests of another which are in our keeping. In short, the only effectual answer to be made to these innumerable assailants is to be found in the results of the campaign; and it is the duty of the Ministers of the Crown to advance steadily towards their great objects, as little moved by the turmoil around them, as that adventurous hero of eastern fable who bore off the speaking bird from the Black Mountain.

In the conduct of military operations, it is generally impossible to foretell with accuracy the particular incidents of a campaign and the time of their occurrence, for there is in all these calculations an *unknown quantity*, viz.; the exact strength and resources of the enemy. The Russians have throughout this war been eminently successful in maintaining the secrecy of

their communications, and neither before nor after the invasion of the Crimea have the allied generals found it easy to obtain trustworthy information as to the position and amount of the Russian forces. These difficulties were of course increased by the distant and unknown country which had become the scene of hostilities, for except the campaigns of Marshal Lascey in 1736-37, which are well described by a German soldier of fortune named Manstein, and the works of Professor Pallas and Dr. Clarke in the last century, we had little military or topographical knowledge of the Crimea. But the Crimean expedition was suggested and its results foreseen upon strategical principles of a wider application, and these have not disappointed us. To attack Sebastopol was not only to assail the stronghold of Russia in the East, and the seat of her preponderance in the Black Sea, but it was to compel her to throw the strength of the empire to a point of the circumference of her vast territories, that point being more accessible to the great maritime Powers than to Russia herself. Their base of operations was the sea, supported by the reserves, the magazines, and the hospitals established at Constantinople; but beyond the narrow and mountainous tract of the Crimea, lying between Simpheropol and the coast, the Russian armies have had nothing but the Steppes to fall back upon, and the whole of the Crimea north of the river Salghir is unfit for the habitation of man. The supplies of their army were drawn principally from the Sea of Azoff; stores of all kinds were accumulated in enormous quantities in Sebastopol, but the demand exceeded the supply, and that supply could not be renewed.* The troops sent to join the army from the interior lost enormous numbers of men upon the way, and arrived exhausted by the fatigues of the march; and when the Russian army which took the field in 1853 had lost large numbers of its officers, noncommissioned officers, and seasoned troops, it became impossible to supply

* At one of the recent councils of war, held at St. Petersburg, in the presence of the Emperor, Prince Dolgorouki, the Minister of War, was accused of not having sent gunpowder to the army. The Czar called on him for an explanation; but, before it could be given, Prince Menschichoff remarked, with a sneer, 'Ce n'est pas étonnant. Le Prince n'a ni senti, ni inventé, ni envoyé la poudre.' The results of the investigations of the Anglo-French commission, since the capture, appear to prove, however, that there was to the last no deficiency of any of the munitions of war in Sebastopol, and General Niel states that on the final bombardment of the southern side of the place the Russians had 800 guns and mortars mounted. The Allies had 700, but the superiority of their fire was at last victoriously established.

over made by the levies of raw serfs which drained the population with frightful rapidity. It is however a gross inaccuracy to speak of this prodigious operation as a *siege* and of the defenders of Sebastopol as a *garrison*. The Emperor of Russia in his order of the day to his army has not disdained to use this artifice, and he even says that the heroic garrison of Sebastopol will now fall back into the ranks of the army.' The truth is that the defenders of Sebastopol were the Imperial army of Russia. They were only the head of a column, the apex of a pyramid, which had the entire military resources of the Empire behind it. The troops were quartered in Sebastopol or on the Mackenzie heights in direct communication with the troops massed upon the frontiers of Poland, the reserve corps at Moscow, and the army in the Baltic, and they were incessantly renewed. In the course of the last twelve months it is not one army, much less one *army* we have had to defeat, but several. Of the troops which fought at the Alma, few were seen at Inkermann; and the exhausted regiments of last year's campaign had disappeared before the bloody conflicts of the 16th August and the 18th September. In speaking of a *siege* and a *garrison* those terms commonly describe the defence of a town or fortress by a body of men enclosed within its walls; at Sebastopol the names of the town were only the advanced works of an army whose losses since the commencement of this war are not overstated at 200,000 victims of the policy of the Czar.

We have taken the trouble to extract from the Russian reports of the more important actions in the Crimea, from the battle of the Alma to the 8th of September, 1855, the returns of casualties transmitted by Prince Menschikoff and Prince Gortschakoff to the Imperial Government. The sum total of the losses sustained on the field of battle, exclusive of the final assault and of the daily losses in the works, amounts to no less than 70,000; if to this we add 30,000 men for losses in the trenches and sorties, which is at the rate of about 90 a day for 100 days, and 20,000 men for the final bombardment and assault (2500 men are reported by Prince Gortschakoff to have fallen on each of the three last days of the bombardment), we arrive at a collective loss of 120,000 men by the fire of the enemy. This, however, is altogether independent of the losses by disease, by cold, in the hospitals of the interior, and in the marches of the reinforcements hastily collected from all parts of the empire, as well as the losses of the army in Georgia, Armenia, and elsewhere. We can thus account approximatively for the estimate of 300,000 men furnished to the Government, and it is no exaggeration to assert, that the siege of

